

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

A HOARD OF STATERS OF CUNOBELIN AND DUBNOVELLAUNOS FROM GREAT WALTHAM, ESSEX

PHILIP DE JERSEY AND NICK WICKENDEN

Introduction

This dispersed hoard was discovered over a period of several years (1999–2001), in a farmer's field in the parish of Great Waltham, seven kilometres north of Chelmsford, Essex, by a metal-detectorist, Mr Greg Newitt. No archaeological finds had previously been reported from the findspot. Topsoil was stripped by the landowner and finder in 2001, and an amateur excavation apparently revealed late Iron Age and Roman occupation, including early Roman pottery, an iron lift key, and a Roman copper alloy lion-headed box mount.

The coins were handed in to the British Museum in October 2001, and were subsequently declared Treasure by the Coroner. The Valuation Committee agreed an abatement of the award of sixty per cent on the grounds that the coins had not been reported 'promptly or honestly, as required under the Treasure Act Code of Practice'.¹ The coins were acquired by Chelmsford Museum in October 2003 (CHMER 2003.428) with support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Resource / V & A Purchase Grant Fund, Chelmsford Borough Council, the Friends of Chelmsford Museums and the Essex Numismatic Society.

This is the third hoard of Celtic gold coins found by Mr Newitt in the Chelmer Valley north of Chelmsford; all three have been acquired by Chelmsford Museum. The first, from Great Leighs, consisted of four Gallo-Belgic A staters, three Gallo-Belgic A quarter staters, and thirty-three Gallo-Belgic E staters.² The second, also from Great Waltham, consisted of two Ingoldisthorpe staters, seven Westerham staters and a unique quarter stater.³ The hoards are only a few kilometres north of the middle and late Iron Age villages excavated by Paul Drury at Little Waltham,⁴ which itself lay at the junction of the two routes from Chelmsford running north to Great Dunmow and Braintree.

The coins

The Great Waltham hoard contains five staters of Dubnovellaunos and eighteen 'biga' staters of Cunobelin (Table 1; plate 12).⁵

Staters of Dubnovellaunos

The Great Waltham hoard contains five staters of the Essex issue of Dubnovellaunos (VA 1650/1655). The basic type is relatively common, with almost a hundred examples recorded in the Celtic Coin Index (CCI). Despite the useful contribution of Kretz,⁶ who identifies an early and a late type – all the Great Waltham coins are of the late type – and who suggests a possible

¹ *Treasure Annual Report* 2001, 90.

² *Treasure Annual Report* 1998–99, 98–99.

³ *Treasure Annual Report* 1997–8, 25.

⁴ P.J. Drury, *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970–71* (Chelmsford, 1978; CBA Research Report 26, Chelmsford Excavation Committee Report 1).

⁵ The authors are grateful to Mr M.J. Cuddeford for supplying photographs of the hoard.

⁶ R. Kretz, 'From Kentish lad to Essex man. The enigma of Dubnovellaunos', *Chris Rudd list* 31 (1998), 1–6.

TABLE 1. Contents of the Great Waltham hoard

Dubnovellaunos		
1	5.59	dies as CCI 68.0336
2	5.44	dies as CCI 97.1095
3	5.52	dies as BMC 2437–2439
4	5.43	dies as BMC 2436
5	5.40	no die matches in CCI
Cunobelin		
6	5.51	dies F8
7	5.54	dies F8
8	5.57	dies F8
9	5.59	dies F10
10	5.57	dies F10
11	5.55	dies F10
12	5.60	dies G11
13	5.48	dies G11
14	5.52	dies G11
15	5.47	dies G11
16	5.37	dies G11
17	5.55	dies G12
18	5.56	dies A2
19	5.55	dies A1
20	5.54	dies A1
21	5.59	dies A1
22	5.51	dies A1
23	5.45	dies A1

development of the DVBNOVALLAVNOS inscription, the series has not yet been subjected to the kind of detailed study which has been performed on the 'biga' staters. Space precludes such a study here, but it is possible to make a few observations on the die series on the basis of these five coins (summarized in Table 1).

There are few reverse die matches in the CCI for any of the Great Waltham coins: one each for coins 1, 2 and 4, three for coin 3, and none for coin 5. The obverses are harder to distinguish, given their simplicity and often rather worn condition, but again there appear to be no more than two or three matches for any one die, and the obverse of no. 5 appears to be previously unrecorded. This confirms that Dubnovellaunos's Essex stater was indeed a sizeable coinage, produced in significantly greater numbers and over a noticeably longer period than the 'biga' series (see below). The lack of die-links between the five coins in the hoard also suggests that they had been in circulation for a much longer period when the hoard was assembled.

It is worth noting in passing that the animal conventionally described as a horse on the reverse of the Dubnovellaunos staters has in some cases a markedly beaked muzzle (see for example coin no. 1), more redolent of a griffin than a horse; David Symons has previously pointed out exactly the same error of description on other coins of Dubnovellaunos.⁷

Staters of Cunobelin

The eighteen 'biga' staters of Cunobelin (VA 1910) in the Great Waltham hoard form a significant percentage of the total known: the CCI holds details of a further twenty-four, and thus this hoard constitutes more than forty per cent of the recorded examples of the type.

The 'biga' staters were first discussed in detail by Allen,⁸ who placed them at the head of Cunobelin's gold, on the basis of the resemblance between what he called the 'Apollo-pattern' on

⁷ D. Symons, 'Q. "When is a horse not a horse?"', *NCirc* 106/6 (July 1998), 260–61.

⁸ D.F. Allen, 'Cunobelin's gold', *Britannia* 6 (1975), 1–19.

the obverse and the similar design on the 'Ricon' staters of Tasciovanus (VA 1786), Cunobelin's father.⁹ The primacy of the 'biga' staters is also supported by their weight, which is on average between 0.1 and 0.2 g heavier than the series bearing the familiar corn-ear obverse.

Allen identified five obverse and reverse die pairs for the 'biga' staters, with no links across the pairs, shared among eight coins.¹⁰ More recently de Jersey has re-examined the type in the light of the increase in finds, identifying a total of seven obverse dies and ten reverse dies for twenty-one staters.¹¹ The discovery of the Great Waltham hoard adds two reverse dies to the total: one previously unrecorded, and another which was tentatively identified in the existing corpus as reverse die 1, but which is now confirmed as a 'new' die.

Figure 1 presents a revised version of the die-chain, taking into account the Great Waltham hoard and other discoveries since 2000. Figure 2 illustrates the development of the central panel on the obverse, if this ordering of the dies is accepted. Over the course of production the tiny pellets which form the panel border on dies A and B are enlarged (dies C, D and E) and then replaced by plain lines (F and G); the CAMVL inscription is at first very neat, with each letter individually defined, but by the end of the series the crossbar on the A has disappeared and the letters MVL are conjoined, with the inscription as a whole appearing less carefully engraved.

As Table 1 indicates, the Great Waltham hoard contains staters from the beginning (die A) and end (dies F and G) of this series, but not from the middle portion. This is perhaps slightly curious, but various explanations may be suggested. We have no precise idea of the timespan over which the 'biga' stater was produced: it may have been a very short period indeed, in which case the difference between 'early' and 'late' coins might in real terms be represented by a matter of months if not weeks. The coins from the 'missing' middle period appear in any case to be relatively rare: although dies B – E represent more than half of the obverse dies for the series, they account for only eleven coins in total, or approximately twenty-five per cent of the forty-two recorded specimens. The hoard coins might also have been gathered from just one of two or more workshops or circulation pools.

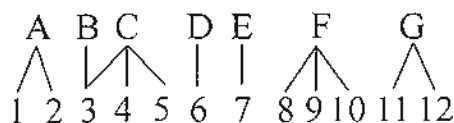


Fig. 1. Die chain for Cunobelin's 'biga' staters.

Discussion

The chief significance of the Great Waltham hoard lies in its association of staters of Dubnovellaunos and Cunobelin, two rulers whose coins had not previously been found together. As such it presents another useful piece of evidence in our attempts to reconstruct the complex political history of the North Thames kingdom around the turn of the millennium. In this respect it should be considered alongside the extraordinary quarter stater from Leicestershire, which combines the names of Cunobelin and Dubnovellaunos on the same coin, although in a style which appears to have more in common with the later issues of Cunobelin's gold.¹²

There has been a tendency in recent work on the North Thames coinage to treat the numismatic output of the two tribes of the Trinovantes and the Catuvellauni as a more or less unified whole for much of the century before the Roman conquest.¹³ In reality the situation was undoubtedly far more complex, and more recent work is beginning to tease out some of the complications. It is

⁹ Allen, as in n.8, p. 1.

¹⁰ Allen, as in n.8, p. 6.

¹¹ P. de Jersey, 'Biga and better: Cunobelin's first gold', *Chris Rudd list* 54 (2000), 2–3.

¹² J.H.C. Williams and R. Hobbs, 'Coin hoards and ritual in Iron Age Leicestershire', *Minerva* 14/4 (July/August 2003), 55–56.

¹³ See for example R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989), p. 319; R. Hobbs, *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1996), p. 19.

PLATE 12



1



2



3



4



5



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8



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10



11



12



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14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



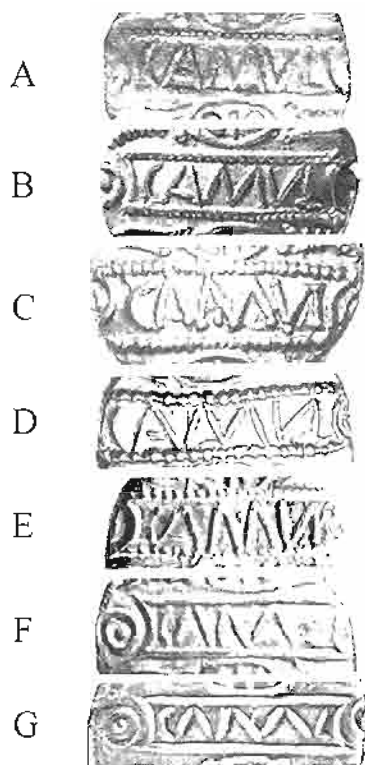


Fig. 2. Development of the central panel on the 'biga' stater obverse.

evident that Cunobelin's earliest coinage, for example, was almost wholly confined to the territory of the Trinovantes,¹⁴ and consequently it is difficult to accept that he ruled both this tribe and the Catuvellauni from the earliest days of his reign. There are various other possible scenarios, but perhaps the most likely is that Cunobelin directly succeeded Dubnovellaunos at Colchester – perhaps by force, or possibly installed there by his father Tasciovanus – while the latter retained control at least temporarily of the Catuvellaunian territory. This situation does not seem to have persisted for very long, and it is likely that by c. 15 AD at the latest Cunobelin had gained control over the whole of the North Thames territory, and – as the distribution of his coinage increasingly suggests – was also heavily involved in Kent. The Great Waltham hoard, probably deposited between about 8 and 13 AD, represents a small but significant piece in this jigsaw of North Thames history.

A NEW MONEYER FOR THE POST-BRUNANBURH VIKING RULERS OF YORK

STEWART LYON AND SIMON HOLMES

A metal-detector find from Middleton on the Wolds, East Yorkshire, in the autumn of 2002, and since acquired by the Yorkshire Museum, provides us with a new moneyer for the coinage of the Norse Viking rulers of York after the death of Athelstan. The moneyer is Durant and the coin a fragment of the *Triquetra* / *Standard* type minted for Regnald Guthfrithsson, one of the three rulers named on this coinage between the death of Anlaf Guthfrithsson in 941 and the recovery of York by King Edmund in 944. It is slightly larger than half the original and may be described as follows (the presumed missing letters being shown in *italics*):

¹⁴ de Jersey, as in n.11, p. 3; see also P. de Jersey, 'Cunobelin's silver', *Britannia* 32 (2001), 1–44, at p. 27.

Obverse: [+REGN] *A:L:DE*A'NV[NC]. A circled triquetra, inset with pellets.

(Note the misspelling of *cununc*.)

Reverse: +DVR*A'NT [MONETA]. A circled standard. Weight 0.62 g.



Fig. 1. Reproduced at 1:1 and 2:1.

Twenty specimens of this type, by three moneyers, are recorded in *CTCE*:¹

	Ascolv	Ba(l)dri(?)c	Farman	Total
Anlaf Sihtricsson (Cuaran)	1	—	15 ²	16
Regnald Guthfrithsson	—	2	—	2
Sihtric (?Sihtricsson)	1	—	1	2
Total	2	2	16	20

Of these moneyers, Ascolv is possibly the same man as the Æsculf who appears, more than a decade later, minting coins of York style for Eadwig and then Edgar. Farman, much the commonest moneyer of these Viking rulers, has no York parallels outside the Viking series before 978,³ but a Faraman minted coins of Edmund, Eadred and Edgar that are stylistically from the Southumbrian Danelaw. However, Sihtric's coins of Ascolv and Farman are from the same obverse die,⁴ so the two moneyers were probably working together and are unlikely to have been separated by the River Humber.

Regnald's two specimens, like the new one, are only fragments and, on both, most of the letters of the moneyer's name are missing. If Baldric is the correct attribution there is no moneyer of the same name with York associations in the English series, but such a man signed at Northampton for Eadwig and Edgar and also struck coins of related styles for Athelstan, Edmund and Eadred.

As to the new moneyer, Durant, there are several examples of this name in the Southumbrian coinage. First, it features in the 'North-East I' variety of the *Horizontal Trefoil* type for Athelstan, as Duriant,⁵ and Edmund, as Duraint.⁶ Dies of that variety must have been issued to moneyers at a number of towns in the Southumbrian Danelaw, including Lincoln and Stamford, but do not appear to have reached the Northampton area.⁷ Next, a Durand used *Horizontal Rosette 1* dies of Edmund of a style of engraving associated with Derby (so that his name is inscribed in the genitive, *Durandes*)⁸ and is likely to be the person who, in Eadred's reign, minted with dies of

¹ C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England* (The British Academy, 1989), p. 220 (Table 11) and p. 231. [*CTCE*].

² A further penny of Anlaf, moneyer Farman (appearing as BARHAN), chipped and from new dies, was in Sotheby's sale of 4 and 5 October 1990, lot 398 (illustrated). It was found at Campsall, South Yorkshire, in 1989 and published by Peter Seaby in 'Some recent coin finds from Yorkshire and North Humberside', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), 105–127, at p. 109. Another penny of the same ruler and moneyer was found west of Beverly, East Yorkshire, in 1994 and acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum. We are grateful to Dr Blackburn for these references.

³ The name occurs at York on a *First Small Cross* penny of Æthelred II (*SCBI* Glasgow 779).

⁴ *CTCE*, p. 231. (r) and (s).

⁵ C.E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Athelstan, 924–939: a survey', *BNJ* 42 (1974, special volume), 35–160, at p. 129, no. 381.

⁶ *CTCE*, p. 127, no. 151 (*BMS* 388).

⁷ *CTCE*, p. 266.

⁸ *CTCE*, p. 128, no. 189 (*BMS* 419).

Chester style (*Horizontal Rosette 2*) using the spelling Duran.⁹ Finally there is a Durand who struck *Horizontal Trefoil* and *Circumscription Cross* for Edgar, beginning in the 960s, using dies of York style.¹⁰ Since the span is no more than thirty years, we could be dealing with a single moneyer who spent part of his career at York and part in the area of the Five Boroughs, occasionally straying into West Mercia. It may be improbable but it is not impossible.

The dies for all the *Triquetra / Standard* coins appear to have been cut by the same hand, doubtless at York, and it is generally assumed that that is where they were used. It is therefore curious that the names of three of the four known moneyers are found in the Southumbrian coinage of Edmund or Eadred and not in the issues associated with York during the admittedly short periods when they controlled the city.¹¹ Nevertheless it is unlikely that any of the *Triquetra / Standard* moneyers worked south of the Humber for the Viking rulers. Before Edmund recovered the Five Boroughs in 942 there were several moneyers who did, and they struck coins in the name of the first or second Anlaf which were otherwise indistinguishable in type and style from Athelstan's 'North-East I' issue¹² or, in the case of Derby moneyers, his *Circumscription Cross* type.¹³

It may be, as Dr Mark Blackburn has suggested to us, that there is a parallel with the *Church* type of Athelstan, the dies for which were almost certainly cut in York soon after he recovered it from Viking rule in 927 and were issued not only to the York moneyer Regnald but also to others who are subsequently associated with Mercian towns from Leicester to Shrewsbury. Were the dies sent out to them, or were they present in York when that special issue was minted?¹⁴

A MONEYER'S INITIAL ON A CROSS-AND-CROSSLETS COIN

T.C.R. CRAFTER

THE Ashmolean Museum has recently acquired an example of the first coinage of Henry II carrying a previously unrecorded moneyer's initial.¹ The new Oxford acquisition is illustrated here (Pl. 13, 1). The coin is in a poor state of preservation, compounded by earlier vigorous cleaning. The reverse is two-thirds flat and the only legend visible is R:W:ON.

Nevertheless, a tentative hypothesis can be put forward as to the identity both of the mint and moneyer. In the collection of the late F. Elmore Jones there was a penny of Roger F (Pl. 13, 2); this was listed in *BMC Henry II* as number 820a under 'Additions'.² This coin was demonstrated to be of the Canterbury mint on the strength of a die-link with BMC 201 (uncertain moneyer).³ Both the coin of Roger F and the new Ashmolean piece belong to the transitional phase of Class A, which shows some features of B.⁴ It is entirely plausible that moneyers' initials were included on dies to distinguish moneyers who had the same first name. Therefore the same sub-class of

⁹ *CTCE*, p. 143, no. 191 (*SCBI* Edinburgh 289).

¹⁰ *CTCE*, p. 166, no. 78 and p. 184, no. 294. An obverse die-link between the two types, involving *SCBI* Edinburgh 388 and Bird 117, is illustrated in *CTCE* (Pls. 17 and 22).

¹¹ Following Athelstan's death in 939, York was only in English hands between 944 and 947, and again from 948 to 949 (or perhaps 950), until the last Norse ruler (Eric Bloodaxe) was expelled and killed in 954. See the discussion in *CTCE*, pp. 7–9.

¹² *CTCE*, p. 229, Groups II and III.

¹³ *CTCE*, p. 229, Group I.

¹⁴ The question was raised, but left open, in *CTCE*, p. 267.

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Alan Dawson for reading a draft of this note. The photograph of the coin from the collection of the late F. Elmore Jones is reproduced with the kind permission of A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd.

¹ Ashmolean Museum HCR2003.7.26 (Weight: 1.38 g).

² D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Cross-and-Crosslets Type of Henry II* (London, 1951) (abbr. *BMC Henry II*), p. 170; *Photographs of Coins from the F. Elmore Jones Collection* (London: A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd, 1983) Plate 18 number 23. This coin was sold at auction at Glendining's (London), 10 April 1984, Lot 1418 (also illustrated).

³ *BMC Henry II*, p. cxviii.

⁴ For a discussion of A transitional see T.C.R. Crafter, 'A re-examination of the classification and chronology of the *Cross-and-Crosslets* Type of Henry II', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 42–63 at pp. 44–45.

each coin, implying contemporaneity of production, lends credence to interpreting the new coin as struck by a Roger W at Canterbury. It is possible that one of these moneyers is the Archbishop's moneyer named Roger who is referred to in Pipe Rolls for 1172-3 and 1174-5.⁵

A PROBABLE SHORT CROSS PURSE HOARD FROM DUMFRIESSHIRE

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

THIS group of six coins was found by Mr Patrick Langan of Dumfries, while metal-detecting at Bush Moor, near Bush of Craigs, in October 2002. The coins were found within an area of diameter approximately twenty feet, all at a depth of about nine inches below the surface of a field of stubble, and the finder declared himself confident that there were no further coins in the vicinity, at least pending disturbance caused by future ploughing. Although it can not be stated categorically that these six coins belonged to a hoard, their geographical proximity and similarity of date render this highly probable. For this reason they were claimed as Treasure Trove, and have been acquired by Dumfries Museum.

The group comprised five English short cross pennies and a Scottish sterling of Alexander II. The latter is generally accepted as having been struck between about 1235 and 1249, and the latest English coins, of class VIIc, are now placed within the period c.1236-40. The earliest possible date of concealment of the hoard must therefore be considered to be 1236, and since no long cross coins were present, it may be surmised that it had taken place by soon after 1247.

Only eight short cross period hoards have previously been recorded from Scotland, and of these only that from Dun Lagaidh, Lochbroom, Ross and Cromarty, recovered during the course of an archaeological excavation in 1968, has been satisfactorily catalogued. The published report on this find summarised what is known about the others, all found during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹ The only omission from the list was the group of four short cross pennies from graves in the churchyard at Holywood, Dumfriesshire, in 1904,² although these may or may not have belonged to a hoard. Since the Dun Lagaidh report may not be easily accessible outside Scotland, the hoards are summarised again in an appendix to this paper.

The large hoard found at Tom a'Bhuraich, Aberdeenshire, in 1822³ is reported to have comprised several hundred coins, all now lost, and that from Keith, Banffshire (1881)⁴ many more than the thirty-two coins recorded, but some of the other recorded Scottish finds have, like Bush Moor, contained only a handful of coins and are likely to represent the contents of purses. This, and the fact that in every case but one (Baddingsgill, Peeblesshire, 1834), most or all of the coins were English, supports the present writer's assertion that the use of coins as money was widespread throughout Scotland in the early thirteenth century, and that the predominance of English coins over Scottish was as pronounced at that time as in the much better documented Edwardian period.⁵

⁵ *Pipe Roll 19 Henry II* (London, 1895), p. 87; *Pipe Roll 21 Henry II* (London, 1897), p. 218. William Urry muddled the moneyers' names in connection with certain Pipe Roll entries; he erroneously stated that Roger, the Archbishop's moneyer, accounts for the chattels of the Flemings and foreign merchants, *Canterbury Under The Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), p. 116. The Pipe Rolls entries concerning Roger relate to his debts for an assize (cf. *BMC Henry II*, p. cxix).

Acknowledgement: I am most grateful to Martin Allen for checking my identifications of the English pennies and correcting one misattribution.

¹ E. Barlow and A. Robertson, 'The Dun Lagaidh Hoard of Short Cross Sterlings', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 3 (1974), 78-81.

² J. Williams, 'Coin Finds and Hoards from Dumfriesshire and Galloway', *NCirc* 78 (1970), 288-9, 331-3, 388-9, 442-4, 491-3, at p. 333.

³ R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Date of the Medieval Coin-Hoard from Tom A'Bhuraich in Aberdeenshire', *PSAS* 95 (1961-2), 241-48.

⁴ G. Gordon, 'Notice of a Hoard of Silver Coins Discovered in Banffshire, . . .', *PSAS* 16 (1881-2), 431-3; E. Burns, 'Notes on the Hoard of Coins Discovered in Banffshire, . . .', as above, 433-6.

⁵ N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'The Evidence of Finds for the Circulation and Use of Coinage in Medieval Scotland', *PSAS* forthcoming.

It is the presence of the Alexander II sterling which marks out the Bush Moor hoard from all the others, since it is the first time that one of these very rare coins has turned up in a Scottish hoard.

LIST OF COINS

All are sterlings / pennies

Scotland

Alexander II class b, Pieres, Roxburgh 1.26 g

England

Short cross

Vb1/Va2, Ricard, Lincoln	1.18 g
VIIa1/VId, Ilger, London	1.04 g
VIIb3, Roger, Canterbury	1.19 g
VIIc1, Giffrei, London	1.02 g
VIIc1(?), Ledulf, London	1.10 g

APPENDIX: OTHER SHORT CROSS HOARDS FROM SCOTLAND

Dun Hiadin, Tiree (1787)

'Several ounces' of coins, all English, of which forty are in the British Museum.

Metcalf 26, no. 14.⁶

Thompson 136, no. 358.⁷

R.H.M. Dolley, 'A Note on the Chronology of some Published and Unpublished 'Short Cross' Finds from the British Isles', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 297–321, at pp. 318–19.

Tom a'Bhuraich (Garchory), Strathdon, Aberdeenshire (1822)

'Several hundred' pennies, cut halfpennies and farthings, English, Scottish and Irish, none now traceable.

Metcalf 25, no. 13.

Thompson 62, no. 169, and 137, no. 361.

R.H.M. Dolley, as in n.3.

Baddingsgill, Peeblesshire (1834)

Nine pennies of William the Lion and one English. Metcalf recorded that these coins were in the possession of Lord Stewartby, who has confirmed that he owns what he believes to be coins from this hoard.

Metcalf 25, no. 8.

Thompson 114, no. 304.

Glenchamber Moss, New Luce, Wigtownshire (1859)

Five English pennies, no longer traceable.

Metcalf 25, no. 10.

Thompson 108, no. 285.

Lewinshope Farm, Selkirkshire (1865)

Unknown number of coins, apparently all English; none now traceable.

Metcalf 25, no. 9.

Thompson 83–84, no. 232.

⁶ D.M. Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (BAR British Series 45), Oxford, 1977, 1–60.

⁷ J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500* (RNS Special Publication 1), Oxford, 1956.

Coldhome Farm, Keith, Banffshire (1881)

Two pennies of William the Lion and thirty English recorded, but the hoard is said to have comprised 'eighty to a hundred' coins; none is now traceable.

Metcalf 25, no. 12.

Gordon and Burns, as in n.4.

Holywood churchyard, Dumfriesshire (1904)

Four short cross pennies found 'in graves', no longer traceable.

Metcalf 25, no. 11.

Williams, as in n.2.

Dun Lagaidh, Lochbroom, Ross and Cromarty (1968)

One penny and one cut halfpenny of William the Lion, together with fourteen English pennies and eight cut half-pennies, found during the excavation of a fortified site.

Metcalf 26, no. 15.

Barlow and Robertson, as in n.1.

EDWARD BOAR'S HEAD HALFPENCE

LORD STEWARTBY

IN 1937 Blunt argued¹ that the rare Edwardian coins, as type XXII of Edward IV but from dies on which the mintmark sun-and-rose (SR) had been overpunched with a boar's head (BH), should be attributed to the brief nominal reign of Edward V (April–June 1483), the use of the BH, the personal badge of Richard of Gloucester, being seen as marking Richard's appointment as Protector in early May 1483. This view was to hold the field with most students for more than fifty years until Mr Webb Ware, in a paper read to the Society on 23 June 1987, demonstrated that the overmarking of Edwardian SR dies with BH must have taken place after the accession of Richard III, and that some early SR dies for angels and groats in Richard's own name were also overmarked with BH in the same way. The implication of this is that the dies were altered for an administrative purpose rather than a political one.

Although Mr Webb Ware's paper is as yet unpublished, he has generously allowed others to draw upon its contents. Accordingly, a summary of the evidence of the angels has been included by Woodhead in the *Schneider Sylloge*. The most unequivocal demonstration that some Edwardian dies remained in use unaltered after Richard's accession lies in the existence of muled angels, one from Edward dies with the obverse unaltered but the reverse with R over E by the mast (*BNJ* 24, Pl. I, 1), and another from a Richard BH obverse and an unaltered Edward reverse (*BNJ* 24, Pl. I, 4).

The pattern of die-linkage among groats leads to the same conclusion as the angels. Some reverse dies of type XXII groats are also found paired with type I (SR) obverse dies in Richard's name, but none of them is known to have been used with an Edward BH obverse. On the other hand, no reverse die used for Edward BH groats is also found with a Richard type I obverse, but some occur on Richard's type II groats with mintmark BH. Like the angels, the groats thus show that the alteration of the mintmark on Edwardian dies of type XXII from SR to BH must have taken place after the first use of SR dies in Richard's name, probably, as Webb Ware has suggested, following the indenture of 20 July with Robert Brackenbury.

In addition to Edward BH angels and groats, long well-known, Blunt was able to publish a halfgroat and penny with BH over SR. It is now possible to add the BH Edward halfpenny – not a surprise, since after groats these were the commonest London silver coins of the period. The two specimens known to me are illustrated on Plate 13. **Plate 13, 3** was acquired by me on the London market in the 1970s; **Plate 13, 4**, in the possession of Messrs Baldwin, is illustrated by their kind permission. Both specimens show the characteristic 'propellor' pellets on the reverse.

¹ C.E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Edward V with some Remarks on the Later Issues of Edward IV', *BNJ* 22 (1934–7), 213–24. Mr Blunt saw the specimen **Plate 13, 3** and agreed with the attribution here proposed.

The lettering is of late Edwardian style. On **Plate 13, 3** the letter R can be seen to be from the same punch with defective tail as used on the Edward BH halfgroat. This coin also shows a small nick in the lower outline of the bust, below the sinister shoulder; this flaw in the punch developed during the second reign of Edward IV, and by now was clear and prominent.

SCBI 23, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD, III: COINS OF HENRY VII – COMMENTS, CORRECTIONS AND ADDITION

BENTE WITHERS

A recent visit to the Ashmolean Museum to examine in detail the small change of the Edward IV – Commonwealth period brought to light several coins requiring comment.

Canterbury, not London ?

Among the coins listed as London, Class IIa (double-arched crown, saltires at neck, no initial mark), one coin, Sylloge no. 498, does in fact have an initial mark: the same mark as is found on Sylloge no. 632, this being Archbishop Morton's mark 'eye'. The reverse of the latter also bears a mark of the Archbishop, an 'm' in the centre of the cross.

The two coins are from different obverse dies, but no. 498 is from the same obverse die as a coin in the Shuttlewood collection, (Spink sale no. 151, 15 March 2001, lot 67), described in the sale catalogue as being a Canterbury/London mule. Very little reverse legend is visible on either coin; the Shuttlewood coin shows at most the bottom half of some letters, the Ashmolean specimen has only TAS and, perhaps, a C in the next quarter.¹



Fig. 1. R. Grayburn, ex Shuttlewood 67.



Fig. 2. Sylloge 498.

¹ The coins described in this note are all illustrated at 1:1 and at 4:1.

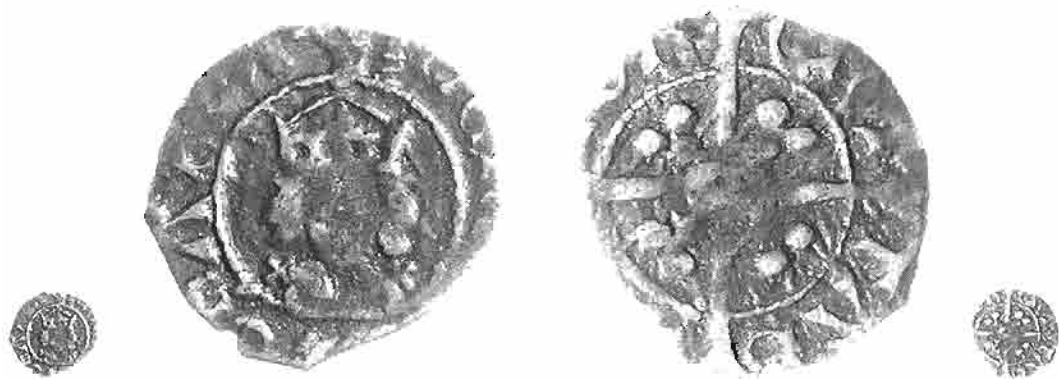


Fig. 3. Sylloge 632.

Henry VIII, not Henry VII

Coins nos 520 and 521 on Sylloge plate XXXII were originally the property of the Bodleian Library, but were transferred to the museum in 1920. These two halfpennies are misidentified as being type IIIc, (3) and (4)? of Henry VII, when they are in fact both coins of the second coinage of Henry VIII. This is immediately apparent from the reverses which have Roman Ns in LONDON and plain crosses rather than the cross fourchée of the previous issues, clearly visible on the printed plates, even without magnification. The obverse legends are not so easily legible, but on examination of the coins themselves, they do end in SPLA on both coins.

Coin 520 is in rather poor condition, but coin 521 has most of the legend clearly visible: i.m. arrow, h x D x G x RO[- - - - -]PIA].

It is a shame that it has never been the practice to quote coin legends in the text of the Sylloge, or these coins would undoubtedly have been correctly identified at the time of cataloguing.

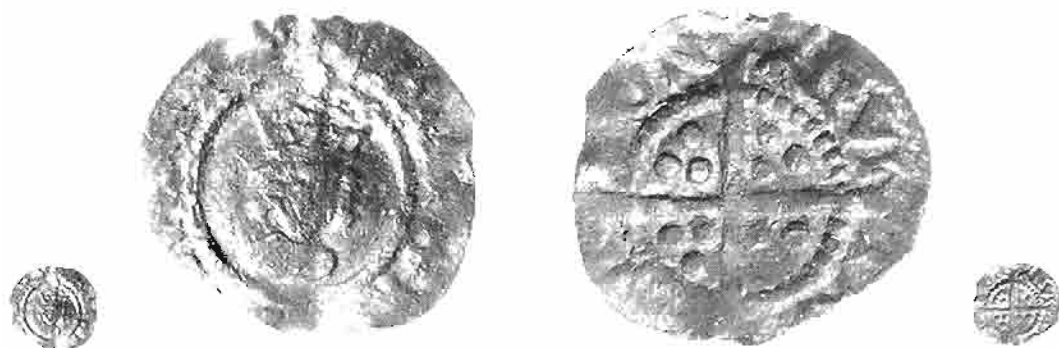


Fig. 4. Sylloge 520.



Fig. 5. Sylloge 521.

Not included

Also in the collection, with a label stating 'Omit' (from Sylloge), is a farthing of Henry VII, which although in poor condition is identifiable, and surely of sufficient rarity to justify its inclusion. It was in the collection of E.J. Winstanley, and, before that, of L.A. Lawrence.

Obv. No initial mark. Single-arched crown. HENRIC DI G[RA REX]

Rev. Cross fourchée. CIVITAS LONDON

0.125 g.

S.2250; North 1739; Potter and Winstanley, 'The Coinage of Henry VII', *BNJ* 31 (1962), at p. 122, Pl. xi, 44, this coin.

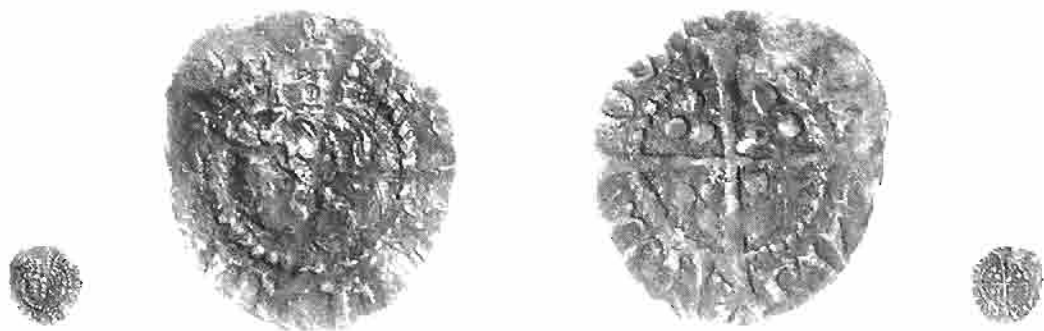


Fig. 6. Henry VII farthing

PROPOSED UNION WITH SCOTLAND, 1604

MICHAEL SHARP

DURING the year after his accession to the throne of England, James I sought to bring about the union of the two kingdoms he ruled. Commissioners were appointed from the parliaments of both countries and their first meeting was held in London on 15 October 1604. Meetings continued into December but nothing was resolved and the proposal dropped. The only development arising from it was that the King assumed the title 'King of Great Britain' on 20 October. The necessary changes to the obverse legend of his coinage were duly made with the introduction of his second coinage.

His first coinage, to which there was no Scottish counterpart, recorded the titles 'Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae' and his second 'Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae'. The second coinage also bore some appropriate reverse legends – 'This is the Lord's doing and is marvellous in our eyes', 'Henry (VII united) the roses, James the Kingdoms' and 'May God guard these united'.



CRAFTER: A MONEYER'S INITIAL



STEWARTBY: EDWARD BOAR'S HEAD HALFPENCE



SHARP: PROPOSED UNION WITH SCOTLAND

Given this background, it seems sensible to suggest that the copper BEATI PACIFICI medal (Lingford part II, lot 1311; Pl. 13, 5–6), the reverse of which shows a halved thistle and rose, and the three uniface copper pieces of different size depicting crowned rose and thistle entwined (Lingford lots 1312–4; Pl. 13, 7–9) also relate. Like a number of other items, such as the admission tickets for the Touching Ceremonies of Charles II and the promotional silver medalets of William and Mary, they were once regarded as patterns, but without reasoned argument. I consider it unlikely that these relate to the eventual Act of Union of 1 May 1707, for which there is well-known and abundant medallic evidence of a clearly later style.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COPPER HOARDS FROM SCOTLAND

J.D. BATESON

Two new small hoards of seventeenth-century Scottish copper coins have recently been recovered from the East of Scotland. The earlier, containing coins of the 1630s, was found at St Combs in Aberdeenshire, while the second, of later coins, comes from Aethelstaneford, East Lothian. They provide further evidence of the importance of copper specie in Scotland during the seventeenth century.¹

St Combs, Aberdeenshire, 2002

This find was made by a detectorist in March 2002, just to the south of the small fishing village of St Combs, which lies less than five miles south-east of Fraserburgh on the Aberdeenshire coast. A short stretch of coastal path follows the beach south of Inzie Head and the discovery was made just on the landward side of the fence bordering the path. No trace of a container was found. Although there are several remains from various periods in the vicinity, the hoard was not associated with any of these. However, it may be noted that the OS map marks a 'Cist Urn & Coins found' immediately to the north of the hoard's find-spot, but the earlier find is not readily identifiable with any recorded hoard or coin group.

The find consists of thirty-five copper turners, or twopences Scots, issued by Charles I during the 1630s, and a single Dutch *duit* of 1629. The second copper issue of Charles I for Scotland was struck from February 1632 until October 1639 and is arranged according to the four types of crown used on the obverse, with further subdivision into forty-two varieties.² The catalogue below follows Stevenson's arrangement and lists his variety number and initial marks where it is possible to do so. This, however, can be done for only ten out of the thirty-five specimens present. This is due not so much to wear, which generally may be described as 'slightly worn' to mainly 'fairly worn', but rather to corrosion, most displaying some degree of surface corrosion and in some cases retaining no detail at all. Die axes are, with two exceptions, to the four cardinal points, the majority being 180. Weights are given in grams and grains, although these will have been affected by the corrosion.

The identifiable crowns therefore represent only crowns 2 and 3. The seeming absence of coins with crown 1 is unusual, for these do not appear to be rare. They occurred alongside crowns 2 and 3

¹ I am grateful to Nick Holmes of the National Museums of Scotland and Jenny Shiels of the Treasure Trove Advisory Panel Secretariat, NMS, for making the two hoards available for study and providing relevant information on the finding. The St Combs hoard was discovered by Mr G. Innes and the Aethelstaneford hoard by Mr I. Kinloch. Both finds were declared Treasure Trove and have been allocated to Aberdeenshire Heritage and East Lothian Museums Service respectively.

² R.B.K. Stevenson, 'The "Stirling" turners of Charles I, 1632–9', *BNJ* 29 (1959), 128–51. These are sometimes referred to as 'Stirling' turners, since the profit of the coinage was assigned to Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, subsequently Viscount and Earl of Stirling, to compensate him for losses sustained in the abandonment of the colony of Nova Scotia.

LIST OF COINS

Scotland: Charles I copper turners, 1630s issues

Crown 2

- 1 Stevenson ?11, lozenge / ?lozenge, 0.68 (10.5)
2–3 Stevenson 16, lozenge / rose, 0.63 (9.7); 0.57 (8.8)

Crown 3

- 4 Stevenson 19, anenome / anenome, 0.68 (10.5), R crosses inner circle
5 Stevenson ?19, – / anemone, 0.65 (10.0)
6 Stevenson 20, lozenge / anemone, 0.41 (6.3)

Crown 2 recommenced

- 7 Stevenson 33, lozenge / lozenge, 0.71 (11.0), trefoils under CR
8–10 Stevenson 39, saltire with pellet above / saltire with pellet above, 0.91 (14.1); 0.62 (9.6); 0.59 (9.1)

Stevenson reference uncertain

Crown 2 – legible initial marks

- 11 lozenge / lozenge, 0.55 (8.5)
12 ?lozenge / ?lozenge, 0.48 (7.4)
13 lozenge / –, 0.85 (13.1)
14 – / lozenge, 0.62 (9.6)
15 lozenge / –, 0.73 (11.3)
16 – / lozenge, 0.53 (8.2), bent

Crown 2 – initial marks uncertain

- 17–22 1.11 (17.1); 0.77 (11.9), chipped; 0.67 (10.3); 0.62 (9.6); 0.58 (9.0); 0.51 (7.9)

Uncertain crown

- 23 lozenge / –, 0.58 (9.0), dots sides CR
24 – / lozenge, 0.93 (14.4)
25 – / ?anenome, 0.91 (14.1)
26 – / anenome, 0.55 (8.5)

Uncertain crown and initial marks

- 27–32 0.77 (11.9); 0.70 (10.8); 0.66 (10.2); 0.61 (9.4); 0.51 (7.9); 0.51 (7.9)

Counterfeits

- 33 crown ?2, lozenge / –, 0.80 (12.40), crown and thistle odd
34 crown ?2, im – / –, 0.75 (11.6), crown and CR odd
35 crown 2, im – / –, 0.52 (8.0), crude crown and general odd appearance, beaded inner circle reverse

United Netherlands, Overijssel

- 36 copper *duit*, 1629, 1.35 (20.9)

in the Toward Castle and Capanagh hoards and with crowns 2, 3 and 4 in the Pow hoard.³ The striking of the coins with crown 4 was attributed to 1637–9, and its absence in the St Combs find appears to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the deposition of this hoard which may therefore be suggested as being about 1636.

Three of the thirty-five turners in the hoard may be regarded as forgeries on account of their poor style. This may be compared with a similar number of forged pieces among the 127 1630s turners contained in the Pow hoard. Despite the huge numbers of official turners struck, counterfeiting was a major problem throughout most of the 1630s and was continually addressed by the government in Edinburgh.⁴ Likewise it was concerned by the import and use of large numbers of Dutch *duits*, French *doubles tournois* and English farthings. This, too, is reflected by the inclusion of a *duit* of Overijssel struck in 1629 and in fairly worn condition. Two unspecified Dutch *duits* were included in the hoard found on Brimmond Hill near Aberdeen and mainly composed of 1630s turners.⁵

³ J.D. Bateson, 'Three Hoards of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries from the West of Scotland', *NC* 153 (1993), 153–69, Toward Castle at pp. 157–60; W.A. Seaby, 'Five Seventeenth-Century Hoards from Ulster', *BNJ* 30 (1960–61), 331–43, Capanagh at pp. 335–7; R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Pow, Stromness, Orkney (Charles I)', *PSAS* 89 (1955–60) 113–17. Although the Capanagh hoard was found in County Antrim, it was seen as basically a Scottish hoard lost by a Scots planter in Ulster (Seaby, as above, p. 335).

⁴ Stevenson, as in n.1, pp. 134–5.

⁵ J. Cruickshank, 'Brimmond treasure trove', *PSAS* 77 (1942–3), 191–2.

If the *duit* was regarded as passing at the same value as a turner then the hoard would comprise thirty-six such pieces, which at twopence each, would amount to seventy-two pence or six shillings Scots, equal to sixpence Sterling. Stevenson quotes a contemporary source which says that for ease of receipt these turners were put into many little bags.⁶ It might be that the St Combs find represents the accidental loss of such a small packet containing the equivalent of six shillings. This might be thought to be too round a sum to be the contents of a complete purse hoard. The quotation just noted goes on to say that 'the ruder sorte of people' were enticed to change their silver coin for a small gain in the number of turners given and such a person might have considered it worthwhile to treat even such a small sum as a normal hoard. The Toward Castle hoard, seemingly hidden in the roof of the hall, was also small, consisting of only thirty-three turners.

Returning again to the quotation, it states that 'For some tyme no money was to be seen almost but Turners . . .' and the St Combs hoard, along with the others noted, provides ample evidence of such a situation in the currency of Scotland in the 1630s.

Athelstaneford, East Lothian, 2001

This small hoard of twenty-one mostly late seventeenth-century copper coins was found in front of Gilmerton House, Athelstaneford, East Lothian in December 2001. They were discovered lying in a stack along with a few scraps of what appears to be leather, suggesting perhaps a leather purse. Sixteen of the coins – and probably two of the uncertain specimens – are Scottish. These consist of eleven – plus probably the two uncertain – turners or bodles (twopence Scots) and five bawbees (sixpence Scots), all of Charles II and struck between 1663 and 1679. There are also two French *doubles tournois* of 1638 and 1642–3 which are basically similar to the turners. The final coin is entirely illegible. All suffer to some degree from corrosion and in terms of wear range from fairly worn to worn.

LIST OF COINS

Scotland: Charles II

turner issue 1663–9

1–9 2.65 (40.9); 2.29 (35.4); 2.21 (34.1); 1.77 (27.3); 1.73 (26.7); 1.60 (24.7); 1.52 (23.5); 1.43 (22.1); 1.32 (20.4)

copper issue 1677–9

turner/bodle

10 1679 2.02 (31.1)

11 uncertain 2.41 (37.2)

bawbee

12 1678 6.99 (107.9)

13–16 uncertain 7.15 (110.4); 6.79 (104.8); 6.60 (101.9); 5.88 (90.8)

France: Louis XIII

doubles tournois

17 1638 Bordeaux 3.26 (50.3)

18 164– (1642–3) 1.26 (19.5)

Uncertain

19–20 Probably 1663 issue turners as nos 1–9; no. 19 has a small 'bite' missing from the edge, a typical flaw from the flan-cutting process. 2.36 (36.4), 20 mm; 0.98 (15.1), 19 mm

21 1.86 (28.7), 21 mm

The latest coins in the hoard are the bodles and bawbees of 1677–9, one of the bodles still having a legible date of 1679. The two bodles are fairly worn and the five bawbees may be described as worn. This would indicate circulation at least to 1690 and possibly into the early 1690s. However in the absence of any copper coins of William and Mary, issued 1691–4, and William alone, issued 1695–7, which are not uncommon, the date of deposit is likely to be before 1695.

⁶ Stevenson, as in n.1, pp. 135–6.

This new discovery would appear to represent the accidental loss of a small purse of coins and is not dissimilar in size and issues to a small group of purse hoards deposited at the very end of the seventeenth century. Nineteen bawbees struck between 1677 and 1694 were found in 1921 on a body discovered in a peat bog at Barrock, near Wick, Caithness, while a mixture of three bawbees and three bodles from 1677 to 1697, along with a single *double tournois*, were recovered from a garden in Tranent, East Lothian, in 1967.⁷ Another hoard, from Lewis, may also be noted although its deposit has been dated to the latter part of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.⁸ It is a small purse hoard found with one of eleven skeletons, probably the remains of shipwrecked sailors. It contained thirteen bawbees of 1677–9 and an Irish halfpenny of 1681, along with two earlier Dutch *double stuivers* and a *thaler* of 1609 struck for Rudolf II of Austria. However, given the absence of the copper issues of the 1690s, it may be preferable to bring the deposit of the Lewis find back to the early 1690s.

The other two finds, Barrock and Tranent, are probably somewhat later than this, but all four are good examples of the continuing importance and widespread use of copper coin in Scotland at that period.

THE 'DUNKIRK' HALFPENNY

D.W. DYKES



Fig. 1. The Dunkirk Factory and mill pond from the south west in 1979
(© Crown copyright, NMR).

⁷ R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Two Scottish Seventeenth-Century Coin Hoards', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 136–44, and 'Tranent Coin Hoard', *Discovery & Excavation in Scotland* 1967, 25–6.

⁸ N. Holmes, 'The Coins', in R. McCullagh and F. McCormick, 'The excavation of post-medieval burials from Braigh, Aignish, Lewis, 1989', *PSAS* 25 (1991), 73–88, at pp. 81–84.

ALMOST half a century ago the late Arthur Griffin contributed to the *Journal* a short paper on the eighteenth-century tokens issued in the name of the Dunkirk Factory in Somerset (D&H: Somerset 107–109).¹ At the time serious interest in such pieces was at a comparatively low ebb: nothing on the series had appeared in the *Journal* for close on thirty years and little of significance in the more worthy trade periodicals apart from Arthur W. Waters's 'Notes on Dalton's and Hamer's *Provincial Token-Coinage of the Eighteenth Century*' published as recently as 1952–1953.² Waters's articles were something of a spur to Griffin – as they were to many others – for he was always as much concerned with the social and historical context of the tokens as with their fine numismatic detail. In this he followed in the footsteps of his fellow townsman, Sydney Sydenham (1860–1913), who, at the turn of the century, had amassed the country's most extensive collection of archival ephemera relating to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tokens.³ Although he never neglected the importance of a close study of the actual pieces themselves, Griffin's main interest, as he put it in his paper, was to ensure that information about 'the token issuers, their lives and businesses' should be preserved 'while old records are still available and while old buildings still exist; otherwise many of the tokens which are at present something of a mystery will no doubt remain so'.⁴

Knowing that worn specimens of the 'Dunkirk' halfpennies were occasionally found in the vicinity of Bath, he established that the Dunkirk Factory had been a woollen mill still existing as a picturesque ivy-clad ruin at Sharpstone in the Somerset parish of Freshford, four miles south east of the city on the border with Wiltshire and three miles west of Bradford-on-Avon (ST 785 595).⁵ But when Griffin wrote his piece industrial archaeology was in its infancy and such records of commercial undertakings as were accessible in public archives were very limited. With the information available to him at the time, he could thus say little about the history of the mill or throw as much light as he would have wished on the issuers of the mill token, designated only by the monogram *DM & S* on its reverse. Reading somewhat more than was justified into the one published source at his disposal – the Rev. Percival Goodrich's history of the parish – Griffin conjectured that the 'DM' of the monogram, by association, represented Paul Methuen (1779–1849; 1st Baron Methuen 1838), a descendant of the Paul Methuen, a Bradford clothier, who had founded the family's fortunes in the seventeenth century,⁶ and, rather more positively, that the 'S' stood for a local clothier, John Joyce (1748–1804). In neither instance, though, was he able to offer any concrete evidence to link the two men to the Dunkirk Factory.⁷

The purpose of this note is to re-examine Griffin's notions about the monogram and the management of the Dunkirk Factory in the light of what we now know of the contemporary West

Acknowledgements: I am indebted to Dr Alan Dodge, the historian of Freshford, for his kindness in readily providing me with information about Dunkirk past and present and for drawing my attention to the view of the Dunkirk Factory in Fig. 1. My thanks are also due to Dr Dodge and to Michael Dickinson for their comments on an earlier draft of this note.

Abbreviations: D&H – R. Dalton and S.H. Hamer, *The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century* ([Bristol], privately printed in 14 parts 1910–18).

¹ 'The "Dunkirk" Tokens', *BNJ* 28 (1955–57), 171–74. Arthur Charles Griffin (1919–1983), a civil servant based in Bath, was an authority on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tokens of his adopted city and its surrounding area. His knowledge of Bath was aptly demonstrated in his refutation of some characteristically ill-founded pronouncements by J.R. Farnell, *SCMB*, March 1958, 107–108; November 1958, 494–95; and June 1959, 214–15. He was for many years the secretary of the Bath and Bristol Numismatic Society and a prominent supporter of BANS, of which he was Librarian from 1962 to 1974.

² Waters's 'Notes', serially published in *SCMB* between January 1952 and October 1953, were reprinted as *Notes on Eighteenth Century Tokens* (London, 1954). Mention should be made of C.W. Peck's overview, 'Eighteenth Century Tradesmen's Tokens' *SCMB*, September 1947, 344–48; and W.H. Chaloner, 'New Light on John Wilkinson's Token Coinage' *SCMB*, July 1948, 306–308.

³ City of Bath Reference Library.

⁴ Griffin, as in n.1, p. 171.

⁵ Griffin seems to have been unaware that James Atkins in his *Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892), p. 179, had already identified Dunkirk as a Freshford factory. Atkins had doubtless taken account of a note by Richard Thomas Samuel in the *Bazaar, Exchange and Mart*, 31 January 1883, p. 122, where the latter, on the authority of unnamed correspondents, had also attributed the issue to 'Moggeridge (sic) and Joyce': see also n. 21 below. Bradford-on-Avon did not acquire its distinguishing suffix until 1865 and in this paper is henceforward referred to as 'Bradford'.

⁶ Paul Methuen (c.1614–1667), according to John Aubrey (*The Natural History of Wiltshire* (London, 1847), Part ii, p. 113) 'the greatest clothier of his time', and an issuer of seventeenth-century farthings in Bradford: *SCBI*, 49, Norweb Tokens Part VI, no. 5422.

⁷ Griffin, as in n.1, p. 173.

of England woollen industry.⁸ It is unhappily apparent that neither of his suppositions was a valid one. While the Methuens still owned considerable property in the Freshford area, they had made the transition from trade to 'county family' years before and had long given up any direct involvement in the industry that had brought them wealth.⁹ Griffin was nearer the mark with John Joyce but, again, while the latter was certainly a respectable Freshford clothier at the time, he had no personal connection with Dunkirk either; nor was he the Joyce whom Griffin identified as giving evidence before a Parliamentary select committee in 1803.¹⁰

This Joyce was in fact John's younger and more successful brother, Thomas Joyce (1759–1817).¹¹ We know little about Thomas Joyce's early life except that at some point he left Freshford to seek his fortune elsewhere and that, having married the daughter of a Calne clothier in 1781, he had soon gathered together enough capital to set himself up in the clothing trade in the Bradford area.¹² By 1790 he was beginning to emerge as a significant figure in the industry locally, and in that year he became the working tenant of a fulling mill owned by the leading Bradford cloth-making family of Yerbury at Avoncliff, a mile to the east of Freshford. Joyce was a determined innovator, sought out for advice on technical matters – experimenting, for example, with English-bred merino yarn – and an entrepreneur at the forefront of the mechanisation of the West of England woollen industry. In partnership with John Moggridge, a Yerbury son-in-law, he quickly developed the range of cloth-making processes at Avoncliff mill, installing water-driven scribbling and carding machinery that is thought to have been the first of its kind in the area.¹³ Spinning and weaving, the latter still – and for many years to come – mostly done as a handloom operation in the weavers' own homes, were processes not undertaken in the factory at this stage of its development. Thus on the opposite bank of the Avon the partners built an extensive complex of seventeen cottages in what seems to have been a traditional domestic mix of living accommodation, spinning rooms and upper-storey weaving shops.¹⁴

In these years, too, he and Moggridge were developing workshops and a dye house on the latter's property at the Bullpit in Bradford. At the same time Joyce was extending his interests elsewhere and in 1791, again in partnership with Moggridge, he turned his attention to Freshford, leasing the land at Sharpstone on which the firm was to erect the Dunkirk mill as a purpose-built manufactory intended predominantly for the mechanical spinning of yarn.¹⁵ The new factory had

⁸ See, in particular, J. de L. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England from 1640 to 1880* (Oxford, 1971); K.G. Ponting, *The Woollen Industry of South-West England* (Bath, 1971); K.G. Ponting, 'The Structure of the Wiltshire-Somerset Border Woollen Industry, 1816–40' in N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (editors), *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester, 1973); and K.H. Rogers, *Wiltshire and Somerset Woollen Mills* (Edington, 1976).

⁹ Goodrich simply said that 'Wealthy were the clothiers who resided at Freshford. The names of Methuen and Joyce are noted in our history. Each of them, of course, was intimately associated with the production of cloth': P.J. Goodrich, *Freshford. A Study* (Oxford, 1929), p. 88. The last of the clothier Methuens was Thomas (d. 1737) whose son Paul (1723–95) bought Corsham Court in 1745 and settled there as a landed gentleman. The Methuens did own Freshford Mill until 1794, but tenants had worked it since the 1730s. In any case the future Lord Methuen would have been only sixteen at the time of the issue of the tokens.

¹⁰ Griffin, as in n.1, p. 171. Cf. *British Parliamentary Papers, Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the Woollen Clothiers' Petition* (H. C. 95), 1802/3, Vol. 7. John Joyce worked out of Ivy House (now Hill House), Freshford where he had workshops, dye houses and a shearing shop.

¹¹ For the Joyces, a family long settled in Freshford, rising from artisan weavers and scribblers to the status of small clothier in the previous generation, see Alan Dodge, *Freshford: The History of a Somerset Village* (Bath, 2000), pp. 107–30.

¹² Joyce married Frances Heath, the daughter of Ralph Heath of Calne, at Calstone Wellington on 11 December 1781: Marriage Licence Bond and Parish Register entry – Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office.

¹³ Dodge, as in n.11, p. 109; D.A. Crowley (editor), *Victoria County History of Wiltshire*, Vol. XI (Oxford, 1980), p. 231. In December 1791 an inquest was held on a twelve year old hand at the mill 'who with many others younger as well as older was employed ... in managing and working the late improved machines and engines for cloth making'. 'Inadvertently in his playtime' he was caught up in the machinery and 'whirled round with great force, his body bruised, his limbs shattered and beaten off, so that he was instantly dead': quoted in Rogers, as in n.8, p. 164.

¹⁴ Crowley, as in n.13, p. 231; Dodge, as in n.11, p. 110. With the collapse of hand-loom weaving the cottages were adapted as the Bradford Union Workhouse in 1836 and subsequently passed through a number of uses as a First World War convalescent home, a hotel and flats, until they were finally reconstructed as a residential close of houses – Ancliff Square – in the late 1980s.

¹⁵ Griffin (as in n.1, p. 173) suggested that the name 'Dunkirk' was derived from the Flemish weavers the original Paul Methuen had imported into the area in the seventeenth century. As Dodge (as in n.11, p. 13) has pointed out, however, the name is more likely and more prosaically to have been a euphemistic adaptation of the 'Dung Cart House' that previously occupied the site of the factory. An element of 'historical justification' may, of course, have prompted the adoption of the more acceptable new name.

presumably been completed by 1795, the declared date of the halfpenny which quite faithfully depicts the main five-storey building. Nine bays wide and constructed of rubble stone with free-stone quoins and windows of standard design, the factory was operated by a single thirty-two foot water wheel contained within the structure and fed from an adjacent millpond created from the flow of a small stream.¹⁶

Thomas Joyce's partnership with the Moggridge family lasted until 1807. Joyce then worked Dunkirk in partnership with Edward Cooper, another Bradford clothier, and in 1810 installed a Boulton and Watt steam engine to augment the head of water from the small millstream that during dry seasons must frequently have proved inadequate to drive the machinery. Three years later, when the opportunity arose to acquire a plant more in keeping with its business needs, the partnership bought for £14,000 the Staverton Factory, said to have been 'the most complete in the West of England'.¹⁷ Dunkirk was sold and under a variety of subsequent owners and tenants it survived the increasing vicissitudes of the declining west-country woollen industry for a further forty years until 1856, when it was converted into a flock mill. Shortly before the First World War Dunkirk was finally abandoned as an industrial concern and was allowed to decay into the spectacular ivy-clad ruin it remained until the 1980s, when it was given a new lease of life as an imaginative three-storey residential conversion.¹⁸

The rapid mechanisation of the West of England woollen industry in the 1790s created a rush for suitable water-powered factory sites, and Joyce had probably decided to embark on the development of Dunkirk, inadequate though its stream undoubtedly was, because at the time he had been unable to lease Freshford Mill, the existing large mill in the village. By 1807 he had at last acquired that tenancy, however, and had set about converting the mill into another manufactory.¹⁹ At about the same time he had purchased most of the Methuen village estate for some £13,500 and, thus, with the two large Freshford factories, had established himself as the parish's leading landowner and employer. But by then Joyce had already achieved a position of some prominence in both county circles and the cloth trade. In 1803 he had been sufficiently accepted socially to be appointed a deputy lieutenant for Somerset and, in his industry, to have become a key member of the group of larger west-country clothiers petitioning Parliament for the repeal of the Tudor statutes that restricted the mechanisation of the woollen industry.²⁰

Dunkirk stood at the very dawn of this mechanisation and of the factory age to which it gave rise. Its halfpenny provides us with a contemporary glimpse of this new world and celebrates, in its severe and unsentimental imagery, the contribution that Moggridge and Joyce – the 'M & J' of the reverse monogram – made to the beginnings of the industrial revolution.²¹ Bearing in mind Joyce's apparent dynamism and his growing success the precedence of the 'M' may seem odd but it probably reflected Moggridge's already established position in the cloth industry (there was after all an age discrepancy of nearly forty years between the two men), the social divide between a 'gentleman clothier' and a 'working clothier', and the likelihood that the wealthier Moggridge was bankrolling their joint operations.²²

¹⁶ Ponting (1973), as in n.8, pp. 185–6; Rogers, as in n.8, pp. 194–5. The lease of the mill at Avoncliff appears to have been surrendered to the Yerburys after the completion of Dunkirk, but Moggridge and Joyce retained the complex of cottages.

¹⁷ Staverton, of course, under its previous owner, John Jones, had issued half crown and penny tokens in 1811.

¹⁸ Rogers, as in n.8, p. 195; Dodge, as in n.11, p. 260; Bryan Little, 'Blood, Sweat and Tears at Dunkirk Mill', *Gloucestershire and Avon Life*, January 1983, [38–9].

¹⁹ Rogers, as in n.8, p. 196; Ponting (1973), as in n.8, p. 184, states, on the earlier authority of Rogers, that Joyce bought Freshford Mill for £12,000 in 1807.

²⁰ And were perceived, in particular, as protecting the old handicraft methods of the cloth-dressers, who reacted violently against the new developments at this time. On the industrial violence of the 1790s and 1800s see Adrian Randall, *Before the Luddites: Custom, Community and Machinery in the English Woollen Industry, 1776–1809* (Cambridge, 1991).

²¹ R.C. Bell in his *Commercial Coins 1787–1804* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1963), pp. 158–9, following Samuel (as in n.5), attributes the monogram, without comment, to Moggridge (*sic*) and Joyce, an attribution to which Griffin was never reconciled: *SNC*, February 1967, 42.

²² A 'William Moggridge, Esq.' – almost certainly a mistake for 'John' – is listed as a freeholder among the Bradford 'Gentry' in the *Universal British Directory* (Vol. II, London, 1793–98).

Nevertheless, John Moggridge (c.1720–1803) comes down to us as a much more elusive figure than Joyce.²³ He came originally from Topsham in Devon, but when he married Ann Yerbury at Bradford in 1763 he was said to have been resident in the London parish of St Dionis Backchurch.²⁴ His presence in London may be explained by some family association with the Cam family of Dymock in Gloucestershire that in turn may have led to a contact with Samuel Cam, a rich Bradford clothier who maintained a warehouse in London in the late 1750s, and subsequently brought him into the industry in Bradford.²⁵ This is speculative, but by 1767 Moggridge had leased the Red Lion Inn in Church Street, Bradford, with its nearby bull pit. It seems likely that in the early 1780s, as a partner in the clothiers Hart, Moggridge and Company, he was operating workshops in Church Street where a member of the Hart family is known to have had a mill in the second decade of the nineteenth century.²⁶ In 1794 Moggridge bought the freehold of the property by which time, as we have seen, he was in partnership with Thomas Joyce at Avoncliff and was also operating a dye house near the Bullpit site, which they proceeded to develop into a factory.²⁷

In 1790, however, Moggridge had inherited the lordship of the manor of Dymock in Gloucestershire and much of its associated estate from Ann, the last of the Cams.²⁸ It is not known when Moggridge moved to Gloucestershire and gave up his active involvement in the cloth trade, but he was certainly resident there at the time of his death in 1803. At some point, possibly in the 1790s,²⁹ he transferred his clothing interests to his son John Hodder Moggridge (1771–1834), who remained in Bradford until he disposed of them all in 1807 to retire to Gloucestershire himself to enjoy the life of a country gentleman on the wealth he was said to have accumulated by ‘spinning English broadcloth’.³⁰ He was High Sheriff of the county in 1809 but very soon afterwards moved to the Sirhowy valley in Monmouthshire, where he had industrial and banking interests.³¹ In politics a ‘Reform’ Whig he unsuccessfully contested the Monmouth boroughs in 1820 but, if he is now remembered at all, it is as the paternalistic founder of the then model village of Blackwood.³²

The Dunkirk token – measuring 29 mm and weighing, on average, a not uncreditable 9.5 g – was struck in three distinct types, the obverse of each bearing a suspended fleece above the monogram ‘M & S’ with the surrounding legend ‘SUCCESS TO THE STAPLE OF ENGLAND’, and the reverse a view of the factory with designation and date ‘1795’. According to Charles Pye, in the 1801 (quarto) edition of his *Provincial Coins and Tokens*, the halfpenny was struck by the Birmingham token manufacturer William Lutwyche (1754–c.1801) from dies sunk by the young engraver Francis Arnold (c.1772–1829), who was also responsible for most of Lutwyche’s Bath

²³ Not made less opaque by the family’s tendency to spell its name ‘Maugridge’ into the 1790s and Moggridge’s proclivity to move about the country.

²⁴ Bradford Parish Register, Marriages, 5 April 1763; Vicar General’s Licence, 31 March 1763; Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office.

²⁵ Two generations of the Cams of Dymock are recorded as ‘citizens of London’ in the eighteenth century but I have been unable as yet to establish a direct link between Samuel Cam and that family. Cf. J.E. Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock down the Ages* ([Dymock], 1966), p. 98.

²⁶ The firm of Hart, Moggridge and Co. is described as Bradford clothiers in *Bailey’s Western & Midland Directory for . . . 1783* where a William Hart is recorded as a mercer and draper. A Samuel Hart operated a mill in Church Street between c.1808 and c.1820.

²⁷ It is so described in 1807 when John Moggridge’s son, John Hodder Moggridge, disposed of it: Rogers, as in n.8, p. 157.

²⁸ Ann Cam’s considerable residual estate was divided between John Thackwell of Berrow, Gloucestershire, and John Moggridge. Thackwell was a distant relation of the Cams and it is reasonable to assume that Moggridge was one too: Gethyn-Jones, as in n.25, p. 30.

²⁹ Moggridge’s daughter was married at Dymock in November 1794, which might suggest that he was living permanently in Gloucestershire at that time. If so his west country interests could well have been handed over to his son about this time in which event the ‘M’ of the token could, of course, refer to John Hodder Moggridge.

³⁰ David Williams, *John Frost, A Study in Chartism* (Cardiff, 1939), p. 31.

³¹ Moggridge was a partner in the Monmouth Bank of the ironmaster Samuel Homfray with an interest in the latter’s Tredegar Iron Company (issuer of the TIC penny tokens of 1812). It could be John Hodder Moggridge who was referred to in 1799 as the ‘Welch Goate’ in a threatening letter from Wiltshire shearmen antagonistic to technical change and fearing consequent unemployment: ‘. . . as for the devel Joice the marder an the Welch Goate we will burn them both . . .’, quoted in Randall, as in n.20, p. 154.

³² Williams, as in n.30, *passim*; Brian Ll. James, ‘John Hodder Moggridge and the founding of Blackwood’, *Presenting Monmouthshire. The Journal of the Monmouthshire Local History Council*, no. 25 (Vol. II, no. 5, Spring 1968), 25–29; Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision* (London, 1975), p. 82. Moggridge was an uncompromising opponent of ‘truck’ which he castigated as ‘repugnant alike to every sentiment of equity and humanity’: *The Cambrian*, 25 July 1817.

commissions.³³ Arnold having botched his initial reverse die (D&H: Somerset 107 – Fig. 2) by spelling ‘DUNKIRK’ as ‘DUNKIKRE’, the issue was withdrawn. Thomas Sharp, who rated it as ‘R.r.’, said that because of the misspelling only a few proofs were struck,³⁴ but this was not before Lutwyche had ensured that sufficient specimens of the erroneous halfpenny, on flans with a variety of edges, were made available for the collectors’ market. Today, the substantive issue (milled to the left |||||) is perhaps not as exceptional as Sharp was led to believe although the edge varieties are certainly extremely rare.³⁵



Fig. 2. D&H: Somerset 107. The obverse die is distinguishable by the flourishes to the ‘K’ and the leaf sprig after the ‘S’.

This was replaced by a new issue retaining the original obverse but with a freshly engraved reverse die with the view of the factory modified, the name of the factory corrected and that of the county (‘SOM’) added (D&H: Somerset 108 – Fig. 3). The flans are either milled to the right ||||| or plain-edged.



Fig. 3. D&H: Somerset 108. That the reverse is struck from a new and not a reworked die is made clear by the different treatment of the factory building, especially at its left side, base and doorway.

These first two issues were, one imagines, struck in the summer and winter of 1795–6. No reference is made to either in Pye’s *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the Years 1787 and 1796*, the final plates of which were published in Birmingham on 1 August 1795. Thomas Spence, though, does list the first issue – under ‘DUNKIRKE’ – in the *Supplement* (p. iii) to his *Coin Collector’s Companion* (London, 1795) which Miss Banks bought on 14 August 1795. The substantive milled versions of both issues are listed in Samuel Birchall’s *Descriptive List* published towards the beginning of 1796 – Miss Banks acquired her copy on 1 March 1796 – and engraved in one of the plates of Denton and Prattent’s *Virtuoso’s Companion* for 28 April 1796.³⁶

The second issue is as scarce as its predecessor – even Sir George Chetwynd did not have a specimen – and the plain-edged version is an even more elusive variety of the type. Pye,

³³ *Provincial Coins and Tokens issued from the Year 1787 to the Year 1801*, engraved by Charles Pye, Birmingham (Birmingham, 1801), p. 10 (plate 17), nos. 5 and 6. Arnold succeeded William Mainwaring as Lutwyche’s main die-sinker on Mainwaring’s death in 1794.

³⁴ Thomas Sharp, *A Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens, Tickets, and Medulets issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* . . . in the Collection of Sir George Chetwynd . . . (London, 1834), p. 82; Pye, as in n.33, describes this version of the halfpenny as rare, only a few impressions having been struck.

³⁵ See D&H, p. 238, for these various edges although they ultimately admitted (p. 557) that ‘Somerset 107a’ and ‘Somerset 107b’ could not be traced. The only edge variety of which Atkins (as in n.5) was aware was ‘Somerset 108a’ (Atkins 94a).

³⁶ Samuel Birchall, *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the Years 1786 and 1796* (Leeds, 1796), p. 25, nos. 21 and 22; [Matthew Denton and Thomas Prattent], *The Virtuoso’s Companion and Coin Collector’s Guide* (8 vols; London, 1795–97), Vol. 3, p. 84. Miss Banks’s date of acquisition of Spence’s *Supplement* and ‘Birchall’ is inscribed on the flyleaves of her copies in the Royal Mint Library.

presumably on the authority of Lutwyche whom he credits as one of his informants, says that five cwt. of the issue – identified by him as no. 6 on plate 17 of his quarto edition and described as common – were struck. Lutwyche's assertion must, however, have been intended to include yet a third issue. This (D&H: Somerset 109 – Fig. 4) was produced from a new obverse die (not listed by Pye), easily identifiable by the different working of the loops of the suspension ribbon, the lack of ornamentation to the 'D' of the monogram and the absence of the leaf sprig to the right of the 'S'. The flans are again either milled to the right // or are plain-edged. This halfpenny, especially in its milled-edge form, is much more common than its companions and must account for the bulk of Lutwyche's alleged production, which on the basis of the manufacturer's optimistic calculations as reported by Sharp would suggest an issue of something in excess of 25,750 pieces.³⁷ Why the earlier obverse die was replaced is not altogether clear. Presumably it cracked during striking, but I have found no evidence to indicate this.



Fig. 4. D&H: Somerset 109 with the new obverse die with its different ribbon, simplified monogram and lack of a leaf sprig.

What was the purpose of these tokens? The bulk of the workforce at Dunkirk would have comprised young women and girls who, during the period of the French Revolutionary War, would have received wages in the region of 10s. a week.³⁸ Male out-workers – the élite shearmen, for example – could have earned as much as 15s. or more. At such levels the Dunkirk halfpennies are unlikely to have been a significant element in the weekly wage packet. No doubt Moggridge and Joyce adopted the devices used by other employers to combat the real cash problem attendant on wage payments – the abiding shortage of silver coin: group payments, long wage periods and credit notes with local tradesmen. In this scenario their tokens were a minor suppletion, but what they did provide to Dunkirk workers and equally to their colleagues in Moggridge and Joyce's other undertakings at Avoncliff and Bradford³⁹ was an essential low value cash component readily convertible into everyday purchases in local shops and inns, and in turn redeemable by the factory. They were thus on a par with the commercial halfpennies that Lutwyche and his rival Peter Kempson produced in some quantity for urban retailers during 1794 and 1795, exemplified by the issues put out in nearby Bath by Heath and the Lambes.

There was doubtless an element of 'vanity' inherent in the issue of such pieces – the 'love of fame: the desire of celebrity' – and Moggridge and Joyce would not have wanted to be backward in advertising their new factory, probably the first of its kind in the area. Few Dunkirk tokens are found today in worn condition. The likelihood is that many were quickly taken out of circulation as curios, but those that did continue as small change had a comparatively short life, perhaps no more than two years. Boulton's cartwheel copper was appearing in Bath in the summer of 1797

³⁷ Sharp, as in n.34, p. ii and reproduced as an almost too authoritative statement in Waters, as in n.2, p. v. Lutwyche's calculations were based on the official weight standard of the Tower halfpenny (9.86 g), a level which Lutwyche's commercial tokens, like those of Dunkirk, hardly ever reached.

³⁸ We do not know the number of workers employed at Dunkirk in the 1790s, but in 1816 there were eighteen men and boys and fifty-seven women and girls in the factory, probably a not unreasonable reflection of the structure of its workforce in the early days.

³⁹ Which judging from Joyce's evidence to the Select Committee were all treated as one enterprise.

and, as in the Birmingham area, local tokens must have soon lost their acceptability as small change.⁴⁰

Griffin concluded his paper by remarking that Charles Pye must have been correct in attributing the manufacture of the Dunkirk halfpennies to Lutwyche since the obverse die of D&H: Somerset 109 can be found muled with 'another of Lutwyche's productions, the Bishop Blaize reverse of the Leeds token' (D&H: Yorkshire 52–D&H: Yorkshire 54 shown below as Fig. 5). The 'Bishop Blaize reverse' is, however, the *obverse* die of a suspect piece purporting to be a halfpenny of the Leeds soap boiler and speculative property developer Richard Paley (1746–1808).⁴¹ Griffin was surely, if inadvertently, right in detecting D&H: Yorkshire 52 as a Lutwyche fabrication for general sale. While the main run of Paley dies were the handiwork of John Gregory Hancock for a Westwood commission in 1791 and this halfpenny is struck on known Westwood (non-Paley) blanks, much of the residuum of the Westwood workshop, dies and blanks, seems to have been acquired by Lutwyche when the Westwood consortium's coining operation closed down in 1795. This explains the existence of the Paley/Dunkirk mule and, equally, it must be to Lutwyche that we should look for the Paley mulings with the ubiquitous 'John of Gaunt' obverse of Thomas Worswick (D&H: Yorkshire 55) and the altered Exeter obverse die of Samuel Kingdon (D&H: Yorkshire 53). It is a dark area which merits investigation.



Fig. 5. Lutwyche's concoction (D&H: Yorkshire 54) using a Dunkirk die (D&H: Somerset 109) muled with a discarded Hancock / Westwood die originally produced for a Leeds halfpenny (D&H: Yorkshire 52).

⁴⁰ In other areas where the distribution of Boulton's new coinage was not so effective tokens survived for much longer, in some places for many years.

⁴¹ For Paley's development of high density, back-to-back housing in Leeds, see Maurice Beresford, 'The Making of a townscape: Richard Paley in the east end of Leeds, 1771–1803', in C.W. Chalklin and M.A. Havinden (editors), *Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500–1800* (London, 1974), pp. 281–320.