THE CASTLECARY HOARD AND THE CIVIL WAR CURRENCY OF SCOTLAND

DONAL BATESON

This publication of an unrecorded hoard from Castlecary, ending with coins of the 1640s, presents an opportunity to examine the Civil War coin hoards from Scotland and the Scottish currency of the period.

The hoard

This is an enigmatic hoard in so far as it was recently re-discovered, in the National Museums of Scotland merely with a note saying, ‘Castlecary Hoard 1926’. Nothing more is known of the circumstances of its finding or indeed whether it was brought to the then National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1926 or subsequently. In any event it appears to have been put to one side and not returned to. Castlecary is a small village in Stirlingshire situated to the west of Falkirk.²

The find contains 134 coins, all of silver. The majority are English, issues of the Tower Mint, of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I. In addition there are three Scottish coins of James VI as well as four of his Irish shillings. It includes no foreign coin. A summary shows:

8 shillings and 36 sixpences of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)
1 half-crown, 10 shillings and 8 sixpences of James I (1603-25)
26 half-crowns, 31 shillings and 7 sixpences of Charles I (1625-49)
2 thistle merks and 1 thirty shillings (Scots) of James VI (1567-1625)
4 Irish shillings of James I

The face value of the English, and Irish, coins in the mid-seventeenth century was £7 6s 0d. (Sterling) or £87 12s 0d. Scots. When the three Scottish coins are added to the latter the total then comes to £90 8s 8d. Scots.³ This would have kept an infantryman in the field for up to eight months at the English rates of pay of 8d. per day during the Civil War.⁴ At 8s. Scots this may be compared with the 13s. 8d. earned by a mason, and 6s. by a building labourer in Edinburgh between 1638 and 1642. At the same time a pound of wheatbread was set at 12d. in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling and a dozen eggs in St Andrews cost 20d. In 1650 a pint of ale could cost 24d. in Edinburgh but only 16d. in Stirling.⁵ Thus in terms of earnings and prices the face value of the hoard represented a not inconsiderable sum.

The coins in the hoard for the most part conform to the standard types. However two of the James I shillings (nos 58 and 59) read ET.HI.REX and additionally CNIVNXIT on the reverse of the first. The hoard also includes a sixpence of Charles I (no. 125) with a crown initial mark and an inner circle on the obverse which is not recorded in North (2240/41).

Generally the condition of the contents, apart from wear, is good. Three are clipped (nos 19, 52, and 116) and a further six show slight clipping (nos 6, 24, 26, 44, 62 and 66). Five are scratched (nos 11, 48, 64, 68 and 76), while two are bent (nos 8 and 134) and three are buckled (nos 16, 45 and 132). The degree of wear is much as would be expected, with the

¹ I am grateful to the present Curator of Numismatics, Nick Holmes, who found the hoard again, for providing details of the coins on which the catalogue is based.
² Approximately at NGR NS5878 and about five miles west of Falkirk. I am grateful to Geoff Bailey, Keeper of Archaeology and Local History at Falkirk Museum, for informing me that the museum has no record of this hoard.
³ The total Sterling value is £7 10s 8d. (rounded up). The Scots pound then converted to Sterling at a rate of 12:1.
⁴ Besly 1990, 22.
⁵ Gibson and Smout 1995, 306, 314; 51, 224; and 62.
Elizabethan issues very worn or worn, those of James I generally worn and the coins of Charles I for the most part fairly worn. There are no fresh, uncirculated or even slightly worn specimens.

The latest coins in the find are the two half-crowns and three shillings with the sun initial mark of 1645–6. This was the last substantive issue from the Tower mint under Parliament. Thus hoards ending with the sun initial mark could in theory have been hidden as late as 1665. All five coins from Castlecary with the sun initial mark are in fairly worn condition. They had therefore circulated for some years at least before being deposited and a date for this of about 1650 might be suggested.

It is unfortunate that no details of the circumstances of finding appear to have survived to give some clue as to why the hoard might have been hidden and subsequently not recovered. Nevertheless it was deposited during an unsettled and uncertain period when the Civil War impinged sometimes directly and often indirectly on the whole of the country. Although there is always the temptation to find a specific reason or occasion for a hoard, nevertheless it is worthwhile to examine the background to any find in the hope of discovering some explanation for concealment.

Given the condition of the latest coins, the earliest event that the hoard might be associated with is, perhaps surprisingly, the Battle of Preston in August 1648. Among the Scots forces which took part in this was a group from Falkirk under the command of the Earl of Callendar of Callendar House. The Earl managed to extricate his troops from this disaster and return safely to Falkirk. He immediately went into exile but his followers who remained had much to fear.

It is unlikely that the arrival of the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland in 1650 greatly affected the area. The action, such as it was, took place briefly in the north-east of the country and without any success for the royalist cause. The arrival of Oliver Cromwell later that year was of more immediate concern and his victory at the Battle of Dunbar on 3 September was to have severe repercussions for Scotland.

There was much military activity in the area for about a year after the Battle of Dunbar. Although this was a resounding victory for Cromwell, the Scots retreated to Stirling and held the area to the north of the Forth, as well as some outposts to the south, including Falkirk, with a garrison at Callendar House. Cromwell by-passed the latter in an unsuccessful attempt to take Stirling and then turned his attention to the Scots army in the west, marching through Falkirk and Kilsyth. Castlecary lies approximately mid-way between these two towns and the road linking them lies just to the north of the village. In January 1651 the Scots failed in an attack on Cromwell's base at Linlithgow and early the following month he again marched through Falkirk and Kilsyth in an attempt to find a route to attack Stirling from the west.

At the end of May 1651 the Scots received reinforcements from the north and Cromwell moved briefly to Glasgow to block their route south to England. A month later the Scots marched to Falkirk but on Cromwell's arrival withdrew across the River Carron. The two sizable armies faced each other at Larbert Bridge to the north-west of Falkirk on 2 July and although cannon were used there was nothing more than a minor engagement on the following day. Cromwell again moved to Glasgow to prevent its being taken by the Scots, who meanwhile re-occupied Kilsyth. He returned by Monklands and, occupying Falkirk, took Callendar House by force on 15 July, most of the garrison choosing death rather than surrender.

At length the stalemate was broken when the Parliamentarians landed at North Queensbury in Fife on 17 July. Following their victory at Inverkeithing, they entered Perth in the first week of August. Meanwhile the Scots had accompanied Charles II south into...
England to be hotly pursued by Cromwell. The outcome was the Battle of Worcester on 3 September 1651 and the final victory for the Parliamentarians in the Civil War.

It was a long way from Castlecary, but the previous year's military activity in central Scotland, and especially in the vicinity of Falkirk, provided many reasons to hide this hoard and for the failure to recover it. However, in the absence of specific evidence this explanation remains speculative and, war or no war, the more normal reasons for hoarding did not cease and a quite mundane explanation may account for its being recovered only in 1926.

The following summary (Table 1) of the weights of the English coins from Castlecary lists (1) the average weight for the coins of each denomination, by reign, (2) the number of specimens from which this average is calculated, and (3) the percentage of the theoretical standard weight for the denomination that this average represents. The contents of the hoard are then listed below.

**TABLE 1. Summary of the weights of English coins, Castlecary hoard. See text for explanation of columns 1-3. Weights in g.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Half-crowns</th>
<th>Shillings</th>
<th>Sixpences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Elizabeth</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. James I</td>
<td>14.74</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Charles I</td>
<td>14.87</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONTENTS OF THE HOARD**

**Scotland**

James VI

Eighth Coinage
1. thistle merk 1601 6.62
2. 1602 6.26

Ninth Coinage (1604-09)
3. thirty shilling piece 14.68

**England**

Elizabeth I

Shilling
4-5. cross crosslet (1560-61) 5.83, 5.97
6-7. bell (1582/3-83) 5.97, 5.19
8-9. A (1583-84/5) 6.00, 5.88
10-11. crescent (1587-89/90) 5.72, 5.76

Sixpence
12-13. pheon (1561-65) [561] 2.56, 2.64
14-15. 1564 2.73, 2.66
16-17. portcullis (1565/6-66/7) 1566 2.78, 2.86
18-19. coronet (1567-70) 1567 2.83, 2.36
20-1. 1568 2.76, 2.58
22-3. castle (1570-72) 1570 2.80, 2.91
24-5. ermine (1572-73) 1572 2.73, 2.63
26-7. egantina (1574-78) 1574 2.85, 2.82
28-9. plain cross (1578-80) 1578 2.88, 2.85
30-1. long cross (1580-81) 1580 3.05, 2.79
32. 1581 2.80
33-4. sword (1581-82/3) 1582 2.68, 2.78
35. bell (1582/3-83) 1583 2.96
36. escutcheon (1584/5-87) 1586 2.73
37-8. crescent (1587-89/90) 1589 2.76, 3.05
39-40. hand (1589-90/1-2) 1590 2.83, 2.32
41-2. tun (1591/2-94) 1592 2.63, 2.79
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>woolpack (1594–95/6)</td>
<td>1594</td>
<td>2.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>anchor (1597/8–1600)</td>
<td>1599</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1 (1601–02)</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>2 (1602–03)</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
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</table>

**James I**

**First coinage (1603–04)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilling</th>
<th>2nd bust</th>
<th>thistle (1603–04)</th>
<th>5.85, 5.74</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48–9</td>
<td></td>
<td>lis (1604)</td>
<td>5.84</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilling</th>
<th>2nd bust</th>
<th>lis (1604)</th>
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<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>54–5</td>
<td></td>
<td>rose (1605–06)</td>
<td>5.96, 5.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>escallop (1606–07)</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>4th bust</td>
<td>coronet (1607–09)</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>5th bust</td>
<td>coronet</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>mullet (1611–12)</td>
<td>5.69</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilling</th>
<th>4th bust</th>
<th>rose (1605)</th>
<th>2.82</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>grapes (1607)</td>
<td>2.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>coronet (1608)</td>
<td>2.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td>tower (1612)</td>
<td>2.90</td>
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**Second coinage (1604–19)**

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<th>3rd bust</th>
<th>lis (1604–05)</th>
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<tr>
<td>54–5</td>
<td></td>
<td>rose (1605–07)</td>
<td>5.96, 5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>escallop (1606–07)</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>4th bust</td>
<td>coronet (1607–09)</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>5th bust</td>
<td>coronet</td>
<td>5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>mullet (1611–12)</td>
<td>5.69</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilling</th>
<th>4th bust</th>
<th>rose (1605)</th>
<th>2.82</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>grapes (1607)</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>coronet (1608)</td>
<td>2.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td>tower (1612)</td>
<td>2.90</td>
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**Third coinage (1619–25)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Half-crown</th>
<th>thistle (1621–23)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shilling</th>
<th>6th bust</th>
<th>thistle (1623)</th>
<th>2.87</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>lis (1623)</td>
<td>3.08</td>
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<td>66</td>
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**Charles I**

**Tower mint**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Half-crown</th>
<th>cross calvary (1625–26) N2202</th>
<th>14.61</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>group I</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>blackamoor’s head (1625–27) N2202</td>
<td>14.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>plume (1620–31) N2205</td>
<td>14.93</td>
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<tr>
<td>70–1</td>
<td>harp (1632–33) N2207</td>
<td>14.97, 14.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>portcullis (1633–34) N2207</td>
<td>14.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>bell (1634–35) N2209</td>
<td>14.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74–6</td>
<td>crown (1635–36) N2209</td>
<td>15.05, 14.90, 14.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77–8</td>
<td>tun (1636–38) N2209</td>
<td>14.92, 14.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79–80</td>
<td>anchor (1638–39) N2211</td>
<td>15.17, 15.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>triangle (1639–40) N2212</td>
<td>15.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>triangle-in-circle (1641–43) N2211</td>
<td>14.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>(P) (1643–44) N2213</td>
<td>14.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84–5</td>
<td>eye (1645) N2213</td>
<td>14.39, 14.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86–9</td>
<td>group III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>group IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91–2</td>
<td>group V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE CASTLECARY HOARD

Shilling
93. group C  plume (1630-31) N2221  6.00
94-5. group D  harp (1632-33) N2222  6.12, 5.99
96-7.  portcullis (1633-34) N2223  6.07, 5.88
98.  bell (1634-35) N2225  5.93
99.  crown (1635-36) N2225  5.83
100.  crown (1635-36) N2226  5.96
101.  tun (1636-38) N2225  5.94
102. group E  tun (1636-38) N2227  5.93
103-5.  group F  anchor (1638-39) N2229  5.84, 5.81, 6.19
106.  anchor (1638-39) N2230/31  5.92
107-8.  triangle (1639-40) N2231  5.92, 6.17
109-11.  star (1640-41) N2231  5.96, 5.90, 5.86
112-3.  triangle-in-circle (1641-43) N2231  5.80, 6.10
114.  (P) (1643-44) N2231  6.10
115.  (P)?  5.96
116-7.  (R) (1644-45) N2231  5.23, 6.06
118-20.  eye (1645) N2232  5.97, 6.13, 6.22
121-3.  sun (1645-46) N2232  5.98, 5.61, 5.62

Sixpence
124. group D  portcullis (1633-34)  2.93
125.  crown (1635-36)  2.87
126.  tun (1636-38)  3.09
127. group E  tun (1638-39)  3.11
128. group F  star (1640-41)  2.92
129-30.  (P) (1643-44)  3.00, 3.38

Ireland

James I

First Coinage (1603-04)
Shilling
131.  martlet (1604-05)  4.16

Second Coinage (1604-07)
Shilling
132.  martlet (1604-05)  3.91
133-4.  rose (1605-06)  4.38, 4.20

Coins and currency of the Civil War period in Scotland

The Castlecary hoard is only the latest find to emerge from this period and, combined with historical events, written records and other coin hoards, helps build up a picture of the currency in use in Scotland during the Civil War.

The course of the Civil War in Scotland

Action started somewhat earlier in Scotland than elsewhere. Tension had risen with the introduction of the new Book of Common Prayer in 1637 and the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. The Covenanters raised an army and the king prepared for war. In 1639 Dumbarton was taken to prevent royalist reinforcements landing from Ireland, while the Earl of Montrose and Alexander Leslie moved northwards where (in the north-east) Covenanters support was weak. Little happened and Montrose entered Aberdeen. Meanwhile the king was approaching the border and both generals returned to meet him. Royalist activity increased in the north-east and Montrose marched back up and entered Aberdeen again in May, but with less restraint. Royalist troops then landed at Aberdeen but were defeated by Montrose.

11 Among many accounts of the Civil War see Royle 2004. See also ODNB 23 at pp. 189-95 for James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose.
at the Brig o’Dee on 18 June, whereupon Aberdeen received even rougher treatment. In the south Leslie had defeated the king and an unsatisfactory treaty was agreed at Berwick.

After calling and dismissing the English Parliament, the king once more marched towards Scotland. Montrose marched into England and defeated the royalist army at Newburn. The Scottish army then entered Newcastle and occupied the north of England. In the agreement reached in June 1641 the Scots were promised a subsidy of £300,000. Meanwhile in Scotland, Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, had risen to the forefront of Parliament, which in the previous year had given him a commission of fire and sword against its opponents. Argyll promptly set upon his enemies the Ogilvies, and laid waste their lands and beyond.

The Civil War proper commenced in England with the king raising his standard at Nottingham in 1642. After much negotiation with both sides the Scottish Parliament sided with its English counterpart in 1643, and in the following year its army entered England. The now Marquis of Montrose had decided to support the king and was appointed to lead the royalist forces in Scotland. Joined by an Irish army he raised the standard in August 1644, beginning a remarkable campaign lasting more than a year. Victory at Tippermuir in September was followed by the sack of Aberdeen, victory at Fyvie in October, the chasing of the now Marquis of Argyll from his seat at Inverary, further victories at Inverlochy and Kilsyth in February and August 1645 and the occupation of Glasgow. It ended in defeat at the hands of David Leslie, returning from victory at Naseby, in the Battle of Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, on 13 September 1645.

Nothing daunted, Montrose assembled a new army but by then the king was in the hands of the Scots army. Montrose was ordered to desist and went into exile in 1646. The next year the Scots handed the king to Parliament and Parliament was in turn forced to hand him over to the army. Nevertheless by the end of 1647 the king had reached an ‘Engagement’ with the Scottish Parliament which unravelled with defeat at the Battle of Preston in August 1648. This was followed by the king’s execution in January 1649.

The new king, Charles II, again appointed Montrose to lead the royalist forces in Scotland and encouraged him to raise an army to invade Scotland. At the same time Charles was in negotiation with the Scottish Parliament to reach a settlement. Montrose, with few troops, arrived in the north from Orkney in April 1650 but was quickly routed at Carbisdale in Sutherland, brought to Edinburgh and executed. Despite this the king came to Scotland and a Scots army was raised, only to be defeated by Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar on 3 September 1650. The Scots, now based in Stirling, still held the country north of the Forth and for the best part of a year Cromwell tried his hardest to dislodge them. Finally Charles II and a Scots army marched into England, only to meet disaster at the Battle of Worcester on 3 September 1651. The Civil War had run its course and for the most part peace returned to Scotland as well as England.

The records

A considerable amount of information about the currency situation in Scotland throughout the reign of Charles I and beyond can be gleaned from the records, especially the Acts of the Scots Privy Council. 12

In October 1625 the new king wrote to his Privy Council in Edinburgh of the country as being ‘so spoiled and destitute of money as little or none is left therein our own coin being transported to other countries’. The king wrote again in June 1627 about the coinage ‘the most part being coins of foreign princes current above their worth anywhere abroad’. By the end of the year ‘hym or dog dollours’, worth 40s. Scots, were common, but passing at 48s. These were proclaimed to pass at 46s. The even baser dollars of Ferdinand II issued at Emden appeared during 1628. Worth 25s. 10d., they were passing at 33s. 4d. A proclamation against these and ‘Ort dollours’ and ‘halffe Orts’ was published in January. The king was still

12 Cochran-Patrick 1876, 1-132, for the reign of Charles I. Individual references are not given for each document quoted. They are treated chronologically by Cochran-Patrick and can be readily located in this easy to use work.
complaining of the circulation of foreign coins and the scarcity of his own in 1630 and the next year the burghs declared the country 'fully stored with dollars'.

The king kept demanding a remedy but there is a distinct impression that the authorities in Scotland were prevaricating, perhaps in their own interests. The majority of these dollars were being imported from the continent by both native and foreign merchants, especially those engaged in the coal and salt trades. A proclamation of July 1631 forbade the further import of these dollars of diverse types, weight and fineness. Those engaged in exporting 'bestial goods or commodities' to England could return with the king's own (English) money or foreign coins at specified rates. The latter consisted of the gold Spanish pistole, French crown, English rose noble and half rose noble and in silver the quarter ecu and single real. Despite this the situation changed little over the years and a somewhat similar proclamation had to be made in August 1635.

The same month Nicholas Briot was appointed to the mint. This was to lead to the desired remedy of the striking of small silver denominations in 1636 and the full range of gold and silver between 1637 and 1642. Many of the surviving records now deal with the production of these issues. In February 1636 the dollars were cried down to the extent that no dollar whatsoever was to pass above 56s. In September the currency was still in much the same state as before and dollars were further decried to 54s., with the dog dollar at 43s. 4d. Anyone bringing these into the mint would receive the full value in the new small silver coins. The Privy Council, in March and April 1642, refers to a recent interruption in the circulation of dollars and now seems to encourage their use, providing they be of good weight, the rex dollar at 54s., the cross dollar at 53s. 4d., the ryal at 53s. 4d. and the quarter ecu at 19s. Three years later the values were cried up by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, dated 6 August. The rex dollar was now to pass at 58s. and the other three proportionately. The gold rose noble, double pistole and 'Hungars Ducate' were also raised. One further relevant reference to the state of the currency occurs in the report of one of the meetings held between representatives of the English and Scottish Parliaments in November 1652. The Scots reported that only ryals and cross dollars were available to them — and that these were generally false.

At the other end of the scale copper played its part in the Scottish currency and is also frequently referred to in the records. By 1631 'ane great quantitie' of the English copper farthings was in circulation. Their use and further import was strictly forbidden. The result was an order for the production of a new smaller and lighter turner, of which 1,500 stone were to be struck during 1632. This seemingly proved insufficient and a further 1,500 stone was ordered in 1634. However farthings were still being imported and the turners were now counterfeited. The situation appears to have worsened, for early the next year it was recorded that a great quantity of false copper coin in the form of turners and farthings had been lately imported, as well as foreign copper such as 'holland doyts, doubles and such other kind of trash'. Strong measures were taken to stamp out the abuse. Despite this the prohibition had to be repeated in September 1636.

Again in June 1637 a warrant was issued for a further 180 stone of copper turners. However, in 1639 the Privy Council was complaining of the 'great abundance of copper money' and proposed to cry down the value of the turners to one penny. Five days later there was a U-turn and the turners were restored to their former value of two pence. On 24 February 1642 a warrant was issued for the production of a new larger turner and the previous smaller lighter issues were demonetised from March. In 1646 the Privy Council extended a warrant to produce a further 1,500 stone of turners promulgated in 1644. There were two more strikings of these turners, in 1648 and 1650, but then the presses fell silent until after the Restoration and the records say little on the coinage throughout the 1650s.

The specie

There was clearly a varied specie in use in Scotland at this time, consisting of Scottish, English, Irish and continental coins.
Scottish coins

Charles I struck Scottish gold and silver coins from the start of his reign in 1625 until 1642. These have been studied in depth by Colonel Murray and need only be briefly noted here. The first issue consisted of the unit, double crown and Britain crown in gold, and in silver ran from the sixty shillings to the shilling. The designs, including the portrait, are similar to those of James VI. The six shillings bear dates from 1625 to 1634, except for 1629. They are of the same weight and fineness as their Sterling counterparts. The amount of gold struck was very small. Among the silver the thirty shillings and twelve shillings appear to have been struck in the greatest numbers, with a large number of die varieties. These were the coins that were scarce in Scotland because of their export abroad.

One of the remedies suggested over the years was the production of small silver denominations and this was at last put into effect in 1636, when Nicholas Briot was responsible for the striking of a small number of half merks, forty and twenty pence pieces. The main, third coinage, began in 1637 and ran until 1642. Again some gold was produced, along with more substantial amounts of silver from the sixty shillings down to the twenty pence piece. There was a final small fourth issue of three shillings and two shillings in 1642. No further silver was struck in Scotland until 1664.

The reign of Charles I saw three issues of Scottish copper, turners or twopence with some pencey. The first was in 1629, similar to the 1614 and 1623 issues of James VI. This was followed by a huge production of smaller, lighter turners from 1632 to 1639. Perhaps as many as forty million of these were put into circulation and, with huge numbers of forgeries, swamped the currency until demonetised in 1642. A return was made to a larger turner in 1642 and these continued to be produced until 1650.

English coins

English coinage and currency during the Civil War has been made the subject of particular study by Besly. The hoards of the period from England and Wales have also been examined in depth. The English issues from the reign of Elizabeth I to 1660 are catalogued in North. Two main features are relevant to the situation in Scotland. The large amounts of shillings and sixpences struck by Elizabeth I and James I were still an important part of the English currency up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Also, from 1632 there was a great increase in the amount of silver available and this was mainly struck in the form of half-crowns, which continued to be issued in large numbers until 1647. These were all produced at the Tower Mint in London, which was in the hands of the king until 1642, before being taken over by Parliament. This led to the setting up of Royalist mints, among them Oxford and York. Only a very few examples from these have been recorded from Scotland. In addition a small number of siege pieces were struck, but there appears to be no note of any of these having been found north of the border.

Irish coins

James I produced two issues of shillings and sixpences for Ireland between 1603 and 1607. They were allowed to circulate in England and appear to have done so in some numbers. However they are not mentioned in the surviving Scottish records. No example of the various issues produced in Ireland between 1642 and 1646 appears to have been recorded from Scotland.

Continental coins

Although the Scottish records looked at above refer mainly to the circulation of ‘dollars’, ‘dollors’, ‘dollours’ and ‘dolouris’, enough detail is given on occasions to allow a list of the various issues in circulation to be drawn up:

Reichstaler: ‘rex’ dollars noted in 1629, 1630, 1633, 1636 at 54s., 1642 at 54s. or 54s. 3d. if baser, 1645 at 58s.

England: ‘rix’ dollar at 4s. 8d. (= 54s. Scots) in the Oxford proclamation of 1643/4.20

Ferdinand II, Emden gulden (28 stuber)21: base dollars noted 1628, Embden dollars 1629 at 33s. 4d., though worth only 25s. 10d.

Orsthaler or quarter dollars (reichsort) and halves22: ort dollars and halfe orts noted in 1629.

United Netherlands, leeuwendaalder: dog or lyoun dollars noted in 1627 as dog dollars at 48s. though worth only 40s., 1628 as lyoun or dog dollars reduced from 48s. to 40s., 1629 as lyoun dollars, 1636 as dog dollars at 43s. 4d.

Spanish Netherlands, patagon: croce dollar noted in 1642 at 53s. 4d., crosse dollar 1645 at 55s.

England: crosse dollar at 4s. 6d. (= 54s. Scots) in the Oxford proclamation of 1643/4.

Spain, real and 8 reales: single ryall noted in 1631 at 6s. 8d., ryells 1635, ryalls 1642 at 53s. 4d., ryall of eight 1645 at 56s.

France, quarter ecu: quartisdiskue noted in 1631 at 19s., kardikue 1635, cardecue 1642 at 19s., kairdique 1645 at 20s.

England: cardecue at 1s. 6d. (= 18s. Scots) in the Oxford proclamation of 1643/4.

The hoards

The hoards have been listed on two occasions albeit with minimal detail and as part of broader surveys of seventeenth-century finds from Scotland. Brown and Dolley in their catalogue of post-1500 hoards from Britain and Ireland included a section under Scotland for the period 1625–1660.23 Stevenson and Porteous when publishing the Ardnave and Wick hoards produced a very useful table of Scottish seventeenth-century hoards.24 The latter includes twenty-one hoards concealed after 1635 and up to 1660. This is somewhat less than the twenty-nine in Brown and Dolley which appear to belong to this period and are retained in the present review. A further six finds, four recent and two older, have since come to light thus giving a total of thirty-five Civil war hoards from Scotland, listed in Appendix 1.

The finding of these thirty-five hoards dates back to the eighteenth century and over half were reported before 1900, often with much less detail than desired, but enough to enable them to be assigned to the period 1638–60. The dozen recovered in the course of the twentieth century are generally more fully described. Among the twenty-two hoards whose size is known, the contents range from the three coins found on Banff beach to the 2,000 copper turners in the Knowehead hoard. Only two other finds contain more than 1,000 pieces, the 1991 Kelso hoard with 1,375 and the 1899 Grangemouth hoard with 1,094. One more has over 500, half a dozen are comprised of between 100 and 350, while the remainder contain less than 100 coins each.

Gold is included in only two of these hoards. The ten gold coins in the Kelso hoard are all issues of James VI/I, a Scottish rider of 1595 and an English angel, two unites, three double

20 Besly 1990, 72.
22 Frey 1973, 166.
crowns, a half crown and quarter laurel. At least one sovereign of Elizabeth I and a unite of James I are included in the late eighteenth century find from Strathblane. Both hoards are, however, composed mainly of silver and amount to approximately £840 and £480 Scots respectively (£70 and £40 Sterling).

Twenty-nine of the thirty-five hoards listed contain silver. In twenty-one of these the contents are silver only. In two instances just noted the silver is found with a small amount of gold. A single billion coin is included in both the Cromarty and Glenbeg hoards and four occur in the find from Brimmond Hill near Aberdeen. The Glenbeg and Brimmond finds, however, contain mostly copper coins and a further five hoards consist of copper alone.

The silver coins contained in the Civil War hoards from Scotland are made up of Scottish, English, Irish and continental issues. The predominant mixture, occurring in a third of the finds, is Scottish, English and continental. In a further three hoards these occur with a few Irish coins. There is a single find of just Scottish and English coins and another of just English and Irish coins, while English and continental coins comprise four finds. English coins are recorded alone on three occasions and continental coins alone in a similar number of cases. There is no silver hoard of Scottish issues only.

The amount of native silver issues is not large and unfortunately the numbers and types included in a hoard are frequently unclear or unspecified. There is just the one Scottish coin among the fifty found at Kippendavie and again only one among the 155 discovered at Rannoch, while two are included in the 316 forming the Fishermoss hoard. However, perhaps a truer picture is to be found in two of the larger hoards published in some detail. The Irvine hoard contains 351 identifiable coins of which fifty are Scottish, representing approximately 15% by number and 7.5% by value. It may be noted that the Scottish coins amount to exactly £9 Scots. In the 1991 Kelso hoard they number forty-nine out of a total of 1,375, accounting for around 3.5% by number and 2.5% by value. While it is thus difficult to put general figures on the percentages of the Scottish element in the hoards it is clearly quite small.

This includes a small number of specimens of James VI's pre-1604 thistle merk issue as found in the Kelso, Irvine and Grangemouth hoards. The inclusion of his post-1604 Scottish issues is minimal and the 12s. piece of the 1609-25 coinage found in the Kelso hoard represents an exception. The 30s. piece of Charles I's first coinage of 1625-34, also from Kelso, is again exceptional. However, most of the hoard coins of that monarch belong to his second coinage of 1636 or more especially to the third coinage of 1637-42. While examples of the higher denominations do occur, such as the 12s. piece in the Strathblane hoard, the more common value is the 40d. piece, of which forty are found in the Irvine hoard but only eight in the much larger Kelso hoard.

It is English coins which dominate the silver element of the Scottish hoards. Apart from four specimens, all are issues of the Tower Mint. English coins occur in twenty-five of the finds. Generally they are accompanied by continental issues and to a lesser extent Scottish and Irish. In terms of number they constitute 67% of the Cromarty hoard, 63% of Ardnave, 81% of Bankhead, 79% of Irvine and 84% of Kelso. However in relation to overall value the figures drop somewhat as the continental element is mainly composed of the larger, dollarsized coins. Thus the total value of the English coins in the Cromarty and Ardnave finds drops to 20% and 32% respectively, and is 67% in Kelso, but 78% in Irvine where only two continental pieces are present.

The English element is made up of later Tudor and Stuart issues up to the 1640s. Some survivals from the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Philip and Mary are still encountered, but the shillings, and to a great extent the sixpences, of Elizabeth I are found in substantial numbers. The issues of James VI are less common and the occasional half-crown now appears. The half-crowns, shillings and, to a lesser extent, the sixpences of Charles I are numerous. The detailed break-down of the Kelso hoard provides a good example of the composition of the English coins in the Scottish hoards. Crowns of James I and Charles I are said to have been included in the Strathblane and 1785 Kilmarnock hoards. Four examples of coins struck at the royalist mints are recorded. These are two Oxford half-crowns in the Dryburgh hoard,
Irish coins make up a minor part of five hoards. They consist of shillings and to a lesser extent sixpences of James I’s issues of 1603–07. There are six shillings and twelve sixpences in the 351 coins in the Irvine hoard, twenty-eight shillings and five sixpences among the 1,375 coins in the Kelso hoard, and fourteen shillings make up this element in the 1,094 coins found at Grangemouth.

However, it is continental silver coins which make up the other major element in the Scottish Civil War hoards, being part of nineteen of these finds. In three of these they occur alone, in the small hoards of three coins from Banff beach and the six German talers from Barbreck, while all eight recorded coins from the Milton hoard are also continental. Where numbers are known they usually amount to less than twenty specimens but because they are generally dollars they account for a greater portion of the value than the total number in these hoards. Their parts are also found in around a third of the hoards. The two major groups of continental coins are the 179 contained in the Kelso hoard, which provides a clear picture of the range of these issues found in Scotland, and the less detailed 253 from Grangemouth.

Although they are often generally referred to ‘dollars’, there is sufficient detail given for many to enable them to be examined in greater depth. Among the nineteen hoards noted eleven are recorded as containing German and/or Austrian issues. Generally these are mixed with other issues and only in the Barbreck find do the six German talers make up the complete find. Issues of the United Netherlands in the Cromarty, Fisherrrow and Birdston hoards are recorded as ‘dollars’, but the ten (and single half) from Ardnavie and the nine (and nine halves) from Kelso are rijksdaalders. No example of a leeuwendaalder appears to have been recorded among the finds.

Coins of the Spanish Netherlands and Spain itself are reported in fourteen finds. There are the twenty-one patagons, fourteen half patagons and thirty-three quarter patagons of Albert and Isabella and Philip IV among the Kelso coins. Patagons are also recorded from the the Dryburgh and Milton hoards. Patagons, along with pieces of eight reales, are listed in the Rannoch, Grangemouth and ‘Uncertain’ hoards. One of the three dollars found on Banff beach is also an eight reales. Apart from the inclusion of some ducatoons of the Spanish Netherlands in the Strathblane hoard, the remaining six reports refer to Spanish dollars or coins or such of Spain or Philip IV. It may be unwise to regard these as all finds of eight reales and some may in fact be patagons.

Otherwise there is the occasional inclusion of coins of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Switzerland, Monaco and Transylvania.

A further, not insignificant, element in the Scottish Civil War coin hoards is copper. Six hoards – Brimmond Hill, Pow, St Combs, Loch Dochart, Toward Castle, and Tarbat – consist wholly or mainly of turners of Charles I’s issues of 1632–39, which were current until 1642. These are small finds ranging from thirty-three to 132 pieces. St Combs also contains a single United Netherlands doit while Brimmond Hill has two, as well as four silver and four billon coins. The Knowehead hoard is composed of around 2,000 turners, probably of the 1640s, among which is a double tournois of Louis XIV and two silver coins. The hoard from Glenbeg is more mixed, with its 557 turners of the 1640s accompanied by sixty-three silver coins and one of billon. There are two turners, again of the 1640s, among the 316 coins of the Fisherrrow hoard. Lastly the Millheugh find is merely described as containing both silver and copper.

Mention may also be made of the very small number of billon coins found in three of the hoards. The Cromarty find includes a single half plack of James VI, that from Brimmond Hill contains one bawbee of Mary and three placks of James VI, while a further, similar plack occurs among the Glenbeg coins.

Surprisingly few of the reports describe the state of the coins in these hoards. The Cromarty coins are mostly in ‘poor condition’ and the Bankhead specimens in ‘poor preservation’, but whether this is due to wear or corrosion is not stated. In the Kelso hoard most of
the coins of Elizabeth I and James I are worn, but those of Charles I display less wear and his latest issues little wear. Wear on the continental coins is more varied. Around a fifth of the English coins in this hoard are clipped and a somewhat similar proportion bent, especially among the Elizabethan sixpences, and all the Irish coins. In addition over 100 examples appear to have been deliberately defaced by scratching. In the Ardane hoard a shilling of Elizabeth and another of James I are noted as having a W scratched on the obverse, while all seven half-crowns of Charles I are described as being ‘extremely clipped’. The wear on the Castlecary coins is much the same as on the Kelso coins, while among its contents of 134 coins nine display clipping, five are scratched and two bent.

Containers are recorded for seven of the hoards. It is suggested that the Kelso pot is a chamber pot and the Grangemouth pot a water jug, while the pots holding the Millheugh and the 1785 Kilmarnock hoards are not described. A two-handed metal jug was used for the Fisherton coins and there is the suggestion that the Loch Dochart find had been concealed in a sporran. The corroded lump of coins from Duart Point still had traces of a cloth bag adhering. Few objects other than the coins have been found in these thirty-five hoards. Two silver spoons and a cane top accompanied the Irvine coins and a finger-ring was found with the Tarbat coins. A small crucifix recovered with the Strathblane hoard suggests this find had a royalist rather than a covenanting owner. The find from Duart Point was recovered from a shipwreck along with much maritime and personal material.

Among the earliest hoards which can be associated with the period of the Civil War in Scotland is that from Cromarty wherein the latest coin is a taler of Ferdinand II of 1635. Its deposit may be as late as 1640 and it could well be indicative of the activity of Montrose and Leslie in the north-east in 1639. The small Banff and Invergordon finds, with latest coins of 1636 and 1638, may also be a result of the start of the war in 1638.

There is a group of seven small hoards made up of the turners of Charles I issued between 1632 and 1639. The largest is the Pow hoard, which contains 132 coins and is worth only £1 1s. 4d. Scots or 1s. 9d. Sterling. These turners were replaced and demonetised in 1642 so were current until that year. Those from Loch Dochart Castle and Toward Castle were both recovered from destruction levels datable to 1646, when both castles were burnt by the Campbells, but the hoards had perhaps not been recovered by their owners earlier for economic reasons.

The Ardane and Bankhead hoards end with English coins with the triangle initial mark of 1639–40. The five hoards in Appendix I from Irvine to Carluke contain examples of coins from the Scottish coinages of 1636–42 and like the previous two finds probably belong to the early years of the Civil War, the early 1640s. The hoards from Kelso through to Duns with latest initial marks from triangle-in-circle (1641–43) to sceptre (1646–49) may be assigned to the main years of the Civil War from the mid-1640s to the end of hostilities a year after the Battle of Dunbar in 1650. The less well recorded group from Birdston to Rosemarkie probably also belongs to this period though the latest coins are only noted as belonging to Charles I. It is unfortunate that marine corrosion renders the contents of the Duart Point find obscure for the wreck of the Swan in which it was found can be precisely dated to 13/14 September 1653. The last hoard, from Milton, contains a patagon of 1655 and can probably be dated to c.1660, at the very end of the period under review.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the thirty-five Scottish Civil War hoards. There is a grouping of ten hoards in the north-east. Two, Bankhead and Brimmond, are close to Aberdeen and their probable dates of deposition suggest they were concealed as a result of the early conflict in 1639 and the sack of Aberdeen in 1644 respectively. Most of the remainder appear to belong to the early years of the war as well, and only Knowehead, and more particularly Glenbeg, with its unusual inclusion of a York half-crown of 1643–4, may be a result of the royalist campaign of 1644–5. It may be noted that with the exception of Knowehead these hoards are located on or near the coast. The Pow hoard is the only one of this period from Orkney, but it can hardly have been concealed after 1642, and so is too early for Montrose’s arrival in Orkney in 1650. It may have had a more mundane reason for concealment.
A second grouping lies across the Central Belt. This consists of nine finds. The majority may belong to the main period of hostilities from 1644 to 1645, but some could be earlier and some could be connected with the Battle of Dunbar and its aftermath from 1650 to 1651. Castlecary would appear to be associated with the latter. Grangemouth, too, located close-by on the Forth shore and also ending with a sun initial mark of 1645–46, may have been hidden in the year after Dunbar.

Four hoards lie to the south down the west coast at Chapelton, Irvine and twice, slightly inland, in Kilmarnock. These probably belong to the 1640s. A further four hoards come from down the east coast at Fisherrow, Duns, Kelso and Dryburgh. These are unusual in that Fisherrow and Dryburgh end with Oxford half-crowns and Duns includes a rare appearance of the late sceptre initial mark of 1646–49. These lie on the main route south and may be associated with military movements south and north up to 1650. It has been suggested that
Kelso may represent royalist fundraising in the Borders around 1643. From the Western Isles come the Ardnave hoard, perhaps the result of a shipwreck in the early 1640s, and the Duart Point find, the result of both war and storm.

The currency pattern

History, records and hoards come together to present a picture of the currency of Scotland during the Civil War period from 1638 to 1660. Although rates were set for foreign gold coins and gold was struck in Scotland in 1637–42, only a small number of earlier English gold coins, mainly of James I, are found in two of the thirty-five hoards. Silver coins predominate and again these are mainly English, in the form of sixpences, shillings and half-crowns. These date back to the later sixteenth century, shillings and especially sixpences of Elizabeth I in worn condition. Accompanying these are shillings and sixpences, again mainly worn, of James I and larger numbers of shillings and especially half-crowns of Charles I with proportionately less wear. The latter continue up to the last initial mark struck in substantial numbers, the sun of 1645–46, but there is one hoard with the later sceptre mark. The English element is overwhelmingly from the Tower Mint. The coins suffer from clipping, bending and defacement though the evidence for this comes mainly from the Kelso hoard and to a lesser extent that from Castlecary.

The larger value coin, the crown-sized piece, was supplied by continental issues, usually referred to as ‘dollars’ though of mixed fineness and tariffs. The records continuously complain about these and seek to replace them with native coin, but without success. They seem to have arrived as a result of the coal and salt exports to Europe and the number brought back by mercenaries returning to take part in the war may be smaller than perhaps expected. There is a fairly close correspondence between the records and the contents of the hoards. The German and Austrian reichstalers (‘rex dollars’) are noted in the records from 1629 to 1645 as the most acceptable and they are frequent in the hoards. The rijksdaalder of the United Netherlands also occurs but does not appear to be specially mentioned in the records. The Dutch leeuwendaalder (‘lyoun’ or ‘dog dollar’) recorded up to 1636 is not included in the hoards and may have disappeared by 1640. The Spanish Netherlands patagon (‘crosse dollars’) is common in the Civil War hoards and is noted in the 1642 and 1645 tariff lists. Some ducatoons are also found. The Spanish eight reales (‘ryall’ or ‘ryall of eight’) is noted up to 1645 and several are recorded in hoards. The Emden and ort dollars and the single real recorded around 1630 seem to have gone by 1640, for none is found in any of the hoards. Surprisingly, perhaps, the quarter ecu (‘cardecue’ etc.) noted from 1631 to 1645, when it was valued at 20s. Scots, does not appear in the hoard evidence.25

The native element in the currency seems to have been quite small. The records complain that there was a continuous dearth of Scottish coin due to its being exported in exchange for poorer quality overpriced dollars. This seems to be so, for very few of Charles’s Scottish coins of 1625–34 are found in the hoards. Even the coinages of 1636–42, intended to remedy this, are scarce for the higher values. However, these did consist of larger issues of smaller silver denominations and the 40d. piece is found reasonably frequently. Nevertheless the Scottish coins in the hoards represent only a small percentage of the total, probably not exceeding around 5%. A very small number of Irish coins, of James I, are also found in the hoards but there is no mention of them in the records. Given close proximity, connections, and the Irish troops assisting Montrose in 1644–5, this is perhaps surprising.

Another small but important element in the hoards is copper, though this features to a far greater extent in the records. These record the striking of large numbers of turners or twopences Scots between 1632 and 1639, and their eventual demonetisation in 1642. It has been suggested that about forty million were issued and the records further complain of and

25 Four quarter ecus form part of a recently recorded early nineteenth-century hoard from Leamabagow (North Carrigourt, Lanarkshire. See Archer 2001. The coins recorded there may not constitute the whole hoard, which was probably hidden around 1630.
ordain measures against large numbers of imported forgeries. In the later 1630s and early years of the war Scotland appears to have been inundated with copper. This, however, seems to have been in addition to continental silver. As the smaller silver coins of the 1637–42 coinage appeared, in addition to the large amounts of English silver as the war progressed, the need for copper abated. Yet it soon became scarce and the need was supplied by the issue of further, but larger, turners from 1642 to 1650. This is reflected in the hoards, for there are six with the 1630s issues and only two with the 1640s issues. The records also allude to the circulation of Dutch doits and French double tournois though few of these appear to have been hoarded.

Few of the hoards from Scotland belonging to the period 1638–60 can be tied directly to specific events of the Civil War, but many do appear to be connected more generally with the outbreak and progress of hostilities. Nevertheless hoarding needed to continue as in peace-time and the normal reasons for non-recovery remained. War, however, did intensify the need to hide valuables and often made recovery more difficult. This is clear from the number of hoards dating to 1638–60 – thirty-five – which compares with a mere eight from the previous forty years and the twenty or so belonging to 1660–1700.26

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CIVIL WAR HOARDS FROM SCOTLAND27

CROMARTY, Ross & Cromarty, 1916 (B&D SP31)
42 AR, 1 billon, value c.£42 4s. 0d. Scots / £3 10s. 4d. Sterling.
Latest 1635 taler Ferdinand II
Scottish James VI half plack (1)
English Edward VI 2d. (1); Mary 4d. (1); Elizabeth I 1s. (1), 6d. (15), 4d. (3), 3d. (1), 2d. (2); James I 1s. (2), 6d. (1); Charles I 1s. (1)
Continental Spanish/United Netherlands ‘dollars’ (6), ‘half dollars’ (1), Austria taler (3), Germany taler (2), Switzerland taler (1)
Details from notes in NMS by Robert Stevenson compiled from correspondence between Exchequer and Sir George Macdonald – ‘most in poor condition’, date of deposit ‘c.1640’, foreign described as ‘dollars’, returned to owner.28

BANFF, Banffshire, 1952 (B&D SP2)
3 AR, value c.£8 1s. 4d. Scots /13s. 6d. Sterling, found on the beach.
Latest 1636 ‘dollar’ Philip IV of Spain29
Continental Spain 8 reales (1), Austria taler (2)
PSAS 94 (1960–61), 328.

INVERGORDON (Milleraig Farm), Rosshire, 1852 (B&D SP11)
c.60 AR, found carefully concealed in a cavity in a stone, suggested to have been possibly part of a building.
Latest ‘1638’ ls.
English ‘few’ 1s. 1620–38
Continental ‘chiefly’ Spain, Philip IV 8 reales or patagons?
Lindsay 1845, 51.

BRIMMOND HILL, Aberdeenshire, 1942 (B&D SP5)
4 AR, 4 billon, 69 AE, value c.22s. Scots /1s. 10d. Sterling, found lying loose under a small boulder by Home Guard during target practice near top of Brimmond Hill, about six miles west of Aberdeen.
Latest 1632–39 turner (46)
Scottish Mary Queen of Scots bawbee (1); James VI plack (3), turner (4); Charles I turner (60)
English Mary 4d. (1); Elizabeth I 3d. (1)
Continental United Netherlands doit (2), Germany Nuremberg counter (1)
Unidentified silver (2), copper (2)
Cruckshank 1943–4.

26 Single finds of the appropriate coins noted above have not been included because of the difficulty of assigning their loss to a particular time in the seventeenth century. These are listed in Bateson 1989, and Bateson and Holmes 1997; 2003; 2006.
27 The format basically follows that of Besly 1987, 75–115, for the inventory of the English Civil War hoards. Brown and Dolley 1971 (B&D) contains full references and these have all been checked and copies are kept in the Scottish Coin Hoards files in the Hunterian Museum. Only selected references are included here. More recent finds are given in the main published reference.
28 Stevenson and Porteous 1972, 140 n.3.
POW (Stromness) Orkney, 1955 (B&D SP24)
132 AE, value 22s. Scots / 1s. 10d. Sterling, found in the wall of an old farm.
Latest 1632–39 turner (124)
Scottish Charles I turner (124 + 4 forgeries)
English Charles I farthings (2 + 2 forgeries)
Stevenson 1959.

ST COMBS, Aberdeenshire, 2002
36 AE, value 6s. Scots / 6d. Sterling, found by metal detectorist in sands.
Latest 1632–39 turner (32)
Scottish Charles I 1632–39 (32 + 3 forgeries)
Continental United Netherlands doit (1)

LOCH DOCHART, Perthshire, 1906 (B&D SP34)
87 AE, value 14s. 6d. Scots / 5s. 1/2d. Sterling, found in the private room, beside the hall, during clearing out of the ruins of the castle on the isle in Loch Dochart, destroyed by fire in 1646; fine chain found with coins suggested to be from a sporran, but equally possibly a purse.
Latest 1632–39 turner (87)
Scottish Charles I turner 1632–39 (87)
Place 1905–06.

TOWARD CASTLE (Cowal Peninsula), Argyllshire, 1979
33 AE, value 5s. 6d. Scots / 51/2d. Sterling, found during excavation of the hall, spread on the floor with traces of burnt straw adhering to many.
Latest 1632–39 turner (33)
Scottish Charles I turner 1632–39 (33)
Bateson 1993.

TARBAT (Balone Castle), Ross and Cromarty, 1820 (B&D SP39)
'A number' AE, garden find near castle, along with a finger-ring.
Latest 1632–39 turner
Scotland Charles I turner 1632–39 (all)

ARDNAVE (Loch Gruinart), Islay, 1968 (B&D SP35)
81 AR, value £114 6s. 4d. Scots / £9 10s. 6d. Sterling, sandhills site.
Latest im triangle (1639–40) Is. (1)
English Edward VI Is. (1); Elizabeth I Is. (23); James I Is. (17); Charles I Is. 6d. (7), 1s. (3)
Continental United Netherlands rijksdaalder (10), half rijksdaalder (1), Spanish Netherlands patagon (6), quarter patagon (1), Holy Roman Empire taler (12)
Stevenson and Porteous 1972.

BANKHEAD (Newhills Parish), Aberdeenshire, 1862 (B&D SP3)
32AR, value £20 9s. 6d. Scots / £1 14s. 6d. Sterling.
Latest im triangle (1639–40) 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (1)
English Elizabeth I 1s. (9), 6d. (6); James I 1s. (6), 6d. (3); Charles I 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (1)
Continental Spain ‘dollar’ (1), ‘half dollar’ (1), ‘quarter dollar’ (4)
All in ‘poor preservation’ except 1s. Charles I.
Sim 1862, 231, *

IRVINE, Ayrshire, 1923 (B&D SP12)
351 AR, value c.£120 Scots / £10 Sterling, found when digging foundations for new building at 172 High Street, along with two silver spoons and a silver cane top.
Latest 1636–42 40d. (40)
Scottish James VI thistle merk (1), half thistle merk (1), quarter thistle merk (8); Charles I 40d. (40)
English Edward VI 6d. (1); Mary 6d. (21); Philip & Mary 4d. (8); Elizabeth I Is. (10), 6d. (114), 4d. (25), 3d. (8); James I 1s. (8), 6d. (14); Charles I 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (33), 6d. (22), 2d. (3); unidentified (12)
Irish James I Is. (6), 6d. (12)
Continental Spain (2)
Callander 1924–5. This concentrates on the three silver objects which, however, cannot be closely dated; the coins were examined by Sir George Macdonald who dated the hoard 1635–40 but did not provide details of the coins which were returned to the finders (Callander 1924–5, 123).

* Evans and Thain 1989, 13, where the Spanish ‘dollar’ is dated 1634 and the hiding place described as beneath the paving of an old cowhouse.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Value (Sterling)</th>
<th>Value (Scots)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE CASTLECARY HOARD</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowehead of Crombie,</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>AR 2, c.2000 AE, value £17 2s. 4d.</td>
<td>Scots £1 5s. 2d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banffshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sterling, found by herd boy in mole-hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LATEST</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish James I</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>turner (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles I</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>40d. (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental Louis XIV</td>
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<td>double tournois (1)</td>
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<td><strong>Sim</strong></td>
<td>1862-24</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>STRATHBLANE</strong></td>
<td>1793</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stirlingshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (?+) AR, c.2000 AE, value £40</td>
<td>Scots £1 5s. 2d.</td>
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<td>Sterling, found by herd boy in mole-hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1837-42</td>
<td>12s.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I 12s. 1637-42 (uncertain number)</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth I, sovereign (1+?), James I unte (1+?): Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I uncertain 5s., 2s. 6d., 'mainly' Is.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish Netherlands ducaton ('some'), Germany taler ('some')</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>63 (1793), 1144</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statistical Account</td>
<td>18, 583</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>1845, 263</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CARLUKE</strong></td>
<td>1782</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lanarkshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR c.52 ounces, little detail recorded, found during demolition of old house.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1837-42</td>
<td>30s. Charles I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I 30s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth I 1s., 6d.; James I 1s., 6d.; Charles 2s. 6d.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PARTICK</strong></td>
<td>1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glasgow, Lanarkshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>'number', c.30 ounces AR, found under the gable of an old house.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1837-42</td>
<td>(‘a few’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>probably 3rd coinage 1637-42</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>James I, Charles I, unspecifie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td></td>
<td>German crowns, Spanish dollars</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>1845, 260</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>KELSO</strong></td>
<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wooden Farm, Roxburghshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 AV, 1365 AR, value c.£880 Scots / £70 Sterling, found in pot (possibly chamber pot) by metal detectorist in field after harvest.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1637-42</td>
<td>30s. Charles I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I 30s.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth I 1s., 6d.; James I 1s., 6d.; Charles 2s. 6d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Netherlands rijksdaalder (9), half rijksdaalder (9), Spanish Netherlands patagon (21), half patagon (14), quarter patagon (33), Austria taler (9), half taler (1), Imperial Cities taler (5), half taler (1), Germany taler (6), half taler (2), Sweden 4 marks (4), 2 marks (1), mark (4), half mark (1), Poland half taler (1) Bateson 1991.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RANNOCH</strong></td>
<td>1875</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>155 AR, value c.£100 Scots / £8 6s. 8d. Sterling.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1637-42</td>
<td>10s. Charles I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I 30s. (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth I 1s. (10), 6d. (40); James I 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (3), 6d. (14); Charles I 2s. 6d. (14), 1s. (48), 6d. (14)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NOTICES OF RECENT FINDS OF COINS IN SCOTLAND</strong> PSAS 11 (1874-6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish Netherlands</td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert &amp; Elizabeth 'dollar' (3), Spain Philip IV 8 reales (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Notices of recent finds of coins in Scotland'</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>DRYBURGH</strong></td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Berwickshire</td>
<td>c.1938</td>
<td>10+ AR, found during road mending near Dryburgh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>6d. Charles I 2s. 6d. (2)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I 1637-42 12s. (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles I Tower 2s. 6d. im? 1634-8 (1), Oxford 2s. 6d. (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continental</td>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Netherlands patagonas (&quot;several&quot;)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PSAS</strong></td>
<td>11 (1874-6)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>GLENBEG</strong></td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cluny, Parish of Rafford, Morayshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>AR 63, billon, 557 AE, value £25 4s. 0d. Scots / £2 2s. 6d. Sterling.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latest</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>44 York 2s. 6d. (1), 1642-50 turner</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td>James VI plack (1), turner (uncertain); Charles I 40d. (1), turner (500+)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English Mary 4d. (12), 5d. (1), 1s. (1); Elizabeth I Is. (2), 6d. (23), 4d. (4), 3d. (2); James I Is. (1), 6d. (1); Charles I 2s. 6d. (3), 1s. (1), 6d. (3), 2d. (1); illegible (5)
Irish James I 6d. (1)
Continental France Louis XIII double tournois (4/5)

Sim 1864, 226–7.

CHAPELTON (West Kilbride), Ayrshire, 1870 (B&D SP40)
216 AR, value c.£120 18s. 0d. Sterling, found on Chapelton Farm.

Latest im eye (1645) 1s. (1 or more)

English Mary 4d. (2); Elizabeth I Is. (56), 6d. (66), 4d. (1); James I Is. (30), 6d. (5); Charles I 2s. 6d. (19), 1s. (31), 6d. (2)
Irish James I Is. (4)

PSAS 9 (1870–72), 217–2.

BARBRECK (Lochaweside, Parish of Glenorchy and Inishail), Argyllshire, 1871 (B&D SP46)
6 AR, value c.£16 16s. 0d. Sterling, found during tree planting on Barbreck Farm and associated with large boulder.

Latest 1645

Continental Germany thalers (6)

PSAS 9 (1870–72), 272–3.

FISHERROW (North High Street, Musselburgh), Midlothian, 1951 (B&D SP17)
316 AR, 2 AE 'probably the bulk of the hoard', value c.£196 5s. 0d. Sterling, found during clearing of foundations of demolished old houses – contained in a two-handled metal pot buried near the surface beside the foundations.

Latest 1646 Oxford 2s. 6d. (1)

Scottish Charles I 12s. (1), half merk (1), turners (2)

English Philip & Mary Is. (2); Elizabeth I Is. (41), 6d. (84); James I Is. (26), 6d. (15); Charles I 2s. 6d. (22), 1s. (102), 6d. (10)

Continental United Netherlands dollar (1), Spanish Netherlands dollar (4), half dollar (1), quarter dollar (1), Spain dollar (4), quarter dollar (1)

Kerr 1952.

CASTLECARY, Stirlingshire, 1926
134 AR, value £90 8s. 8d. Sterling.

Latest im sun (1645–46) 2s. 6d. (2), 1s. (3)

Scottish James VI 4th merk (2), 30s. (1)

English Elizabeth I Is. (38), 6d. (36); James I 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (10), 6d. (8); Charles I 2s. 6d. (26), 1s. (31), 6d. (7)

Irish James I Is. (24)

GRANGEMOUTH, Stirlingshire, 1899 (B&D SP10)
1094 AR, recovered during 'excavations for the Caledonian Railway near Grangemouth Docks' and concealed in mid-seventeenth-century glazed water jar with handle on one side.

Latest im sun (1645–46) 2s. 6d. (1 survives)

Scottish James VI 4th merk (2), quarter thistle merk (1); Charles I half merk (2)

English Elizabeth I Is. (85), 6d. (94); James I 2s. 6d. (9), 1s. (57), 6d. (23); Charles I 2s. 6d. (264), 1s. (263), 6d. (17)

Irish James I Is. (24)

Continental Spanish Netherlands, Spain, patagon 1, Spain, 8 reales (1)

PSAS 34 (1899–1900), 15–16.

UNCERTAIN, c.1791 (B&D SP26)
6+ AR.

Latest im sun (1645–46) Is. (1)

English Elizabeth I Is. (1); Charles I 2s. 6d. (1), 1s. (2)

Continental Spanish Netherlands, patagon 1, Spain, 8 reales (1)

Archaeologia Scotia 3 (1831), 78.

DUNES, Berwickshire, 1859 (B&D SP8)
21 AR, value £12 12s. 6d. Scots / £1 10s. 0d. Sterling, found during demolition of an old house.

Latest im sceptre (1645–49), 1s. (1 – ?)

English Elizabeth I Is. (1); Charles I Is. (20)

PSAS 4 (1860–62), 397.

BIRDSTON (Parish of Campsie), Stirlingshire, 1790 (B&D SP4)
c.200 AR, found when digging a ditch in a bog, about 20 inches below the surface.

Latest Charles I

Scottish unspecified

English Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d.
Continental United Netherlands, Austria?, Denmark ‘crowns’
Lindsay 1845, 263; Manville 1993, 109.

KILMARNOCK, Ayrshire, 1778 (B&D SP14)
Unspecified number, in ‘indifferent order’, found in the wall of an old house.
Latest Charles I
English Elizabeth I 1s., 6d.; James I 1s., 6d.; Charles I 2s. 6d., 6d. (‘a few’) 
Other ‘mainly English’
Lindsay 1845, 263.

KILMARNOCK, Ayrshire, 1785 (B&D SP13)
14 pounds AR, found in digging foundations for new house, pot.
Latest Charles I
English Elizabeth I 1s., 6d.; James I 5s., 2s. 6d.; Charles I 5s., 2s. 6d.
Lindsay 1845, 262.

KIPPENDAVIE, Stirlingshire, 1863 (B&D SP15)
50 AR, value £49 1s. 0d. Scots / £4 1s. 9d. Sterling.
Latest Charles I
Scottish James VI 30s. (1)
English Philip & Mary 1s. (1), 6d. (1); Elizabeth I 1s. (5), 6d. (3); James I 1s. (6); Charles I 2s. 6d. (11); 1s. (16), 6d. (1)
Continental Spain ‘dollars’ (2), half dollars (1), Germany ‘dollars’ (2)
PSAS 5 (1862-4), 236.

MILLHEUGH, Lanarkshire, 1820 (B&D SP37)
AR and AE, garden find, in pot.
Latest Charles I
English Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I.

ROSEMARKIE, Ross and Cromarty, 1788 (B&D SP38)
Mostly shillings, found in a small cairn on a moor about a mile from the village.
Latest Charles I
English Elizabeth I 1s.; James I, Charles I 1s. and mixture of other coins.

DUART POINT, Isle of Mull, Argyllshire, 1992
Found during excavation of the wreck of the Swan, which sank in September 1653; traces of cloth bag adhering. ‘A corroded mass of silver coins’, ‘the metal was too far gone to allow the individual coins to be disassembled’, but a few loose ones bore late sixteenth century dates'.

MILTON (Carluke), Lanarkshire, 1829
8+ AR.
Latest 1658 patagon (1)
Continental Spanish Netherlands patagon (1), quarter patagon (1), Austria taler (1), Germany, Prussia (1), Imperial cities, Cologne (1), Transylvania taler (1), Poland taler (1), Denmark taler (1)
Archer 2000.

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