

place. The complete hoard was said to have consisted of eight coins 'all of the same types' and this, together with the full flans and relatively unworn condition of the three coins that have been recorded, suggests that the hoard probably contained only coins of Elizabeth I. Unfortunately all that can be said for certain about the date of deposition is that the hoard has a *terminus post quem* of 1573, although it seems unlikely that it can have been very much later than that. Again the figures in brackets show the weights as percentages of the theoretical standards (3.11g for the sixpences and 6.22g for the shilling).

CATALOGUE

Elizabeth I

Shilling

1. Lis, 1558–60. 6.2g (99.7%). 135°. North 1985.

Sixpences

2. Coronet, 1568. 3.0g (96.5%). 350°. North 1997.
3. Acorn, 1573. 2.9g (93.2%). 225°. North 1997.

THE 1996 BROUGHTON (OXON) COIN HOARD

N.J. MAYHEW AND E.M. BESLY

IN December 1996 Mr Keith Westcott, a metal-detector user searching with the permission of the land owner, Lord Saye and Sele, discovered a small hoard of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coins near Broughton Castle, north Oxfordshire (O.S. grid ref. SP 419381). Sixteen coins were found over a number of days, though all were located within an area about 1.5 metres square; there was no trace of any container. Mr Westcott immediately informed Lord Saye, who promptly contacted the Ashmolean Museum. The find was declared Treasure Trove at a coroner's inquest at Oxford in December 1997: the last such to be held in Oxfordshire under the old common law. The coins were acquired by the Ashmolean Museum through the Department for Culture, Media & Sport early the following year. The hoard constitutes a fairly typical group ranging from Mary to Charles I, with the addition of three large coins of Philip IV of Spain, struck in the Spanish Netherlands (Pl. 13, 14–16). The coins may be listed as follows:

1. Mary I, groat, extremely worn. North 1960.¹ 1.14g.
2. Elizabeth I, sixpence, privy mark (p.m.) Plain Cross; dated 1578. N. 1997. 2.74g.
3. Elizabeth I, sixpence, p.m. Tun; dated 1593. N. 2014. 2.84g.
4. Elizabeth I, threepence, extremely worn, p.m. unknown; dated 156[-]. N. 1998. 0.80g.
5. Elizabeth I, threepence, extremely worn, p.m. Castle; dated [157]1. N. 1998. 0.84g.
6. James I, shilling, Second coinage, p.m. Grapes? (1607). N. 2100. 5.64g.
7. James I, sixpence, First coinage, p.m. thistle; dated 1604. N. 2075. 2.70g.
8. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Crown (1635–6/7). *SCBI* 33, 498–502.² 5.28g.
9. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Tun (1636/7–8). *SCBI* 33, 506–12. 6.08g.
10. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Anchor (1638–9), obv. flukes left. *SCBI* 33, 517–21. 5.84g.
11. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Triangle-in-circle (1641–3), *SCBI* 33, 549–50 (but HI). 5.80g.
12. Charles I, shilling, p.m. unknown, but probably Rose or Feathers, 1630–2. Double struck. *SCBI* 33, 447–52 or 459–63. 4.88g.
13. Charles I, shilling, p.m. unknown, but on the reverse a suggestion of an anchor, which would accord with the cross ends. *SCBI* 33, 517–21, 523–9. 6.03g.
14. Philip IV of Spain, for the Spanish Netherlands, patagon, Arras mint; dated 1629. Delmonte 298.³ Enno van Gelder & Hoc 329–7.⁴ 27.98g.
15. Philip IV, half-patagon, Tournai mint; dated 1623. Delmonte 308. Enno van Gelder & Hoc 330–9. 12.90g.
16. Philip IV, half-ducaton, Antwerp mint; dated 1633. Delmonte 279. Enno van Gelder & Hoc 328–1a. 16.24g.

Numbers 3 and 12 were discovered after the rest and brought to the Ashmolean by Mr Westcott early in January 1997, and number 9 was brought to the Museum separately by Lord Saye.

The latest firmly datable coin is no. 11, struck sometime between 1641 and 1643. The triangle-in-circle

¹ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* Vol. 2, 3rd Edition (1991). Hereafter N.

² J. J. North and P. J. Preston-Morley, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* 33: *The John G. Brooker Collection; Coins of Charles I (1625–1649)* (1984).

³ A. Delmonte, *Le Benelux d'Argent* (Amsterdam, 1967).

⁴ H. Enno van Gelder and M. Hoc, *Les Monnaies des Pays-Bas Bourguignons et Espagnols 1434–1713* (Amsterdam, 1960).

issue was of course struck in very large quantities, and the presence of only a single example may indicate that the hoard was concealed earlier rather than later in its period of issue, but there are various other factors which should also be taken into account. Most obviously, the location of the find, within sight of Broughton Castle, which was surrendered to the royalists very shortly after the battle of Edgehill in October 1642, strongly argues for a date of deposit connected with these early military manoeuvres. However, the presence of three large denomination coins from the Spanish Netherlands (nos 14 to 16) in a British hoard is also worthy of comment, and may be of some relevance to the question of the hoard's date. English kings have always attempted to exclude foreign coins from circulation in their territory. A small proportion of intruders have sometimes penetrated the English money supply and won informal acceptance, but for the most part it was English (and Scots and Irish) money which circulated in England and Wales. Certainly, when compared with the currency of mainland Europe, England was far more completely served by its own money than other countries. For this reason, the fact that the three most valuable coins in this hoard were foreign, comprising just over half its total face value, is of special interest.

In March 1644 the royalist government in Oxford issued a proclamation making various foreign coins legal tender in England and Wales at specific values.⁵ This proclamation enables us to set a sterling face value on the foreign coins in the Broughton hoard. The patagon, known as a cross dollar, was rated at 4s. 6d, and the ducation at 5s. 6d. Valuing the halves *pro rata* gives a total value of 9s. 6d. for the foreign element, and for the whole hoard of 18s. 10d. The need to make such a proclamation also suggests that foreign coins may have been playing a greater role in England than normal, as a result of the disruption caused by the war. A consideration of the other hoards known from this period with a foreign element will help to put this question in context.

Foreign coins have been found in only a small minority of the coin hoards from Charles I's reign. Mostly, these comprise issues from Spain or the Spanish Netherlands. Ignoring hoards containing small numbers of worn reals and half-reals, long since assimilated into the currency, the current evidence is

summarised in Table 1.⁶ There are two gold coins, of which the half-rijder is of interest both as a fraction of a type validated by the 1644 proclamation and for its find spot, Newark. Eight hoards, five of them found since 1980, contained patagons and/or ducations. Three are from Yorkshire, two from the Newark area and one each from Devon, Lancashire and Oxfordshire. To these may be added one each from Devon and Lancashire and two Yorkshire finds containing unspecified 'dollars' or similar. Is a pattern beginning to emerge?

Because Civil War hoards are so numerous compared with those from the decades either side, it is hard to say whether the appearance of these continental coins in hoards is specific to the war years, though no certainly pre-war hoard from Charles I's reign contains them. Spanish and Portuguese coins were, for instance, a familiar sight in the Exeter of the 1630s: the city had strong trading links with the Iberian countries.⁷ Continental silver was no doubt similarly familiar in east coast ports. However, there are very few records of single finds of Spanish Netherlands silver coins from England or Wales, which might perhaps be expected were they a regular part of the currency.⁸ We know, too, that the royalists acquired consignments of foreign silver, probably through their continental fund-raising: Thomas Bushell is recorded exchanging 'dollars' at Shrewsbury – presumably at the outset, while the Earl of Newcastle was sent 'a little barrel of ducatoons', amounting to £500 sterling, probably late in 1642.⁹

On 22 February 1643 Queen Henrietta Maria landed at Bridlington in Yorkshire, bringing substantial supplies garnered during her year-long stay on the continent. She proceeded to York (6 March), staying there until late May, before heading south to a reunion with the King on the field of Edgehill on 13 July. The meeting and the coincident victory at Roundway Down, near Devizes, were commemorated on the 'Kineton' medal by Rawlins, of which the apparently unique survivor is in the British Museum. Her itinerary took in Doncaster, Newark (16 June – 3 July), Ashby, King's Norton, Walsall and Stratford-on-Avon;¹⁰ and on 13 July the royal couple spent the night at Wroxton, which lies approximately 3½ km/2¼ miles north of Broughton, before moving on to Oxford.¹¹

⁵ British Library 1851. b3 (37); E. Besly, *Coins and Medals of the English Civil War* (1990), pp. 70–3.

⁶ References in the first column are to the Inventory in E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards* (1987), pp. 76ff. Caution: B.J. Cook, 'Four Seventeenth Century Treasure Troves', *BNJ* 60 (1990), at pp. 91–6; Middleham: C. Barclay, 'A Civil War hoard from Middleham, North Yorkshire', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 84–98. One further hoard, unprovenanced (perhaps Kent) and buried 1645 or later, included two eight-reales (Mexico and Potosi) of Philip IV, three patagons and a half-rijksdaalder (H5: 'Mr Binney's').

⁷ J.N. Brushfield, 'The financial diary of a citizen of Exeter, 1631–41', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 33 (1901), 187–269, at p. 198.

⁸ A quarter-patagon was found in Norfolk in 1997 (*BNJ* 67, Coin Register 1997, no. 243); a ducation of Philip IV reported to E.B. in 1998 from the 'Yorkshire Dales' may be of 1639 or 1659; its date is unclear on the scanned image seen.

⁹ G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), pp. 84, 272; Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle . . .*, edited by C.H. Firth (1886), p. 22.

¹⁰ S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War 1642–1649* (1894 edition), Vol. 1, pp. 94–5, 160–5; A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 4th Edition, Vol. V (1851), pp. 301–3; E. Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria* (1976), p. 196.

¹¹ R. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: the Intrepid Queen* (1990), p. 109.

TABLE 1. English Civil War hoards containing European Coins

				<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Latest coins</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>1/2P</i>	<i>1/4P</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>1/2D</i>	<i>Other</i>
B2	Newark, Balderton Gate	Notts	1961	97+		£61-0-0d+	Triangle?/Eye?						Zeeland: 1/2-rijder, 1
D-	Broughton	Oxon.	1996		15	£0-18-10d	T.-in-C.	1	1			1	
D19	Newark, Crankley Point	Notts.	1957	17	466	£31-19-4d	T.-in-C.	2	1	2			
D21	Painswick	Gloucs.	1941	34	8	£22-15-10d	T.-in-C.						Philip II, Filipsdaalder 1586, 1
E2	Breckenbrough	N. Yorks.	1985	30	1552	£93-5-0d	(P)/York 2	1		1	7	3	Liège: teston, 1
E3	Barton	Lancs.	1967		5	£0-10-3d	'1643-4'			2			
E-	Caunton	Notts.	1988		1571	£62-14-9d	(P)/1643	8	2	16	2	1	Zeeland: rijksdaalder, 1
E13	Pocklington	Yorks ER	1849		161+	£17-6-6d+	(P)/York 3						Philip IV 'dollars', 9
E17	Sowerby	W. Yorks.	1818	22		£11-18-6d	(P)						Brabant: double Albertin, 1
F5	Buckfastleigh	Devon	1932		36	£2-2-9d	Exeter 1644				1	1	
H/J-	Middleham A	N. Yorks	1993		1263	£74-17-8½d	Sun	2			45	6	Philip IV, 8-reales, 2
	Middleham B	N. Yorks	1993		2220	£146-7-9½d	Sun	1			141	8	
	Middleham C	N. Yorks	1993		1616	£91-8-11d	Sceptre				37	5	
J2	East Worlington	Devon	1895		5188	£242-18-10d	Sceptre						'Spanish dollar c. 1630'
J6	Whittingham	Lancs.	1853		301	£15?	Sceptre						'Spanish coins'
J7	Wyke, Bradford	Yorks	1982		1048	£38-13-8d+	Sceptre				1		Campan: Arends-shelling, 1
K22	Preston (Fulwood)	Lancs.	1812		+	?	'Charles I'						Philip IV 'a crown piece'
K45	Newby Wiske	N. Yorks	1858		270	?	'Charles I'						Philip IV 'dollars'

Finds with worn half- and 1-reals are omitted. P: patagons D: ducaton



BESLY: TREGWYNT CIVIL WAR HOARD (3)



MAYHEW AND BESLY: BROUGHTON HOARD

How much money the Queen was bringing is not known, though the Venetian ambassador believed her to have large sums; but there is, *prima facie*, a remarkable coincidence between her route, the time spent at York and Newark, and the distribution and broad dates of the hoards containing coins from the Spanish Netherlands.¹² Future finds may, of course, modify the picture, but it appears to us that disbursements en route by the Queen's entourage might have provided the mechanism whereby some at least of these foreign

coins went into local circulation in royalist-held areas. This observation does not in itself date the Broughton hoard for us, but it allows for a third possibility: that the coins may have been deposited in or after July 1643, nine months or more after Edgehill and the capture of Broughton Castle. In spite of its small size, this find raises interesting questions regarding the interpretation of coin hoards, even in well-documented historical periods, and underlines the need for caution in associating them with specific historical events.

CROMWELL COIN TOOLS IN THE ROYAL MINT MUSEUM

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1973 Graham Dyer arranged for photographs of the Cromwell coin dies and punches in the Royal Mint Museum. The task was sponsored at the time by Mr Collin Southern, and the photography was by Mr H.T. Mozley, Senior Photographer at the Royal Mint. This paper presents those photographs, generally in the same order (by denomination) as Hocking used to catalogue the tools in 1910,¹ with a concordance to the resultant coins as listed in papers by this writer.² Die photographs are reversed, and the side-view sketches, made by the author in 1970, are only of approximate full size. Tools 12–15 and 31–36 are shown both full size and double size; 16–30 and M are full size. Punch M is 103 mm high.

The Cromwell tools were never officially retained by the Mint, and remained in Simon's possession. In the introduction to this section of his catalogue, Hocking stated that in 1700 Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, purchased ten puncheons (including the one for a medal) and nine dies, all of which were at the time assumed to be by Simon, and then he went on to describe which they were, the ones he considered Simon's, the ones of doubtful origin, and the remainder he attributed to Tanner. An earlier work by Hocking was more explicit, quoting the minutes of a Board

meeting of 9 November 1700, and it is reproduced here from his article: 'The Master reported that he had bought, according to the direction of the Board, 10 puncheons and 9 dies graven by Mr Simonds famous graver in the time of Ol. Cromwell for 14 guineas. Mr Croker, Ingraver of the Mint, chose out of them to pair 2 puncheons, one a head and the other an armes for crown pieces, two puncheons being a head and armes for sixpences, and two dies being a head and armes for 2^{li} pieces of gold, giving his receipt, and the rest were locked up in the Treasury'.³ Whetmore was unable to find any reference to the subject in the Board Minutes of the Royal Mint from 23 March 1699 to 26 February 1701. However, he did find in Newton's Warden's account for 25 December 1700. 'To Eliz Winter for old Puncheons and Dyes of Symonds Work for our Gravers to copy after £15.1.0'.⁴ Nothing has been found in the published volumes of Newton's correspondence.⁵

The trail from Simon to Newton is a rocky one. In 1665 Simon (1618–1665) willed his tools to nephew William (dates unknown), only *if* he served an apprenticeship as an engraver, else they were to revert to his son, Samuel (1653–?) who would already inherit the medals, patterns, waxes, paintings, and so on. Daughter Ann (1659–?) married Mr Hibbert in 1674.

¹² The two apparently exceptional areas are Devon and Lancashire; but only two of the five hoards in question are securely dated (Buckfastleigh, 1644+; East Worlington, 1647+; both therefore 'late' in this context) and only one (Buckfastleigh) certainly contains ducats/patagons [information on this find from John Allan].

Acknowledgements are to Graham Dyer, who provided the inputs and critical review to this paper, and to Hugh Pagan for his research into Marlow, the jeweller.

¹ W.J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint, vol. II – Dies, Medals and Seals*, 1910, pages 4–6, catalogue numbers 12–36.

² M. Lessen, 'A listing of Cromwell coin types', *BNJ* 66 (1996), 120, and 'Summary of the Cromwell coinage', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 163–72.

³ W.J. Hocking, 'Simon's dies in the Royal Mint Museum', *NC* 1909, 98–116. His tool descriptions here were more extensive than his later summary for the Royal Mint catalogue. The Board minutes were probably from what is now identified as PRO MINT 177, p. 20. Craig has only a sentence on this from the 1701 Warden's Accounts, and states that the purchase cost £5 and the purpose was as models for training, J. Craig, *Newton at the Mint*, Cambridge, 1946, 37.

⁴ S.A.H. Whetmore, 'Some further notes on Thomas Simon', *BNJ* 30 (1960), 172–3. The Warden's account volume for 25 December 1699 to 25 December 1700 (MINT 19/4) only came into the Mint's possession with the acquisition of the Newton Papers in 1936, long after Hocking. These are now in the PRO.

⁵ J.F. Scott, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, vol. iv, 1694–1709, Cambridge, 1967, even though this volume is very Mint-oriented.