

series, but the fact that a very similar reverse die was used on a coin of Malcolm IV suggests that it may have come right at the end of David's Carlisle coinage.

The coin will be claimed as Treasure Trove. Its current day book number is TTDB 2016/016.

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THE OUTCHESTER HOARD, 1817

T.C.R. CRAFTER

IN February 1817 an important late twelfth-century coin hoard was found at Outchester in the parish of Bamburgh, Northumberland. Hitherto only meagre details about the discovery of the Outchester hoard, its size and modern deposition have been available.¹ Over sixty years ago Derek Allen was able to connect thirty-two coins in the British Museum with the hoard. This note utilises unpublished sources in The National Archives (TNA) and the Central Archives of the British Museum (BMCA) to further our knowledge of the hoard.

Discovery

The hoard was discovered in a field on Outchester Farm by James and John Craigs, two brothers working as surveyors on the farms in the hamlets of Outchester and Spindleston.² The farms were part of the Northern Estates of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, which had been granted by the Crown in 1735. The estates had formerly been those of James Radclyffe, third earl of Derwentwater, which had been forfeited after his attainder in 1716. The Craigs brothers had been employed by John Dinning, the Hospital's local agent. It is probable that the hoard was discovered during remedial work and specific improvements to Outchester Farm, which the tenant, Richard Cockburn, understood would be made when he took lease of it on 12 May 1816 and which were completed by July 1817.³

Shortly after the Craigs brothers discovered the hoard, Dinning wrote to inform his superiors, Joseph Forster and Thomas Wailes, the Receivers of the Northern Estates of Greenwich Hospital, whose office was in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Dinning evidently enclosed a few coins with his initial letter. Forster and Wailes requested that Dinning collect all of the coins including 'those already found and disposed of by the men', authorized moderate expenses if a further search was necessary, and asked him send the whole find to them.⁴ Receiving no reply, Forster and Wailes wrote to Dinning again on 4 March 1817:

¹ Allen 1951, xlix–lii; Thompson 1956, no. 299; Metcalf 1977, 24, no. 5; Allen 2002, 47, no. 11.

² See the second block quotation; for the fact that the hoard was found in a field, see n.4 below.

³ TNA, ADM 79/59, 'A report on the View of the Greenwich Hospital Estates in the Counties of Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham: made by Order of the Commissioners and Governors of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich in the months of June & July, 1817', pp. 413–14.

⁴ TNA, ADM 65/133, 26 Feb. 1817, Forster and Wailes marked 'Private' [to Dinning]. Dinning's initial letter about the hoard may have contained additional details about the circumstances of its discovery, but neither this, nor any of Dinning's other letters are extant, however. TNA, ADM 66/89, pp. 14–16, 8 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer, states that Dinning's initial letter was dated 25 Feb. 1817 and that it stated that the hoard was found in a field.

We request that you will without delay get possession of the coins found at Outchester, as if any of our powerful neighbours should hear of it, and get possession before us, we might have some questions arise, which may be avoided by alertness.⁵

Dinning took prompt action and within days the coins were delivered to Foster and Wailes. The principal surviving information about the hoard is contained in the course of a letter from Forster and Wailes to Dinning which acknowledged that they had received the coins:

We have received the Plans of the several farms in Spindleston and Outchester Estates by James Craigs and also your letter of the 2nd Instant [2 March 1817]. We have also got possession of the all the old coins found by Craigs and his brother at Outchester amounting in number to 975 whole pieces and 31 halfpennies which have been cut by shears, and weighing forty one ounces silver weight for which we have paid him seven pounds. The Board will most probably, when the business is laid before them, order a further payment to be made to James and John Craigs who found the Money.⁶

The total number of coins in the hoard was 1,006. The face value of the hoard delivered to Forster and Wailes at Newcastle was £4. 2s. 6½d. The stated weight of silver (41 oz.) was undoubtedly approximate, but nevertheless yields an acceptable mean weight of 1.17 g per penny.

After Forster and Wailes had obtained custody of the coins at their offices in Newcastle they informed John Dyer (1767–1847), the Secretary of Greenwich Hospital, of the hoard's discovery and asked for instructions from the Board of Directors.⁷ The Board ordered that the coins be transported to the Hospital.⁸ Accordingly Forster and Wailes sent the all of the coins to Dyer by the Mail Coach on 17 March 1817, 'except twenty which we have taken the liberty of retaining, taking care that there are similar ones in the bulk sent, but if the Board should think this improper, they shall be immediately transmitted.'⁹ The hoard duly arrived at Greenwich Hospital and was laid before the Board of Directors on 22 March 1817.¹⁰ As there is no further correspondence on the matter, it is reasonable to conclude that the total number of coins that reached the Hospital was 986 coins (955 pennies and 31 cut halfpennies). Shortly thereafter the briefest of notices about the hoard appeared in the popular press,¹¹ which seems to be the basis of information in later antiquarian publications.¹²

A consequence of Dinning's prompt action in securing the coins and removing them from the locality was that rival claims to the hoard, which had been anticipated by Forster and Wailes, could be vigorously opposed. In early March 1817 D.W. Smith, the Chief Agent for Hugh Percy (1742–1817), duke of Northumberland, wrote to claim the hoard as Treasure Trove.¹³ The claim was quickly withdrawn, however, with full recognition of the Rights of the Hospital.¹⁴ The sequel proved more serious for the Receivers, however. In April Thomas Brown, the Bailiff of Charles Bennet (1743–1822), earl of Tankerville, attempted to claim the coins. When Brown learned that the coins had already been removed he issued summons to Richard Cockburn of Outchester Farm and to William Bugg, tenant of Chesterhill Farm. The Receivers issued strict instructions that the summons were to be ignored, citing a precedent from April 1769, although they expressed concern that if the Earl of Tankerville's claim was not withdrawn it would be necessary to take legal advice.¹⁵ Forster and Wailes received unstinting support from the Board of Directors of Greenwich Hospital for their actions in both cases, after the fact.¹⁶

⁵ TNA, ADM 65/133, 1 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dinning.

⁶ TNA, ADM 69/133, 4 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dinning.

⁷ TNA, ADM 66/89, pp. 14–16, 8 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer.

⁸ TNA, ADM 67/66, p. 49 (Minutes of 12 Mar. 1817).

⁹ TNA, ADM 65/89, 17 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer.

¹⁰ TNA, ADM 67/66, p. 54 (Minutes of 22 Mar. 1817).

¹¹ *The New Monthly Magazine*, 7 (1817), 369 [no. 40, 1 May 1817].

¹² Allen 2002, 47, no. 11 with references.

¹³ TNA, ADM 66/89, pp. 14–16, 8 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer, contains a copy of the letter from Smith to Forster and Wailes at p. 16 together with their reply (= TNA, ADM 65/133, 4 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Smith).

¹⁴ TNA, ADM 66/89, p. 17, 14 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer.

¹⁵ TNA, ADM 65/79, 19 Apr. 1817, Forster and Wailes to Dyer, with a copy of summons and an extract from a letter from the Receivers of 23 Apr. 1769.

¹⁶ TNA, ADM 67/66, p. 49 (Minutes of 12 Mar. 1817) and p. 84 (Minutes of 3 May 1817).

Contents and date of deposition

There is a clear chain of events from the discovery of the hoard to its exhibition at a meeting of the Board of Directors at Greenwich Hospital on the 22 March 1817. The fate of the majority of the hoard thereafter is uncertain.¹⁷

In the following decade small groups of coins from the hoard were donated to the British Museum. In the course of compiling *BMC Henry II* in the 1940s, Derek Allen connected tickets that accompany thirty-two coins which refer to Dyer or his successor as Secretary of Greenwich Hospital, Edward Hawke Locker (1777–1849) with the Outchester hoard.¹⁸ The Officers' Reports held by Central Archives of the British Museum for May 1817 state:

John Dyer, Esq. of Greenwich Hospital has presented 15 pennies of Henry II and 7 pennies supposed to have been struck in Scotland, about the time of William the Lion. These coins were selected by Mr Combe, at Mr Dyer's request, from a parcel consisting of more than 800 pieces of the same kind, which were found in February last at Ulchester [sic], between Alnwick and Berwick, near Bamburgh Castle in the County of Northumberland.¹⁹

Taylor Combe (1774–1826) was well-placed to examine the Outchester Hoard, because he had recently published his analysis of the Tealby hoard of 1807, a hoard of approximately 6,000 pennies of the same type as the English coins in the Outchester hoard.²⁰ Unlike Combe's work on the Tealby hoard, his examination of the Outchester hoard may only have been cursory; no catalogue is known.

The number of coins stated to have been given by Dyer cannot be reconciled with thirty-two coins extant in the British Museum collection. The matter is further complicated by the coin tickets, which state that the English coins were donated by Dyer in 1819 and by Locker in 1827; the Scottish coins were donated by Dyer in 1817 and by Locker in 1825. There is no documentary evidence for the second donation by Dyer or either of the donations by Locker.

The thirty-two extant coins in the British Museum are a small sample from the whole hoard of 1,006 coins. It probably reflects the contents of the hoard, however, as suggested by the statement in the BM Central Archives (above) and a manuscript note cited by Allen:

about 150 of these [i.e. David I] and 700 H. 2^d – sent to the Greenwich Commissioners – Mr Ruding thought the foreign pennies probably German, Mr Combe Scottish of types not before known, on some the letters of David might be found, tho' not the name complete on any.²¹

The mixture of English and Scottish coins probably reflects the currency in circulation in Northumberland at the time of the hoard's deposit. The contemporary *Dialogus de Scaccario* states that the farms of Cumberland and Northumberland were permitted to be paid in any currency.²² An episode in *The Life of St Cuthbert* by Reginald of Durham suggests that Scottish coins were current with English coins in Cumberland in the late twelfth century, but that at least some of the people using them could distinguish between them.²³

Of the 32 extant coins in the British Museum, 20 are English pennies, 10 are Scottish sterlings and 2 are pennies of an issue particular to northern borders. The twenty English coins are Cross and Crosslets ('Tealby') pennies of Henry II of England (Table 1). The latest coin is a penny of Class E, dated between c.1170 and c.1174.²⁴ The ten Scottish coins are sterlings of David I of Stewart's Period (c) and Period (d) (Table 2). Sterlings of Period (c) have a cross fleury on the reverse and were struck from late 1140s to David I's death in 1153.

¹⁷ Bateson 1893, 199, n.2 states that some of the coins were in the possession of Canon James Raine (1830–96) of York, but without elaboration. No store can be put by this statement. In light of the fact that the entire Outchester hoard was sent to Greenwich Hospital, Raine's coins were probably from some other hoard that has been conflated with that found at Outchester, such as the 'Border' hoard, found before 1832 (discussed below).

¹⁸ Allen 1951, xlix.

¹⁹ BMCA, Officers' Reports 4 (1816–17), 10 May 1817, Dept. of Antiquities.

²⁰ Combe 1818. See also Sturman 1989 and Eaglen 2008, 211–12.

²¹ Allen 1951, xlix; the manuscript note cannot now be traced. TNA, ADM 66/89, pp. 14–16, 8 Mar. 1817, Forster and Wailles to Dyer, mentioned silver coins of King Stephen and Henry II, but does not mention the Scottish coins. It is probable that the Scottish coins, which have a profile bust, were mistaken for English coins of King Stephen.

²² Johnson, Carter and Greenway 1983, 9 and 43.

²³ Mayhew 1980.

²⁴ Crafter 1998, 52–5.

Sterlings of Period (d) are a continuation – and degeneration – of the types of Period (c) and form the greater part of Scottish coinage between the death of David I and the introduction of the Crescents coinage of William the Lion in the early 1170s.²⁵ The two coins that are of issues restricted to the northern borders are pennies of Prince Henry of Scotland (d.1152) as earl of Northumberland. Both pennies are of the distinctive type that probably dates to the mid- or late 1140s (Table 2).²⁶

TABLE 1. English Cross and Crosslets ('Tealby') pennies of Henry II from the Outchester hoard in the British Museum²⁷

No.	<i>BMC Henry II</i>	<i>Mint and moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Wt (g)</i>
1	72	Canterbury, Goldeep	C3	Dyer, 1819	1.41
2	74	Canterbury, Goldeep	C3	Locker, 1827	1.43
3	305	Ipswich, Nicole	B	Locker, 1827	1.39
4	390	Lincoln, Godric	B	Locker, 1827	1.41
5	431	Lincoln, Swein	A1	Locker, 1827	1.50
6	442	London, Accard	D2	Locker, 1827	1.46
7	463	London, Edmund	D1	Dyer, 1819	1.44
8	468	London, Geffrei	A2	Dyer, 1819	1.44
9	541	London, Pieres M	A2	Dyer, 1819	1.48
10	583	Newcastle, Willem	A1	Dyer, 1819	1.23
11	600	Newcastle, Willem	E1	Locker, 1827	1.08
12	631	Northampton, Stefne	A	Dyer, 1819	1.40
13	677	Norwich, Reiner	A	Locker, 1827	[0.82]
14	707	Stafford, Willem	C3	Locker, 1827	1.38
15	709	Thetford, Siwate	A1	Dyer, 1819	1.12
16	713	Thetford, Siwate	C1	Dyer, 1819	1.39
17	734	Thetford, William	C1	Dyer, 1819	1.34
18	744	Thetford, William Ma	A1	Dyer, 1819	1.43
19	800	York, Hervi	A1	Locker, 1827	1.44
20	806	York, Norman	A1	Locker, 1827	1.26

TABLE 2. Scottish sterlings and Henry of Northumberland pennies from the Outchester hoard in the British Museum

No.	<i>Registration Number</i>	<i>Stewart 1971 period</i>	<i>Mint and moneyer</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Wt (g)</i>
Scotland					
1	E.4944	Period (c)	Berwick, moneyer uncertain	Dyer, 1817	1.42
2	GHB.S.1	Period (c)	Roxburgh, Hugo	Dyer, 1817	1.38
3	E.4545	Period (c)	Roxburgh, Hugo	Dyer, 1817	1.41
4	E.4946	Period (c)	Roxburgh, Hugo	Dyer, 1817	1.39
5	E.4949	Period (d)	Uncertain	Locker, 1825	1.41
6	E.4950	Period (d)	Uncertain	Locker, 1825	1.41
7	E.4951	Period (d)	Uncertain	Locker, 1825	1.48
8	E.4952	Period (d)	Uncertain	Locker, 1825	1.41
9	E.4954	Period (d)	Uncertain	Locker, 1825	1.36
10	E.4956	Period (d)	Roxburgh, Folpolt	Dyer, 1817	1.47
Northumberland					
11	289C	Period (c)	Newcastle(?), Willem	Dyer, 1817	1.16
12	289D	Period (c)	Newcastle(?), Willem	Dyer, 1817	1.01

Based on the extant coins, the hoard was probably deposited in the early 1170s. It is tempting to link the deposit of the hoard with disturbances in 1173–4, when the Scots made three armed incursions into Northumberland. The locality of Outchester was ravaged in April

²⁵ Stewart 1971, 195–7. Crafter 2008, 225 suggests that the initial phase of the Crescents coinage was in issue before the English occupation of Roxburgh and Berwick under the terms of the Settlement of Falaise in 1174, i.e. c.1170–c.1174.

²⁶ Stewart 1971, 195–6; Blackburn 1994, 191–3. These coins have been assigned to a mint at Bamburgh, but Stewart prefers an attribution to Newcastle; see Stewart 1971, 182–3 and references. Allen 1951, p. 1, n. 1 made the ingenious but implausible suggestion that these coins were struck for Henry II's son, Henry the Young King, during the rebellion of 1173–4.

²⁷ The English coins have not yet been assigned Registration Numbers and so the *BMC* numbers stand in lieu of these.

1174. Jordan Fanstosme states that after Easter William the Lion sent a large body of horse-men to Bamburgh Castle and the king's forces attacked Belford and the surrounding countryside; sheep were rustled and farmsteads burnt.²⁸ Outchester lies between Belford and Bamburgh. The circumstantial evidence is attractive but not compelling and such a definitive link cannot be made on the available evidence.²⁹ The available evidence suggests that the hoard was deposited 1170 × 1174.

A number of other hoards can be tentatively associated with the events of the rebellion against Henry II in 1173–4. The content of the West Meon hoard suggests that the hoard was concealed at that time,³⁰ as does that of the Thorpe Thewles hoard, but in the latter case the evidence is more circumstantial.³¹ The Brackley, Northamptonshire hoard has a heavy representation of East Anglian mint coins, which were conceivably carried as an aggregate from that sphere of the conflict.³²

Postscript: The 'Border' hoard, before 1832

The Outchester hoard needs to be differentiated from another late twelfth-century hoard of unknown provenance that was found in Northumberland before 1832.³³ In that year the antiquarian John Jamieson (1759–1838) published information about a hoard found in the county 'near the border' (i.e. of Scotland) that contained a large number of coins of William the Lion that were struck at Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Perth. Jamieson gives hand-drawn legend readings of Roxburgh as *ROC*, *ROCA*, *ROCB*, *ROCBV*, *ROCBVR* and states that there were variations made by the insertion of pellets between distinct letters. The mint signatures are those found on Crescents coinage of William the Lion, and particularly those with the cross-pommeé sceptre head which can be dated after 1180.³⁴ The subsequent Short Cross coinage, after 1195, has shorter mint signatures.

The records of Greenwich Hospital establish that the whole Outchester hoard, less twenty coins, was transported to London within weeks of its discovery. The Outchester hoard is not known to have contained Crescents sterling of William the Lion. One must assume, therefore, that the coins noted by Jamieson were from a different hoard.

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²⁸ Johnson 1981, 117 and 118. In 1174 Easter Sunday fell on 31 March.

²⁹ If the Outchester hoard was concealed 1173/4 one might expect it to contain some Crescents coins of William the Lion, but establishing a precise date for deposit for the Outchester hoard and the chronology of the Crescents coinage are contingent upon each other. Unless or until further evidence appears, too much uncertainty surrounds both to come to a definite conclusion about either.

³⁰ Archibald and Cook 2001, 4.

³¹ Crafter 2005.

³² Archibald and Cook 2001, 8.

³³ Jamieson 1832, 318.

³⁴ Stewart 1971, 198; corpus of Crescents coins in Crafter 2008, 336–77.

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AN IRISH HOARD OF THE 1170s FROM INIS CEALTRA, COUNTY CLARE

MARTIN ALLEN and ANDREW WOODS

INIS Cealtra or Inishcaltra (Holy Island) is a small island in Lough Derg, County Clare, with extensive remains of a medieval monastic settlement. Dr Liam de Paor carried out a series of excavations on the island in ten seasons of work between 1970 and 1980,¹ and the hoard that is the subject of this note was found in August 1977 during an excavation that was unfortunately left unpublished on Dr de Paor's death in 1998. The coins were found in Area V of site 9 of the excavation, an area that can be connected to the standing church of St Caiman on the site.² They were found within a large circular building, 10 metres in diameter, close to the building's hearth.

The twenty-one coins in the hoard are listed below and illustrated on **Pl. 3**. There are twenty English pennies and one Scottish penny or sterling of William the Lion (1165–1214). The earliest English coin is from a local coinage of Lincoln probably issued in the mid to late 1140s.³ The other nineteen English coins (seventeen pennies and two cut halfpennies) all belong to Henry II's Cross and Crosslets (or Tealby) coinage of 1158–80, ending with two coins from the last phase of that coinage, class F. Timothy Crafter has dated the introduction of class F to about 1174, on the assumption that English hoards ending in classes E and F can be associated with the rebellion against Henry II in 1173–4 and its aftermath.⁴ The Scottish coin is a sterling of William the Lion's Intermediate Issue A, which was probably issued towards the end of the period of his First Coinage (1165–c. 1174).⁵ The hoard should probably be dated between the mid-1170s and the beginning of the English Short Cross coinage in 1180.

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¹ de Paor and Glenn 1995, 87.

² Kerr *et al.* 2009, 89–93.

³ Mack 1966, 67, no. 169. Blackburn 1994, 180–1, discusses the local coinages of Lincoln in the reign of Stephen.

⁴ Crafter 1998, 52–4.

⁵ Allen and Holmes 2017.