

THE CROMWELL DUNBAR MEDALS BY SIMON

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Foreword

The most famous of Thomas Simon's medals of Oliver Cromwell are those conceived as military rewards for the 1650 battle of Dunbar. Struck in small and large sizes of identical design (*Medallic Illustrations* 391/13 and 392/14), these medals may be considered as common, in the sense of being readily obtainable but, as this paper will show, most of them are in reality either restrikes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or nineteenth-century forgeries from false dies. Genuine contemporary Dunbars are so rare that the commonly held view that the medal was an extensive general reward stands in need of revision.

1649/50 Naval Reward

Simon's small naval medal (*MI* 390/12 and *Pl.* 2,1) plays an important role in the Dunbar series for it shares a common reverse die with the later small Dunbar medal. The historical background to the issuance of this naval reward is quite clear, and both Hawkins¹ and Henfrey² have written on the subject.

In 1648, following a revolt in the parliamentary fleet, about a dozen ships went to Helvoetsluys in Holland where they were organised as a royalist squadron by Prince Rupert. In November of that year, after a parliamentary blockade was lifted, Rupert decided to take the ships to Ireland. To raise money for the refitting and the pay of the seamen he sold the brass guns of the *Antelope* and pawned the queen of Bohemia's jewels. Eventually he was able to send most of the squadron to Ireland, but the *Antelope* and *Blackamoor Lady* were left behind, the former because she was mainly disarmed, and the latter because she could not be manned for lack of funds.³

In April 1649 the Council of State ordered the destruction of the *Antelope*⁴ and in May a boat expedition, organised in the Downs with some officers and men drawn from the *Happy Entrance* (Capt. Richard Badiley) under the command of Lt. Stephen Rose, successfully surprised and burnt the *Antelope* as she lay at anchor in Helvoetsluys.⁵ A regular warship of 450 tons and 34 guns, built in 1618 for James I,⁶ the *Antelope* was perhaps the least seaworthy of Rupert's ships, but parliament's navy, then in a very depressed state, must have gained some prestige for a well-conceived and accomplished raid, obviously in violation of Dutch territorial waters.⁷

According to the minutes of the Council of State and the Admiralty Committee, 27-29 October 1649, the rewards which were intended to commemorate this exploit were as follows: Stephen Rose £50, of which £2 was to be in the form of a gold medal; James Parker, volunteer, and Thomas Tulley, corporal, £10 each and a gold medal worth £1; and £5 each to the accompanying mariners (Thomas Young, Thomas Cowdery, Richard Knight, Bartholomew Ferdinando, Jno. Mumford, Edward Giffin, Thomas Sexton, Robert Garret,

and Richard Bennet).⁸ The gold rewards fit the numismatic evidence for at least one is certainly known, but the absence of any mention in the minutes of silver medals is inconsistent with the existence today of at least five examples in that metal. Most likely the minutes simply fail to go into such detail, or the resultant rewards represent subsequent changes. Whatever the case, we are left with an unusually high survival rate, and the possibility that this reward might also be associated with some other, later exploit should not be ruled out.⁹

Further minutes from 15-21 November 1649 specify the medal's design of the arms, 'Mervisti', and the House of Commons, and the assignment of a Tower press to Simon for making medals (and for no other purpose).¹⁰ On 8 March 1650 an account of Simon's was mentioned, which included the making of medals for seamen,¹¹ and a week later he was again bonded not to put the press to any unlawful use.¹² Finally, on 22 July 1650, £276 was paid to him for engraving, although this would have represented a cumulative payment.¹³

An examination of the reverse of the naval and Dunbar medals failed to reveal any sequencing relative to die wear or flaws, but this is not surprising with such a small sampling, all of which could have been produced within a year. Although it does not seem possible to date the actual issuance of the naval medal it is clear that it was designed c. November 1649, authorized the previous month for specific services performed in May 1649, and likely issued by mid-1650, months before the battle of Dunbar. There are no known records of Simon's, such as accounts or sketches, regarding this medal. Considering that the parliamentary reverse was somewhat of a standard for medals of this period, a reason for the size of the later small Dunbar medal, which also required the Commons reverse, becomes apparent, i.e., half the medal already existed. This reasoning can perhaps be projected further to imply that the small Dunbar medal preceded the large.

*The Battle of Dunbar*¹⁴

The English army, under Cromwell at his new post of Captain or Lord General, entered Scotland 22 July 1650 with about 16,000 men. The weeks of unsuccessful manoeuvring around Edinburgh resulted in the withdrawing English being trapped near Dunbar in south-eastern Scotland, which had been established earlier as a supply port. At the dawn of 3 September 1650 the English army saw its chance at surprise, turned on David Leslie's larger, but inexperienced forces, and virtually destroyed them. Cromwell's own account claimed that the Scots suffered casualties of some 3,000 killed and 10,000 captured against about 20 killed on the English side. Even allowing for exaggerations, there can be no doubt that this was a resounding victory, and it was by Cromwell's request that the English army's word or slogan at the battle, 'The Lord of Hosts', should appear as the legend on the medals struck in commemoration.

It is of some interest to attempt to detail the structure of the English army at Dunbar, especially because the contention has always been that the medals were issued to all participating troops. Prior to Dunbar some 4-5,000 men were lost, mainly through sickness, leaving possibly 11-12,000 at Dunbar, made up of about 7,500 foot and 3,500 horse. The vanguard of the battle was undertaken by Lambert's division of six regiments of horse (Lambert, Fleetwood, Whalley, Twistleton, Lilburne, Hacker), and Monck's brigade of three and a half regiments of foot. Secondary forces were a brigade of foot under Overton, and Okey's dragoons commanded by an unknown officer. In reserve were Cromwell's regiment of horse (Capt. Packer) and Pride's brigade of three regiments of foot (Cromwell's under Goffe, Pride's and Lambert's). It seems the forces included three generals (Cromwell, Maj.Gen.

Lambert, Lt.Gen. Fleetwood - four if commissary-general Whalley should be counted as a general), and eleven or twelve colonels (Whalley, Twistleton, Robert Lilburne, Hacker, Monck, Overton, Coxe, Charles Fairfax, Daniel, Pride, Lt.Col. Goffe, and possibly Mauleverer, with Bright and Okey not being in Scotland).

No records are known assigning a medal to any particular person or group, but obviously thousands of men would theoretically have been entitled to a reward. However, the generals and colonels would have been the most likely recipients.

Documentary Evidence

From various House of Commons and Council of State records, and from other contemporary writings, it is clear that an enthusiastic parliament intended to provide medals to all the victorious participants at Dunbar. The news of the battle reached London on 7 September 1650, and by 10 September the House and the Council had initiated action to '....consider what Medals may be prepared, both for Officers and Soldiers...' and to send a letter to Cromwell expressing thanks to the officers and soldiers.¹⁵

Whitelock recorded more interesting details when he wrote that parliament:

ordered that the Colours which were taken from Hamilton at the Battle of Preston and Dunbarre, should be hanged up in Westminster Hall, and the Medals of Gold and Silver should be given to the Souldiery, in remembrance of Gods Mercy, and of their Valour and Victory.¹⁶

Here is the first direct evidence we have that matches the few original gold and silver medals in existence today. Abbott references some similar notices in the press for the same date (*Perfect Diurnal* and *Mercurius Politicus*).¹⁷

Several Council minutes for November and December 1650 refer to the allocation of a press to Simon to make some medals for the public service, and to Thomas Violet's objections.¹⁸ There is no evidence to associate these actions with the Dunbar medal, which had yet to be finally designed. The press could have been part of the future plans; alternatively it could have been required for further naval medals, the Lord General medal, or preliminary Dunbar trials, the only possible medallic works I can relate to Simon at that period.

Cromwell's famous letter of 4 February 1651 (Pl.1),¹⁹ directed to the Committee of the Army, is of real importance, for it shows that Simon was in Edinburgh to make a live portrait and discuss the design of the medal. It is the only record of the medal's specifications, and indicates that the design had generally been decided upon in London beforehand, except probably for the 'Lord of Hosts' legend and the battle scene. Cromwell's request that he be not depicted was obviously ignored. Both Carlyle²⁰ and Henfrey²¹ quote some unknown, seemingly related references that mention Simon taking Cromwell's portrait and a Council payment. Here the records seem to end, for I know of no other documentary material, and no financial account of Simon's either mentions or implies the Dunbar medals.

The Genuine Dies

I have been unable to trace the original Simon dies into the twentieth century, but I am confident that both large dies and perhaps the small obverse die still exist. I would anticipate their structure to be very similar to that of the Lord General die, viz. each a steel shouldered die having a round die face on a square shank, the design being within an oval on the round face.²² The large dies did not have provision for an integral suspension loop; the small dies possibly did. The history of these

dies, long after their 1651 origin, is quite interesting and reasonably well documented, yet obscure details remain.

Vertue (1753) mentions a Dunbar die (singular) as being found in the wall of a house in Suffolk, which once belonged to Richard Cromwell. In the 1780 edition by Richard Gough the county was changed to Hampshire, and an additional footnote discussed a die for a seal of Parliament, which was found in the wall of Richard Cromwell's house at Hursley, Hampshire, when the house was pulled down. Vertue supposedly saw this die in 1741.²³

A 1799 pamphlet on the exhibit of Cromwell's embalmed head²⁴ is of great importance for both obverse Dunbar dies were also on display (although apparently not the large reverse die), and a good description of their eighteenth-century history was included.

Of the two dyes now exhibited.....it only remains to say, that they were found, nearly fifty years ago, by Mr. Thomas Gardner, comptroller of the salt-works at Southwold in Suffolk, in the shop of a blacksmith at that place, who asserted that he, or his father, had purchased them (with other articles of iron work) out of a house at Southwold that had belonged to the protector Richard. Vertue's account of their having been found at Hursley may therefore be erroneous; but it is not at all material to the subject. This unlucky fellow, wholly ignorant of the nature and value of those exquisite monuments both of art and of the English history, had already appropriated the reverse of the lesser dye, to make one of those steel instruments with which iron is divided on the anvil. Mr. Gardner instantly rescued all the parts which remained; and on one of his annual journies to London, presented them to Mr. Cox, on condition that the latter should occasionally furnish him with impressions from them. Mr. Gardner was then far advanced in years, and died soon after, when but a very few of the impressions engaged by Mr. Cox had been taken; and it is now more than twenty years since the dyes were used at all, except for a few impressions from the remaining obverse side of the smaller one. It has already been shewn from Vertue's opinion that these medals exhibit the best likeness of Cromwell, that have ever been obtained in this mode of imitation. The late Mr. Pingo, engraver to the mint, out of a generous regard to the arts, undertook to inclose both parts of the larger dye, at his own expense, in a strong iron frame, in order to its greater safety, and better preservation; and it was done accordingly, in the manner in which it now appears.

Earlier in the pamphlet it was mentioned that Mr. James Cox was formerly the proprietor of the celebrated museum, which bore his name. Cox obtained the head of Cromwell in 1787, and apparently sold his museum, with the head and the dies, close to 1799 (the pamphlet said 'recently'). According to Forrer, both John and Lewis Pingo, sons of Thomas, died in 1830, so the person mentioned here as 'late' would be Thomas Pingo (1692-1776), who was assistant engraver at the mint from 1771 to his death. Thomas Gardner was a Dunwich historian who died in Southwold, Suffolk, in 1769.²⁵

I believe a reasonably coherent picture can be derived from this background, and from information on the Cromwell family that Dr. Ockenden has suggested to me. When Richard Cromwell returned from the continent he lived at Cheshunt, and was buried (1712) at his wife's estate at Hursley, Hampshire. In 1718 his two surviving daughters sold the Hursley manor to Sir William Heathcote (d. 1751), who pulled it down at an unknown date. I would propose that the seal die alone was found between 1718 and 1751. This is considered to be the steel die (matrix) for a Parliament seal,²⁶ which

seems to have been temporarily at the British Museum early in the nineteenth century when electrotypes and wax impressions were taken. It is best to leave Hursley to this sole die and not attempt to relate the Dunbar dies to this location or to Richard. Hursley and Southwold are about 150 miles apart.

I see no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the story told in the *Narrative*, and I accept Gardner, Southwold, and the blacksmith. As Miss Foster, who was treasurer of the Southwold Archaeological Society, pointed out there is no evidence that Richard Cromwell owned a house at Southwold.²⁷ However, there is a possible relation, and this is Bridget Bendish, Oliver's granddaughter and daughter of Bridget Cromwell and Henry Ireton. She was a staunch Cromwellian whose residence was called the Salt-Pans at Great Yarmouth, actually South-Town at the southern end of Yarmouth. She died there in 1727 or 1728, and a description of her life can be found in Noble.²⁸ Dr. Ockenden has a note of Richard Warner's²⁹ saying 'Oliver Cromwell's granddaughter Bridget Bendish had the saltings at Southwold', but the accuracy of this has not been confirmed. For the present I am inclined to conclude that Bridget could well have been the Southwold connection (Southwold is approximately twenty miles south of Yarmouth), she had the dies as mementoes, and when her possessions were dispersed they somehow got to the blacksmith as scrap. This could be a fantasy which fits the puzzle, but the assumptions are not unreasonable.

In summarizing this train of reasoning it is found that the Dunbar dies may have been a Cromwell family possession in the hands of Bridget Bendish; some years after her death they were disposed of and became the property of a Southwold blacksmith, who destroyed the small reverse die (which could also have already been damaged) before selling the remaining three dies to Thomas Gardner c.1750 (although I would not place too much faith in the accuracy of the 'fifty years' prior to the 1799 pamphlet date). Between 1750 and 1776 some restrikes were made for James Cox, most likely by Thomas Pingo, and Pingo enclosed the cracked large dies with frames. After Pingo's death (1776) some further restrikes were possibly done, including those from the small obverse die. About 1799 the dies were transferred to the new owners of the Cox museum, displayed, and fortunately published.

The next record is by Henfrey when he states, for the date of 16 July 1874, 'The original dies of the large Dunbar medal, two (obverse and reverse), of steel, much worn and cracked, and enclosed in a clumsy iron frame, are now in the possession of Mr. A.B. Wyon ...'³⁰ In his published book he adds 'The dies were purchased many years ago by Mr. Wyon's father'.³¹ A.B. Wyon (1837-84) was the son of Benjamin Wyon (1802-58), so the implication is that Benjamin bought the dies and passed them on to his son, or more likely they were the property of the Wyon firm. No mention was made of the small obverse die, which disappears from view after 1799.

Finally, a pair of large dies appeared at Sotheby's auction 21 July 1898 (lot 235), where they were sold to Williams for £21. The description was 'Cromwell. The original Steel Dies for the Obverse and Reverse of the celebrated Dunbar Medal (large size), by T. Simon, that of the reverse is cracked'. Unfortunately the Dunbar lot description lacks sufficient detail, such as a mention of the surrounding iron frames, so it is not possible to be certain these dies were the originals and not the forgeries. However, the Lord General die was included in the same sale (lot 234, where it sold to Warren for £5.10s.), and its surrounding frames were not mentioned either. Knowing the Wyons had all these dies twenty years before, it is fairly safe to assume the Dunbar dies had the frames, originated from the same Wyon source, and were those made by Simon. I am not familiar with the buyer, Williams. This 1898 sale is the last trace I have found of the large dies.

SMALL DUNBAR MEDALS

General

The small medal shares its reverse with the earlier naval medal, and therefore probably preceded the large Dunbar. The obverse die was presumably made about mid-1651 after Simon's return from his January or February trip to Edinburgh. What use was made of the resultant strikings, which are very rare, is not clear, and the discussion will be left to a later section. There are two forms of this medal: the flawless originals having both obverse and reverse; and the post-blacksmith eighteenth-century restrikes, which are uniface (obverse only) and exhibit die deterioration. Even without the blacksmith story and the destruction of the reverse die, the simple separation between originals and restrikes is an obvious one, because of the quality of the two-face strikings and the perfect condition of the dies when they were made. At least one of the two dies may have included an impression for a suspension loop, for the two British Museum specimens retain their original integral loops.

Original Small Medals

I have been able to record only seven original specimens, at least three of which would be die trials. There are three medals in gold, and one each in silver, copper, pewter, and an unknown alloy. In the following corpus each example currently known has been illustrated, but the genuineness and location of the others is unknown. A fuller description of each illustrated example will be found in the key to the plates.

1. Gold, not traced. ex Edward, earl of Oxford March 1742 (lot 157) £9. to West; James West sale January 1773 (lot 61) £27.10s. to Morrison. This information supplied to me by O.F.Parsons. The weight is suspiciously that of the British Museum medal (No.3), but the pedigree requires that it be treated as a separate example. The weight was 105 gr.
2. Gold, Lessen collection (Pl.2,2).
3. Gold, British Museum(Pl.2,3).
4. Silver, O.F.Parsons collection (Pl.2,4).
5. Copper. British Museum (Pl.3,5).
6. A strange specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl.3,6), appears to be of a silverish composition, but has a specific gravity of 11.45. The overall quality and sharpness of devices make the medal appear struck, but the roughness of the fields imply a cast. The unusual metallic composition is disturbing for I know of no other metals used in the mid-seventeenth century for medallic work other than gold, silver, copper, lead, and pewter, at least by Simon. A laboratory examination (Appendix A) concluded that the medal was struck on a cast flan, which still retains some of its casting characteristics. Interestingly enough, assuming the metallic composition includes a large percentage of lead, the implication is that X-ray diffraction techniques can be used successfully with soft metals that re-crystallize to some degree back to their cast structure after striking. Admittedly, known lead and silver casts of the period were not subjected to these same tests at the time, but it is hoped the investigation can be pursued further.
7. Pewter, not traced, ex Montagu 1897 (lot 210) £2.2s., no loop. This is probably the one in tin Henfrey (p.225) mentioned he bought for 15s. from Lincoln on 1 March 1876; called lead in the British Museum duplicates sale of 10 February 1876 (lot 25), it sold with another item to Lincoln for 15s.

In the publication of the Tangye collection³² two silver specimens with both obverse and reverse were listed, but I doubt that these were genuine two-face medals. The best of his material seems to have gone to the Museum of London.

Restrike Small Medals

The uniface restrikes are not uncommon, and probably a few dozen exist in copper and silver. It is possible all of these were made at various times between c.1750 and 1799 as the discussion of the dies implies, and the medals themselves tend to confirm they were not all made at once, but in at least two groups. The examples illustrated are very typical. The copper medal (Pl.3,7) is the earlier of the two for it shows no die cracks. It has rust areas, is struck on what appears to be a cast blank, has doubling about the face, and displays very weak areas on some of the letters. All in all it is a professional quality striking as is the somewhat later example (Pl.3,8), but by the time this latter medal was made severe cracking had occurred between 12 and 2 o'clock. This possibly would have led to an eventual breaking away of the die in that region, although I am not aware of any striking with this extreme break. The earlier group exists in copper, but I am not certain if silver ones also exist; the later group exists in silver and copper of identical characteristics. Undoubtedly it would be possible to find these medals with lesser and greater degrees of die deterioration. That they were made by Pingo and at the Royal Mint is impossible to confirm, but reasonable to assume. The Royal Mint engravers did have access to the use of the medal (or proof or die) press for private work, which this would have been.³³

LARGE DUNBAR MEDALS

General

The large medals are identical in design to the small, except the signature is THO.SIMON.FE instead of T.SIMON.F, and my feeling is that they followed the small ones in time. Fortunately the large Dunbars fall into distinct groupings fairly neatly, based on die flaws, but there are some reservations. There is a minute group of original 1651 period striking (silver and gold); a moderately wide group of mid- to late-eighteenth-century restrikes (lead, copper, silver, and gold), which can be sub-divided into early, middle and late periods; a small group of mid-nineteenth-century restrikes, presumably by the Wyons (white metal and silver); and a final group of high quality late-nineteenth-century forgeries from false dies (silver and gold). It will be seen that the rarity of the originals precludes the possibility of a widespread general issue, if indeed they were issued at all.

Original Large Medals (Pl.4)

Many years ago my intention was to gather sufficient samples of the large Dunbar medal, sort them by die flaw characteristics and, if a distinct earliest grouping was uncovered, categorize that group as the issued originals. This seemed a reasonable approach since the seventeenth-century documentation implied there was such a thing as a large contemporary issue, and eighteenth-century literature said there were restrikes. Unfortunately the groupings did not align as neatly as expected, partly because forgeries were included but mainly, as it developed, because I had no originals to record. In corresponding with Owen Parsons I found he was convinced that there should be versions earlier than any we then knew about, on the

grounds that these would have the full extremities of the horizon and battle scene struck up as on the small medal. In fact he published his views some years before.³⁴ I remained unconvinced, but a few years later some examples of the proper original types were found.

It becomes a simple matter to determine the originality of a struck large Dunbar medal. If it exhibits characteristics that show the dies were in perfect condition and the striking procedures were of the highest quality, then the medal is original. This is especially easy since there are so many non-contemporary examples available for comparison. Conversely, all strikings showing later characteristics, *and these characteristics are drastically later not simply normal die wear*, must be non-contemporary restrikes. This is an important point to understand, for the originals form a discrete group, far removed from all other specimens.

The characteristics of an original medal include a full horizon and battle scene, a wide flan (although this could be trimmed so it is not a necessity), minimal or virtually no letter bifurcation, no trace of any obverse or reverse die cracks or rust pits, and a relatively thin flan (see Fig.1 thickness measurement points and the plate descriptions). I suggest the weight would be quite consistent with the few I have recorded, viz. 290 gr. in gold and 162-174 gr. in silver. The full battle scene is the most obvious feature.

I have recorded four original large medals, unflawed and with the full battle scene, i.e., perfect medals, but I can only be positive about three of these. One example, in gold, is pierced and weighs 286.2 gr. (Pl.4,9). In 1976 it was examined visually and with X-ray diffraction by Dr.M.S.Tite at the British Museum Research Laboratory and declared not to be a cast. The examination was undertaken mainly because the surface exhibits some granularity or pitting, but unfortunately there was insufficient time to analyze the cause of the surface characteristics, which could possibly be the result of removed gilding or harsh cleaning. Of the three silver specimens (Pl.4,10,11,12), the last is somewhat questionable for it has an added loop, a normal-width flan, and the all important struck/cast criterion is difficult to determine because of the quality of the illustration and the degree of wear.

Silver Dunbars were seldom illustrated in sale catalogues until recent times, and it is difficult to estimate the quantity of original examples in existence today, but experience implies there must be a few others. Silver casts from originals are surprisingly not uncommon. Three examples were chosen for illustration because they appear to have been made by three separate processes, and could be from three different masters (Pl.4,13,14,15). However, I have been unable to relate these to any specific master or masters with which I am familiar. Several other casts identical to No.14 have been examined, two of which were lighter at 141.2 and 144.4 gr., and all of these appear to have been cast from the same master and at the same time. No.15 is a very distinct type of cast with the 'soapy feeling' finish, and an identical example was sold at Sotheby's on 5 June 1975 (lot 131). I have not examined No.13.

Restrike Large Medals

The die discussions showed that restriking did not begin before the mid-eighteenth century, and continued into the era of the Wyons. I have classified the non-Wyon restrikes into early, middle, and late eighteenth-century groups. Die flaws allow straightforward chronological sequencing, but the assignment of dates to these groups can be no more than conjectural.

I prefer not to place too much importance on the groups themselves for, while they are sometimes contiguous and sometimes discrete, I cannot assign to each any verified manufacturing information.

Of most importance are the criteria used to relegate these medals to the restrike class. Although I have defined original, contemporary strikings as flawless, it does not always follow that die flaws mean restrikes; die deterioration is to be expected with continued use. However, for the large Dunbars the conditions separating original medals from all others are so definite, that the firm conclusion must be that the dies were put aside for a long period (not for just a few years during the Commonwealth) before any subsequent productions were made. Some die cracking could have been expected during Simon's time, but the rust pitting and loss of definition in the battle scenes, probably due to cleaning and polishing of the die, would not have occurred then, and it will be seen that the major reverse crack developed while restriking. The restrikes are consistent with what might be expected from the information available about the recovery of the dies in the eighteenth century. The die flaws sketched in Fig.1 will be referred to in the discussion, and all of these can be seen on the last (Wyon) medals (Pl.6,23). All restrikes examined were made on thicker flans than the originals, and this is a normal trait when damaged dies are used. Some thickness measurements were taken at the periphery of several medals at the points a,b,c,d of Fig.1., and the actual measurements are included in the key to the plates.

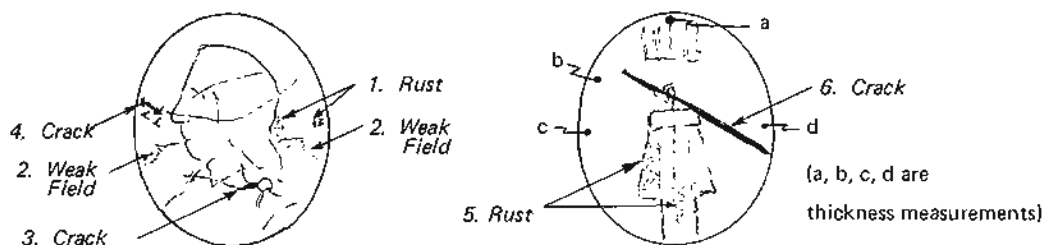


Figure 1. Large Medal Die Flaws

The *earliest* restrikes simply exhibit the fewest flaws, while at the same time being distinctly separated from the originals. There are so few examples in this category they almost seem to be a testing of the recovered dies. Their main feature is a lack of the major diagonal reverse crack 6. The flaws that do appear are rust 1 behind the head, weak horizon/battle scenes 2, early stages of the sash knot crack 3, and some reverse rust 5; letter crack 4 is not present. I have recorded three examples, and all are illustrated. Pl.5,16, in lead, is a most important and interesting specimen for it depicts the shape of the die faces, and in this respect it properly matches the much later Wyon strikings (Pl.6,23). Its flaws are 1,2,3,5. Pl.5,17, in silver, is very unusual in having an untrimmed wide flan as on the original strikings. Its flaws are 1,2,3,5, and its weight at 237 gr. is much different from the original strikings of about 170 gr. Pl.5,18, in lead, is in poor condition with a considerable amount of lead disease. Careful examination leads me to be fairly certain it is struck, although this is often a difficult decision to make for lead. Because of the corrosion the rust areas and the status of the battle scenes are not discernable. There is no evidence of any cracks. Although this medal could be an original,

I feel on balance that it is an early restrike. Other lead medals have been noted, all in poorer condition, but it was not possible to determine if they were early or late, cast or struck. An estimated date for these earliest restrikes is the early part of the 1750-76 period, possibly made by Thomas Pingo using a Royal Mint press. They were professionally done, and may well be those medals Gardner originally requested Cox to have made.

Middle period restrikes are the first to show the major reverse die crack 6, and it must have been sometime during this series that Pingo added the strengthening frames. Since all medals in this group seem to show the reverse crack, and none of the previous group does, it appears the fracture occurred rather suddenly. Within this period the early medals do not show die crack 4 while the later ones do, and there is the expected tendency for the flaws to increase slightly with time. I have failed to include an illustration of the early striking, and my working materials include only a plaster cast of a copper example in the British Museum, which lacks flaw 4. Early middle restrikes are uncommon, and crack 4 formed rapidly. However, the obverse false die to be discussed later was made from an early middle type for the false medals also lack flaw 4. A typical later middle period silver medal is illustrated (Pl.6,20), and it has flaws 1,2,3,4,5,6. All middle period medals are in silver, except for the sole copper example. There are copper casts of very poor quality. Probably the work of Thomas Pingo at the Royal Mint, the middle group may be dated to late in the 1750-76 period, although occasional striking could have been made after his death. One of the main features of this group is the high quality of manufacture.

I have established a further group as *late* restrikes, and these have flaw characteristics much like those of the later middle period, but are separated from that group by their poor quality of manufacture. I consider these medals to be struck, yet there is considerable doubt in my mind. The flaws again are 1-6. The silver example shown (Pl.5,19) has a polished appearance, very faint reverse floor boards, rust areas polished away, some weakness in the lettering, and some flan pitting. The gold example (Pl. 6,21) is virtually identical to another in the Ashmolean Museum,³⁵ although the latter is of better quality. Both gold medals have excessively polished fields, no floor boards, a similar trace-only of the right-hand battle scene, and similar weights and specific gravities. These unusual field characteristics were not in the dies, because the next (Wyon) series, with its far more extensive and later die flaws, have none of those characteristics, just a great deal of rust. Since the dies are not reflected in the medals of this group, the conclusion must be that the medals were either poor quality striking, individually polished afterwards to remove the rust traces, or casts from a sole poor-grade mould. These would not have been Pingo or Royal Mint productions. If struck, these medals fall between the previous middle group and the Wyons: if cast they could have been made at any time prior to 1904 (Murdoch), and after c.1776. I consider them late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century work.

To designate the final productions from the original large dies as *Wyon* restrikes may be inaccurate, but it is based on reliable published information by Henfrey³⁶ that the Wyons possessed the large dies at least as late as the 1870s. That they are the last of the large Dunbars (unless the missing dies should be found and re-used) is undeniable from the state of the die cracks as illustrated by the silver (rare) and white metal (normal) examples (Pl.6,22,23). There is a similar white metal specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, interestingly ticketed as being 'from the residue of Mrs. E.M.Wyon's material 1963'. These last striking are important in showing the extent to which the cracks and rust finally evolved, and the size and appearance of the die face outside the oval design. They are second best

to possessing the dies. The large white metal strikings relate directly to the much earlier large lead example (Pl.5,16). I know of no medals made between the moderately flawed middle/late periods and the extremely flawed Wyon period, yet these final cracks had to form from use, not disuse.

False Large Dies

During 1962 and 1963 enquiries as to the whereabouts of the original dies were initiated by O.F.Parsons to G.P.Dyer of the Royal Mint. Contact was made with John Pinches Ltd. whose response, in summary, was that for a great many years they held a pair of Dunbar dies for a jeweller named Phillips of New Bond St. W.1, who died some years before the second World War. The dies were then returned to his brother, Henry Phillips of Aldershot, who was interested in determining if they were originals, but it was 'established that they are copies made by someone in Birmingham'.³⁷ This correspondence made little sense until I recently found the dies in the British Museum when casually perusing the die collection (Pl.7,24a-g).

The dies could have been made by a hot stamping method (sometimes referred to as impact dies), in which early middle period eighteenth-century restrike silver medals would have been used as punches to stamp a pair of dies in hot, softened steel stock.³⁸ Alternatively, perhaps hard bronze 'punches' were made from silver restrikes using some form of electrotype process. Regardless, in some manner they were created from Simon medals, for they are precise replicas and assuredly the dies were not hand cut copies. The steel stock was supplied commercially by Moss & Gambles (presently Moss & Gamble Bros.Ltd.,Sheffield), a firm formed in 1853, whose current catalogues still list similarly marked materials. The firm was not able to determine the earliest date at which the particular markings on the stock were used ('MOSS & GAMBLES SHEFFIELD WARRANTED CAST STEEL EXTRA'), although the ending date was 1946. Its records do not show stock ever being supplied to Wyons, Pinches, or Phillips. Presumably stock could have been purchased by anyone through distributors.

A whole group of gold and silver large Dunbars originated from these false dies. The earliest sale record I have uncovered for any large gold medal is 1902, and this was specifically one of the false specimens. However, a note by a J.A.Hadden in 1884 represents the earliest reference I have to a large gold medal:

I enclose you a rubbing of a medal given by Oliver Cromwell to one of his men who participated in the battle of Dunbar, Feb. (sic) 3,1650. The original is in fine gold and weighs a little less than three-quarters of an ounce, is oblong in shape, and is one and fifteenth-sixteenths of an inch long and one and a half inches wide. About ten years ago I saw a notice from some antiquary that there are only three in existence. Last year I visited the British Museum and noticed a bronze medal this size and a gold one only half the size. I should be much obliged if you could inform me how many there are known to be and in whose possession they are.³⁹

It would be interesting to know what those three medals noted by the antiquary were. We do know that Hadden's large medal was of a weight very close to some of the false medals, but too high for the original and too low for the late group restrikes. It is surprising that Henfrey in the 1870s recorded no gold medals, nor have I found a single nineteenth-century sale record. The Hadden specimen is a strong contender to be the earliest known false medal. A manufacture date c.1875-1900 may be a reasonable estimate within the 1853-1902 outer limits. The dies would have been made in order to strike a few expensive gold medals; the silver strikings were

probably a secondary consideration. I do not know if the Pinches letter about the dies being made in Birmingham was based on fact or presumption but, if the latter, it was a reasonable one.

The high quality of the false dies and the resultant strikings is very disturbing. Even though I had never been able to categorize this group of medals to my complete satisfaction there was no suspicion that they were other than eighteenth-century restrikes from the original dies and, admittedly, if I had not accidentally seen the false dies, the medals would have remained in the restrike category. The steel manufacturer's name conveniently stamped on the die stock aids in dating the production but, even without that, in hindsight we can now see the medals are false. This becomes obvious because the characteristic false medal die flaws, which are detailed in the next section, are missing from the final state of the original dies as seen from the Wyon restrikes.

False Large Medals (from false dies)

The examples shown on Plates 8 and 9 are all from the same false dies of Plate 7, although their correlation is perhaps not fully apparent from the illustrations. Once the false dies were found an extensive examination was made of existing medals. Photographs and plaster casts from some of these medals and the dies were viewed together and, at the same angles and lighting, their uniformity became obvious. The actual specimens were similarly studied when available. There are several gold medals, each of fine quality workmanship, and quite a few silver specimens, known. While certain characteristics, such as letter base bifurcation and appearance of the reverse diagonal flaw, would be expected to vary from striking to striking, there are specific features common to all false medals and these, unless they are now to be removed on some examples because of this paper (!), seem irrefutable. There are other characteristics, but I have tried to define those that are most obvious and unique:

a) There is a raised dot under the A of AT (Pl.9,30a) from a pit in the false die. For comparison see an original striking (Pl.9,10a) and a genuine die restrike (Pl.9,19a).

b) The top half of the S in SIMON is very faint and seems to disappear, although it is present under the proper lighting (Pl.9,30a).

c) The reverse top left corner window details are very weak (Pl.9,30a).

d) The obverse area above the word HOSTS shows distinct remains of rough milling left on the raw steel die stock before the obverse was punched (Pl.9,30a).

e) The D of DVNBAR is bifurcated on the false die so all false medals will show this. However, medals from genuine dies may also show bifurcations depending on the striking mode and the use of a collar.

f) The major reverse diagonal flaw shows very characteristic flattened men at the top left although this may vary a bit from medal to medal. The false die itself is of course not cracked - it simply has the impression of the flaw stamped into it.

g) The developing flaw at the left of the sash knot is always in the same state, but it should be realized that some of the genuine die restrikes would be in a similar state.

h) Some minute pits in the false die show as raised spots in the left and right reverse fields. These have not been illustrated here with enlargements.

It is difficult to estimate the rarity of the false silver medals, or their percentage within the entire silver class. The weights of those I have

recorded fall between 250 and 290 gr. They range in condition from unusually worn (Pl.9,30) to beautifully struck and toned examples (Pl.9,31). They are thicker than the originals, but not necessarily so thick as the restrikes. The more I examine the marketplace the more common they seem, and my impression is that many of the high quality silver strikings encountered are false. A majority of the false medals have an added wide suspension loop.

The gold medals are important enough to attempt a corpus of them here.

1.-5. (Pl.8,25,26,27,28,29). See the key to the plates for details.

6. The following are from various listings in the *Numismatic Circular*, some or all of which must be duplicates of one another: Oct.1902 (87820); Feb.1905 (121511); March 1908 (50782); June 1913 (6549); Jan.1919 (69826); July 1928 (79752).

7. Hamilton-Smith War Medals, Glendining 1927 (lot 23).

8. Sotheby, 20 December 1938 (lot 32).

9. Fitzherbert, Glendining, 15 December 1939 (lot 138), sold to Charles.

I believe specimens appear in other twentieth-century war medal sale catalogues, which I have not recorded. Overall, I estimate that there are six to eight false gold medals, but I cannot be certain of the status of those medals listed above that were not illustrated.

The Hitherto Medals

Medallic Illustrations (392/15.) lists a uniface lead medal in the British Museum with the legend HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED VS. The description was taken directly from Hawkins's unpublished *Numismata Britannica*, 1852, where it was stated that the piece was badly decomposed, and the word DVNBAR was no longer discernible.⁴⁰ This poor specimen is illustrated here (Pl.10,35). I am able to read the legend from the photograph, although it is probably not legible in the reproduction. However, I cannot read the word DVNBAR, which can only have been located concentrically below the words HATH THE and above the hair, where lumps of corrosion now exist - the other areas of the field are flat. I am unable to say if the three-quarters right facing bust is stylistically that of Simon's for only the outlines and drapery are discernible. It is similarly impossible to determine if it is die-struck or cast from a wax model. My opinion is that it was struck, because of the lettering, the integral loop at top, and a flan (wider than the oval design) that might represent the full die face. These latter two features are typical of Simon's work.

If Simon made this medal, and the word DVNBAR did indeed exist at one time, then its significance is a simple matter to define. It would be a discarded pattern for the small Dunbar medal, with a Walker bust based on the earlier (?) c.1650 Lord General Medal, intended to mate with the existing naval medal's reverse die, whose size this exactly matches, and with a legend designed prior to Simon's trip to Edinburgh where the decision to use the LORD OF HOSTS seems to have been made. The chronological sequence could thus have been: small naval medal, Lord General medal, Hitherto/Dunbar pattern, small Dunbar, and finally the large Dunbar.

This medal was copied and that it was the copy Vertue illustrated is apparent from a comparison of his plate (Pl.10,36) with the two known eighteenth-century 'Stuart' type silver copies (Pl.10,37 and 38). Vertue only devotes a line to this medal, saying that he does not think it was Simon's work. This is true for the copies I presume he saw. In a previous paper

I illustrated and discussed an imitation of the Lord General medal with a bust by the same hand as this imitation Hitherto medal.⁴¹ In that case I suggested the Lord General imitation followed the Vertue illustration of Simon's medal, whereas this Hitherto imitation seems to have the reverse sequence. Assuming 'Stuart' copied the lead trial or something identical, the unanswered question arises why the word DVNBAR was not also copied, for I should think it would have been legible then (mid-eighteenth century).

A Simon Trial?

An interesting uniface silver piece is illustrated on Pl.9,32. I am confident this medal is struck, although it has not undergone laboratory examination. The bust is that of Simon's large Dunbar, and not a copy made by some casting, hot stamping, or other counterfeiting technique. If anything, it seems to be an early form of the bust with more periphery hair details than are usually found in the medals, and the bust is at least as large as that on the medals, and perhaps minutely larger.⁴² Both these features could be a function of the striking or punching. The drapery has been reworked, presumably by tooling, to produce incuse results, which foreshadow that of the c.1656 Lord Protector medal (MI 409/45). I was not able to determine if these many new clothing details were in fact done with an engraving tool, but that seems probable for a recut die would not have produced the incuse effects, and a recut puncheon used to sink a special die just to produce this effect is impossible to imagine. The flan field is clean, relatively thin, and cracked, but no legends or battlefield ever existed on it. The reverse toning outlines the obverse bust, yet the field is fairly flat - there is no incusion. No attempt was made to measure the height of the bust above the flat field for comparison with a similar measurement on a regular medal, although this might be an interesting exercise.

The question then is, what is the significance of this piece? One suggestion is that a few years after the Dunbar medal, when Simon was designing the new Lord Protector medal, he considered the possibility of using the Dunbar bust (he undoubtedly still retained the puncheon) by modifying the military drapery to that of a civil head of state. It is not unlikely he had this trial striking of the bust remaining from the 1651 period, made before the die was completed,⁴³ and used it for experimental purposes. If he needed to make some new tools in 1656 to produce a model like this I would have expected the result to be in lead or wax, much easier media with which to experiment. Whatever its origin, this example was modified in the round and, if that modification was done by Simon, he rejected it in favour of an entirely new bust for the Lord Protector reward.

My belief is that this piece, before tooling, was a 1651 die trial by Simon. Whether he did the subsequent modification for practical purposes c.1656, or someone subsequently altered it, is an open question. The tooling was not a trivial undertaking done on the spur of the moment, and eighteenth-century connoisseurs, in whose hands this was likely to have been, were usually preservers of Simon's work. I have made no mention of a wax model being the origin of this piece since I am assuming it is struck, but we know Simon worked in wax, and the carved bust puncheon itself likely derived from such a model. Speculation about Simon's working methods, the equipment and tools he used, and the tools, trials, and prototypes that might possibly have survived always leads to the question of what the contents were and what became of the materials only vaguely mentioned in his will. Similarly, one wonders what became of the 150 Simon punches and working tools from the Stephen Wells sale (lots 10-15 auctioned by John Heath, 4 December 1751).

Miscellaneous Copies

There are several interesting copies of the large Dunbar, and the most elaborate of these is shown in Pl.10,33. It is a most professional silver cast, with the obverse of Cromwell, and his daughter, Elizabeth Cleypole, on the reverse, and hand-engraved legends. This might be unique, and its vintage and author are unknown, but it could conveniently be ascribed to one of the eighteenth-century medallists such as Stuart. It was probably a commission, and was certainly not intended to deceive. The same cannot be said about the medal shown in Pl.10,34, which is a grossly tooled and reworked cast of the large Dunbar. I have seen two or three virtually identical examples, but they were never examined together for comparisons to be made. It may be noted that this tooled version follows the original style, unflawed and with full battle scene, and these may be directly related to the various casts of the original medal discussed previously.

Early Numismatic Publications

The earliest publications to illustrate the Dunbar medal appear to be Raguinet, Leti, and Evelyn in the 1690s, and van Loon and Vertue in the next century (Pl.10,39,40,41,42).⁴⁴ Only Vertue depicts both sizes of the medal. These illustrations are interesting for they always show the full battle scene, which is the expected motif prior to the eighteenth-century restrikes. Evelyn's second illustration is a puzzling one for it shows what is apparently a normal large medal (the drapery on his two engravings differ) without a legend and with an integral loop. I did not find any reference to the Dunbars in the Vertue notebooks published by the Walpole Society.

Conclusions and Summary

Between late 1649 and mid-1650 Simon's small naval medal was authorized, designed, and issued. It seems likely his unfinished Lord General medal was made between July 1650 and January 1651. On 10 September 1650 Parliament ordered gold and silver medals for officers and men as rewards for their participation in the battle of Dunbar. It is very possible that after September 1650, and after he had made the Lord General die, Simon made a pattern for the Dunbar based on the Lord General portrait, and with the intention of using the Commons reverse from the naval reward; hence the lead trial 'Hitherto' medal. If this design was rejected, it could have led to the unidentified order authorizing Simon to travel to Edinburgh to discuss the proposed medal with Cromwell and do a live portrait. This he did around early February 1651 and a design was finalized, being a combination of Parliament's request for a portrait and a depiction of the Commons, and Cromwell's request for the battle scene and the legend. The small Dunbar was probably the first result of this effort, and it shared its reverse die with the naval medal. After that the identical large Dunbar probably followed. The dates for these medals are assumed to have been mid-1651.

I believe that most would now agree that the Dunbar medals were never a general issue, for the dozen or so small and large contemporary examples known are inconsistent with a widespread distribution to 11,000 troops at the battle. The reason for this apparent change of plan is not known, but it is not really surprising. The euphoria of the moment, although that moment actually spanned several months, probably gave way to a realization that the expense and logistics made a general distribution impractical. What is unusual is the effort expended, especially in the preparation of two different sizes of the medal, when one size would have seemed sufficient. There is no physical evidence that Simon experienced die failure, but his two sets of dies would never have been enough to produce a large number

of medals. Why there were two different sizes is a difficult question to resolve. Perhaps it was thought the first size was a bit cheap in intrinsic value, or they could have been designed to differentiate between officers and men, or even between high and low ranking officers.

Was there any issue of these medals? I think the answer is yes, for the number of survivors, few as they are, is too high for a casual group of pattern pieces. I think the small base metal specimens are die trials, as there could hardly have been an attempt to give copper or lead to anyone; the small silver medal is similarly a trial or pattern because of its uniqueness. The same might be said for the singular large gold medal, although that would not be a die trial, but more of a presentation/pattern piece.⁴⁵ The large silver medals are more of a problem since there are several now in existence. They may have been the ones intended for the troops, but I doubt that even these, if they constituted some small issue, were given out in any formal manner. This leaves the small gold medals, and these are the ones I consider may have been actual rewards, and that again perhaps in the sense of informal presentations to several of the highest ranking officers close to Cromwell, such as Lambert, Fleetwood, and Whalley, and perhaps Monck. The paradox is that the large medals would have been more suitable for these men than the small. There is no evidence that any medals were monetary rewards, which would have included valuable gold chains.

No official warrants, sketches, invoices, or notes exist, and the only written information we are left with are the various notices of Parliament's early intent and Cromwell's letter months later. There may or may not be significance to the lack of a financial accounting by Simon. Either he did request government payment (or invoiced his use of pre-payment) and the records are lost, or he did not because the work became a private project. If the dies really did get into the Cromwell family (and this would be a unique situation for any dies except the seal matrix), it is not impossible that Cromwell took this over at his own expense as an intended means to reward his troops or officers. Of course Cromwell was exceptionally busy with his war against the Scots in the year between Dunbar and Worcester. These speculations should be understood as just that. Unless a better sampling of original medals or, preferably, new documentation become available, neither of which are promising expectations, I do not think the problem can be satisfactorily resolved.

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

1. E.Hawkins, 'Naval Honorary Medals', *NC* old ser. xiii (1851-2), 95.
2. H.W.Henfrey, 'Historical Notes Relating To The Naval Honorary Medals Of The Commonwealth', *NC* new ser. xv (1875), 81, and 'Supplementary Note On The Naval Medals Of The Commonwealth', *NC* new ser. xvi (1876).
3. Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (1898), ii, 118-20, and *Mariner's Mirror* (1928), 330-8.
4. *Calendar Of State Papers, Domestic, 1649-50 (CSPD)*, 105.
5. *Mariner's Mirror* (1923), 59 and (1928), 330-8, and J.R.Powell, *The Navy In The English Civil War* (1962), pp.187-8.
6. M.Oppenheim, *A History Of The Administration Of The Royal Navy 1509-1660* (1896), pp.202 and 268.
7. *CSPD 1649-50*, 206. Much of this material detailed and referenced for me by J.D.A.Thompson in 1967.
8. *CSPD 1649-50*, 367, 368, 591.
9. But after the March 1652 Union with Scotland the St. Andrew's cross would have been required on the obverse. Although the currency coins never made this change, Simon's 1653 naval medals, the 1656 Lord Protector medal, and the 1656/58 Cromwell coins did have the cross.
10. *CSPD 1649-50*, 394, 399, 401.
11. *CSPD 1650*, 29.
12. *Ibid*, 514.
13. *Ibid*, 583.
14. Material briefly summarized from the following works: C.H.Firth, 'The Battle Of Dunbar', *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, new ser. xiv (1900); C.H.Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (1902); C.H.Firth and G.Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (1940); M.Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals* (1954); and Cromwell's letter of 8 September 1650 to parliament as published in *Cromwelliana* (1810), p.87.
15. *Journals of the House of Commons (CJ)* vi, 465, and *CSPD 1650*, 333.
16. B.Whitelock, *Memorials of English Affairs (1682)*, p.455, for 10 September 1650.
17. W.C.Abbott, *Writings And Speeches Of Oliver Cromwell*, ii (1939), 330.
18. *CSPD 1650*, 447, 454, 455, 480 from 29 November to 23 December 1650.
19. Property of Thomas Raymond-Barker and reproduced with his permission, as well as that of the Paul Mellon Centre, who made the master photograph (negative C2284/22); arrangements originally made for me by Derek Allen.
20. T.Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, ed.Lomas (1904), ii, 177, where he references *CJ*, 4 February 1651, a place one would expect it in conjunction with the Cromwell letter (actually later taking postal time into account). However, I have been unable to find that entry or anything related. See Addendum.
21. H.W.Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana* (1877), 2, from an unknown source.
22. M.Lessen, 'The Cromwell Lord General Medal By Simon', *BNJ* xlix (1979), 91.

23. Vertue, 1753, p.13. This footnote on the seal, and a similar footnote in Mark Noble's *Memoirs Of The Protectoral-House Of Cromwell* (1787) i,195, both reference *Ant. Soc. Min.* iv,78, and it is possible this is where Vertue wrote it up c.1741.
24. *Narrative Relating To The Real Embalmed Head Of Oliver Cromwell, Now Exhibiting In Mead-Court In Old Bond Street* (1799), by John Cranch.
25. F.Foster, 'Dies Of The Dunbar Medals', *NCirc.* (Nov.1948).
26. Henfrey, op. cit. p.220, Pl.vii/2.
27. Foster, op. cit.
28. Noble, op. cit., ii, 329-346.
29. The Ockenden and Warner collections noted in this and previous papers on the series refer to R.E.Ockenden's collection of Cromwell coins, medals, and Henfrey ms material, portions of which this writer now has. Many of the medals and the Henfrey material Dr.Ockenden acquired from Richard Cromwell Warner and his son Oliver Warner, the naval historian (see *SCMB*, October 1962, 388).
30. Henfrey's manuscript to his published text, Lessen collection.
31. Henfrey, op. cit., p.225.
32. Sir Richard Tangye, *The Cromwellian Collection* (1905), p.126.
33. John Craig, *The Mint* (1953), p.203, for 18th-century use, and PRO Mint 1/21, 199-200, minute of 27 January 1821 for implied similar concessions to Pistrucci. Information supplied by P.P.Gaspar.
34. Owen F. Parsons 'A Note On Thomas Simon's Dunbar Medals, 1650', *Cheltenham Numismatic Observer*, 2, (April 1956), probably the only proper numismatic discussion.
35. 1953 gift of H.Hird, ex Murdoch (148), weight of 426.4 gr. with loop and ring, specific gravity of 15.76.
36. Henfrey, *supra*; also *Medallic Illustrations* (1885), 392.
37. Correspondence, John Pinches Ltd. to O.F.Parsons, 4 October 1963.
38. See L.A.Lawrence, 'The Coinage of Æthelbald', *NC*³ xiii (1893), 42.
39. *Notes and Queries*⁶, x,407, 22 November 1884.
40. And Henfrey, op. cit., 173. His description was also taken from *Numismata Britannia*, but I am not clear if Hawkins was able to read DVNBAR himself.
41. Lessen, op. cit., p.95 and pl. xviii,19.
42. Based on measurements made under 30x magnification with reticle, use of dividers, and comparison photographs, yet this is not a conclusion from precision studies. The point here is that the bust is certainly not smaller than on that of the regular Dunbar.
43. This type of bust trial is not that uncommon from the Royal Mint two hundred years later.
44. F.Raguenet, *Histoire d'Olivier Cromwel* (1691), p.235 or 250 (various editions); G.Leti, *Vita di Oliviero Cromvele* (1692), ii,218, or *Vie d' Olivier Cromwel* (1694), ii,187; J.Evelyn, *Discourse Of Medals* (1697), p.117; G.van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenniger* (1723), ii,368, or *Histoire Metallique des XVII Provinces des Pays-Bas* (1732), p.356; and G.Vertue, *Works of Thomas Simon*, (1753), pl.xii.

45. Pattern in the sense of a non-standard metal for the type. I doubt it was so glamorous as a unique issue to Cromwell, and it is a pity there is no way to know if there were any other large strikings in gold.

KEY TO PLATES

(Photographs by the author unless otherwise noted. Scales are not precise).

1. (2x) Simon's Naval Reward (*MI* 390/12), silver, 103.9 gr., sg 10.18, Lessen collection, bought Baldwin, Christie's 25 Nov. 1969 (137) from the Patterson collection.
2. (2x and 1x) Small Dunbar, original, gold, 128.8 gr., sg 18.57, Lessen collection, Sotheby 5 Dec. 1966 (29), ex Nosedá, George Sparkes 2 Feb. 1880 (329) £23, Pembroke 2 Aug. 1848 (259) £11.10s. (Pembroke Plates 1746 P:4,T:19).
3. (2x) Small Dunbar, original, gold, 104.7 gr., sg 17.92, British Museum, ex Sloane collection 1753. Photographed from a gilt electrotpe in Lessen collection. Original from the Cratcherode collection.
4. (2x) Small Dunbar, original, silver 63.4 gr., O.F.Parsons collection, gift of Miss Lloyd Baker of Hardwicke in 1965 from the Archbishop Sharp collection (1687-1714).
5. (2x) Small Dunbar, original, copper, 77.2 gr., British Museum, ex Edward Hawkins, bought by Matthew Young from the Trattle sale 1832 (791) £12.15s., Dimsdale 10 June 1824 (636) £7.12s.6d.
6. (2x) Small Dunbar, presumed original, unknown composition, 50.03 gr., sg 11.45, Fitzwilliam Museum lent by Emmanuel College 1938, but further tracing has not been possible. See Appendix A.
7. (2x) Small Dunbar, uniface restrike, copper, 72.2 gr., Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, Warner.
8. (2x) Small Dunbar, uniface restrike, silver, 96.8 gr., Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, Warner.
9. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, original, gold, 286.2 gr. (pierced), sg 17.85, Lessen collection, ex Melvin Gutman Jewelry & Medal sale, pt.V, Parke-Bernet, NY 15 May 1970 (151), catalogued by D.Fearon. No further tracing possible. Thickness measurements (see Fig.1) a,b,c,d are 1.22, 0.94, 1.13, 1.14 mm.
10. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, original, silver, 162.1 gr., sg 10.4, Lessen collection, *NCirc* June 1970 (7284). Also see illustration 10a. Thickness measurements a,b,c,d are 1.12, 0.89, 1.12, 1.22 mm.
11. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, original, silver, 173.8 gr., Bibliotheque Nationale, photographed from Pl.26/3 of J.Babelon's *La Medaille et les Medailleurs* (1927). Also illustrated in A.Dauban, *Nicholas Briot* (Paris, 1857), Pl.3.
12. (1x) Large Dunbar, original, silver, presumed struck, 34x29 mm., *SCMB* January 1962 (M424) £15.
13. (1x) Large Dunbar, cast from original, silver, photo courtesy B.A.Seaby 1978.
14. (1x) Large Dunbar, cast from original, silver, 162.6 gr., photo courtesy Spink & Son 1975. Two others, virtually identical, in Lessen collection weigh 141.2 and 144.4 gr., sg 10.09 and 10.32.

15. (1x) Large Dunbar, cast from original, silver, 160.5 gr., collection and photo American Numismatic Society.
16. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, early group restrike, lead, British Museum, ex Edward Hawkins.
17. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, early group restrike, silver, 237.2 gr. (pierced), O.F.Parsons collection.
18. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, early group restrike, appears struck, lead, 548.4 gr., Lessen collection, bought Stanley Gibbons 1978.
19. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, late group restrike, 281.2 gr., silver, Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, bought Spink 1947. Also see illustration 19a. Thickness measurements a,b,c,d are 2.21,2.11,2.13,2.16 mm.
20. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, middle group restrike, silver, 306.0 gr., Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, Warner, B.W.Harris Glendining 20 Nov. 1923 (159), A.C.Norman (1758). Thickness measurements a,b,c,d are 2.29, 2.21,2.34,2.35 mm.
21. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, late group restrike, gold, 440.9 gr., sg 15.85, H.Schulman, NY Oct. 1972 (1262), ex Lessen, ex Glendining 26 May 1971 (426), possibly SCMB Nov-Dec 1946 (G25).
22. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, Wyon restrike, silver, 278.4 gr., O.F.Parsons collection.
23. (1.5x) Large Dunbar, Wyon restrike, white metal, 439.6 gr., Lessen collection, bought Baldwin 1970, ex Ockenden.
24. Large Dunbar False Steel Dies, British Museum, gift of A.H.Baldwin & Sons 1965. Negatives by Ray Gardner. The dies are numbered 366 and 367.
25. (1.5x) Large Dunbar from false dies, gold, 340.7 gr., sg 17.51, Glendining 12 Sept. 1979 (74), likely the Philip Spence specimen Sotheby 1 April 1947 (334).
26. (1.5x) Large Dunbar from false dies, gold, Sotheby 26 May 1902 (280).
27. (1.5x) Large Dunbar from false dies, gold, 408.4 gr., Museum of London A12358 from the Sir Richard Tangye collection (and his book, *The Cromwellian Collection* (1905), p.126).
28. (1.5x) Large Dunbar from false dies, gold, 374.5 gr., Glendining 16 Nov. 1978 (767), Glendining 12 Oct. 1966 (137), ex Hepburn-Wright, ex Napier 1956 (55).
29. (1x) Large Dunbar from false dies, gold-gilt, 390.3 gr., Christie's April 1967 (5). Photo courtesy Christie's, and a plaster cast courtesy Graham Pollard.
30. (1.5x) Large Dunbar from false dies, silver, 259.0 gr., Lessen collection from Wilfrid Slayter 1965. Also see illustration 30a. Thickness measurements a,b,c,d are 1.93,1.93,2.03,1.98 mm.
31. (1x) Large Dunbar from false dies, silver, 290.2 gr., collection and photo courtesy National Museum of Antiquities, Scotland, gift of Sir H. Dalrymple 1932.
32. (1.5x) Large Dunbar bust, modified, silver, 132.3 gr., sg 10.1, 34.7 x 31.1 mm., Lessen collection, NCirc June 1978 (8419), possibly Matthew Young sale part I, 25 Feb. 1839 (765) sold to Goodall.

33. (1x) Large Dunbar obverse/Elizabeth Cleypole reverse; 18th-century 'Stuart' production, silver, 703.3 gr., Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, *NCirc* July-Aug. 1966 (4276).
34. (1x) Large Dunbar copy, cast and tooled (?), silver, 210.7 gr., Fitzwilliam Museum CM3965, gift of C.J.Bunn family 1950.
35. (1x) 'Hitherto' medal (*MI* 392/15), uniface, lead, British Museum M7335, ex Edward Hawkins, ex Duke of Devonshire sale, although it is not clear which lot (but c.f. lot 551). Photo courtesy M.M.Archibald.
36. (1x) 'Hitherto' medal, illustration from Vertue 1753, Pl.xii/D.
37. (1x) 'Hitherto' medal, 18th-century 'Stuart' copy, silver 93.7 gr., Lessen collection, ex Ockenden, Warner, Montagu (211, part).
38. (1x) 'Hitherto' medal, 18th-century 'Stuart' copy, silver, *NCirc* June 1978 (8418), ex Stucker collection, Bourgey, Paris 21 Nov. 1977 (61, part). Photo courtesy Spink & Son.
39. (1x) Large (?) Dunbar, photocopy of illustration from Francois Ragunet's *Histoire d'Olivier Cromwel* (Paris, 1691), p.250 (also same illustration, but much finer quality, in a smaller format volume with the same title, p.235).
40. (1x) Large (?) Dunbar illustrations from John Evelyn's *A Discourse of*
41. *Medals* (1697), p.117. Photos courtesy Spink & Son.
42. (1x) Large Dunbar illustration from Vertue 1753, Pl.xii/A.

APPENDIX A

Letter from Dr.J.A.Charles, University of Cambridge, Department of Metallurgy and Materials Science, to J.G.Pollard, The Fitzwilliam Museum, 16 December, 1980. This is in response to a request for the small Dunbar (Pl.3, 6, with a specific gravity of 11.45) to be examined in the laboratory. The medal is not silver.

We have examined the silver medal by Thomas Simon by back-reflection X-ray diffraction. This technique enables some distinction to be made between surfaces which have been cold-worked and those which remain in an unstrained annealed, hot-worked, or as-cast condition. The patterns produced by unstrained crystals can be resolved to consist of separate 'dots', the number of 'dots' depending on the number of crystals on which the X-ray beam impinges. In cold-worked material continual rings are formed. The patterns made by the medal were compared by those from a [Cromwell] shilling of the same period and with those from annealed and cold-worked silver as previously reported (*Antiquity* XLII 1968, Pl.XLIV).

An image taken from one side of the coin, at a point representing the floor of Chamber, showed no indication of 'dots' at all and has been cold-worked at the surface. The shilling gave similar rings from both faces. On the other side, however, there were very faint indications of 'dots' within the rings, suggesting that the amount of cold work on the surface was not as great, not having completely eliminated the annealed or cast characteristic. I think it is worthwhile pointing out that surface working does not necessarily imply die-striking. It could result from surface tooling (i.e cutting or abrading) or from wear in use. In this case, however, the expert eye of the numismatist would

clearly have detected surface tooling, and there certainly has not been normal coinage wear.

We must conclude, therefore, that the surface working was the result of die use, but that more working was effected on one side than the other, and that possibly the extent of working was more limited than with the normal coin. Perhaps this could have been because an appropriated-sized cast flan was used for the small production rather than blanks cut from wrought sheet, where the grain size would already be smaller.

I think, therefore, that we have a medal which, if originally of a cast blank form, has not been left in that state, but has been subsequently struck. The final proof might be to repeat the exercise with a medal which we know is of cast form.

ADDENDUM

The confusion to which footnotes 20 and 21 refer can be clarified. Carlyle, copied by Henfrey, badly misrepresents a *CJ* entry, which may or may not relate to Dunbar. The actual entry is from *CJ*, vii, and is for the much later date of 17 Dec. 1651. It reads 'Ordered that it be referred to the Council of State, to take into Consideration the Pains of *****, in making the Statue of the General; and to give him such Gratuity as they shall think fit; And to take order for the payment thereof, accordingly'.

Yours
 It was not a little wonder to me
 to see that you should send off Symonds
 for great a journey about a business in not in go
 so little as far as it relates to me, when
 as if my poor opinion may not be rejected
 by you, I think to offer to that with I think
 the most noble end, to with the commemoration
 of that great martyr at Dunbar, & the
 gratia to the Army, with might better to
 expressed upon the medall by engraving on
 on the one side the Parliament with I think
 more intended & will do singularly well, &
 on the other side in Army with I think
 inscription over the head of it, The Lord
 of Hosts, with more words that day, whereas
 if I may beg it at a time from you I
 most earnestly beseech you if I may do
 it without offence that it may be so, & if
 you think not fit to have it, or if offer you
 may alter it at you for I am only I do
 think I may truly say, it will be
 thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will
 spare the having my Effigies in it.
 The Gentlemen's pains & trouble but has
 have been very great & I shall make it
 my friend's sake unto you that you will
 please to confer upon him that employment in
 your service with Nicholas Bricot. And before
 him, indeed the man is very modest & is
 of encouragement I may not say much but
 if at my request & for my sake he may
 oblige this favor I shall put it upon the
 account of my obligation with respect to him
 & I hope shall find ready & willingly to
 acknowledge & to express my debt.

Edinburgh 1th
 Octob. 1650.

Yours most devout Servant

Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell's Letter (Reduced)



1 Naval Reward - Silver

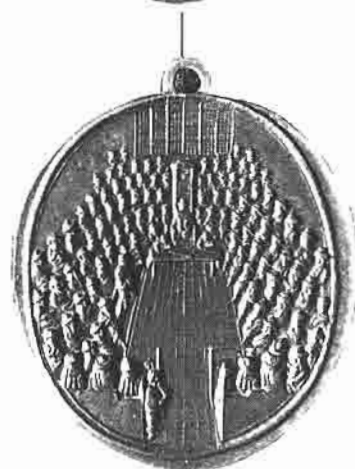
2 Gold

3 Gold
(electrotype)



4 Silver

Naval & Original Small Medals (2x)



5 Copper



Vertue (1x)



6 'Silverish' Composition

Original Small Medals (2x)



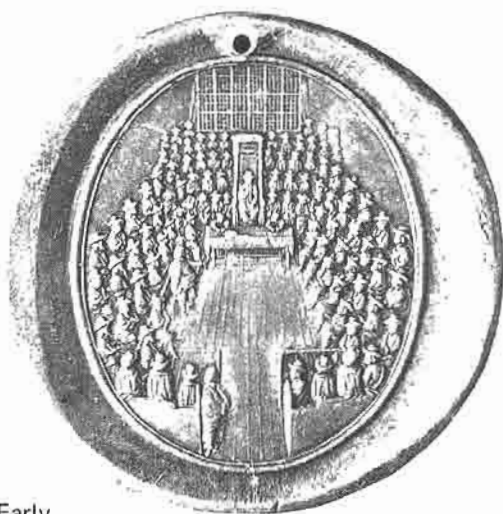
7 Copper - Early



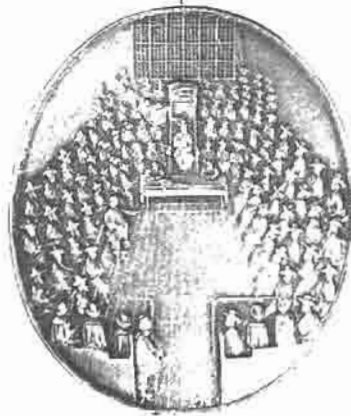
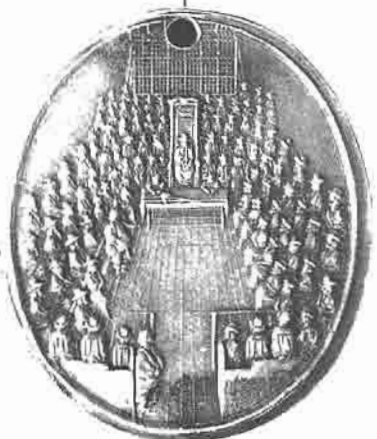
8 Silver - Late

Restrike Uniface Small Medals (2x)





16 Lead - Early



17 Silver - Early

18 Lead - Early

19 Silver - Late

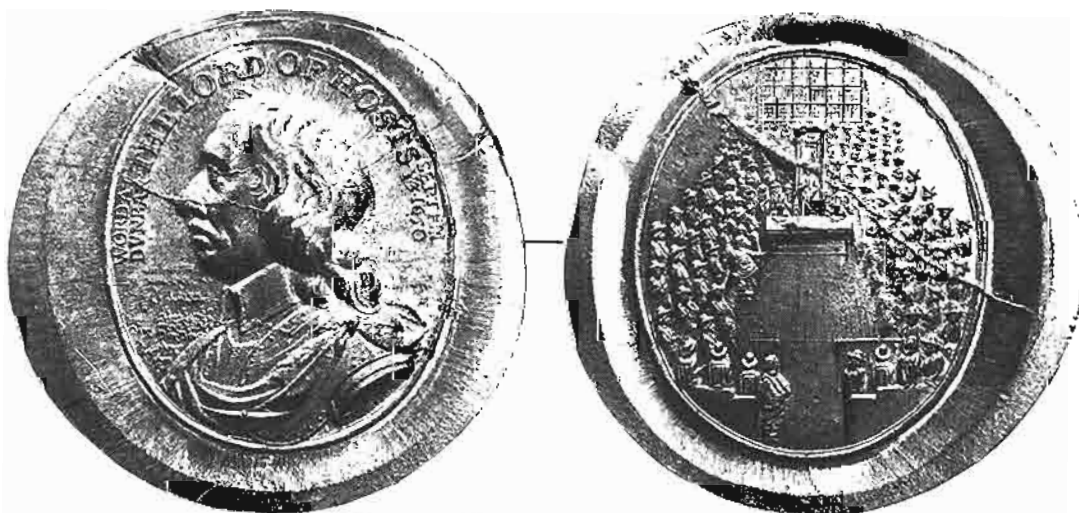
Restrike Large Medals (From Genuine Dies) (1.5x)



20 Silver - Middle

21 Gold - Late

22 Silver - Last Strike (Wyon)



23 White Metal - Last Strike (Wyon)

Restrike Large Medals (From Genuine Dies) (1.5x)



a. Base (1x)



b. Side (1x)



c. Obverse (1x)



d. Reverse (1x)



e.



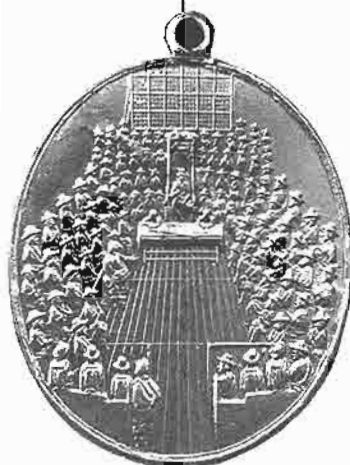
g.



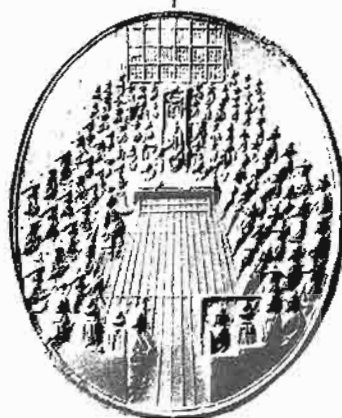
f.

Negatives
Reversed
(2x)

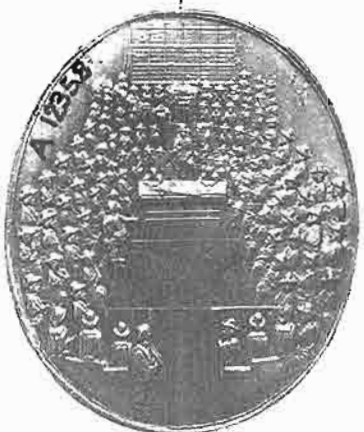
24 False Large Dies



25 (1.5x)



26 (1.5x)



27 (1.5x)

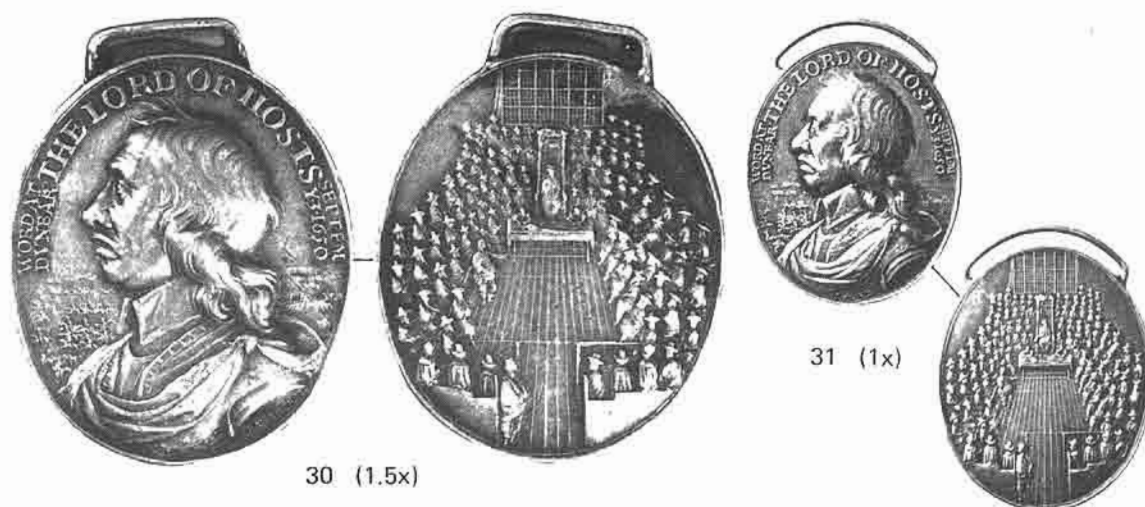


28 (1.5x)



29 (1x)

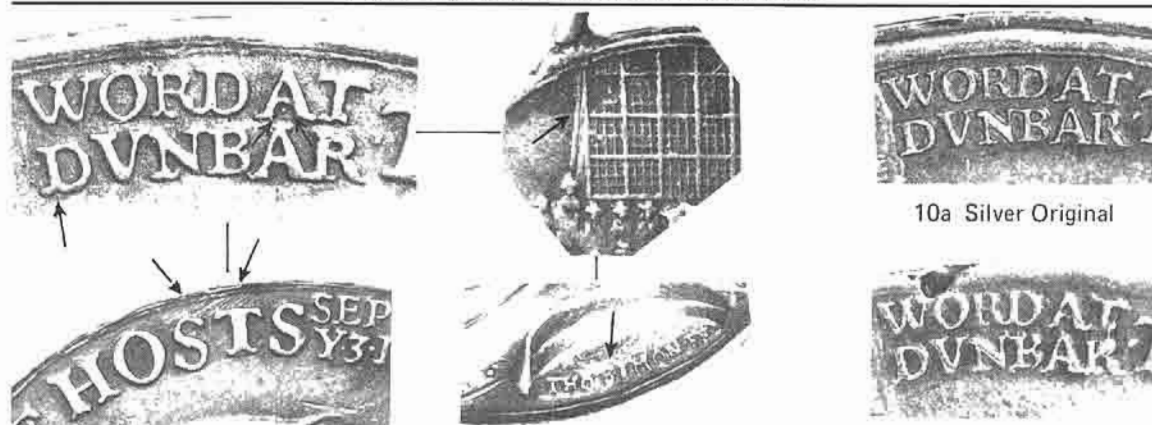
False Large Medals (From False Dies) - Gold



30 (1.5x)

31 (1x)

False Large Medals (From False Dies) - Silver

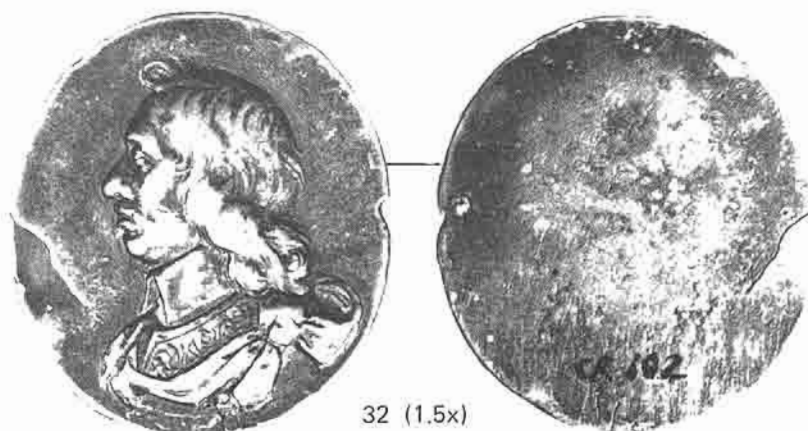


10a Silver Original

30a Silver - False

19a Silver Restrike

Large Medal Details



32 (1.5x)

Possible Later Dunbar/Lord Protector Trial Working Model (?) - Silver (1.5x)



34 Silver

Miscellaneous Copies (1x)



36 Vertue



37 "Stuart" - Silver

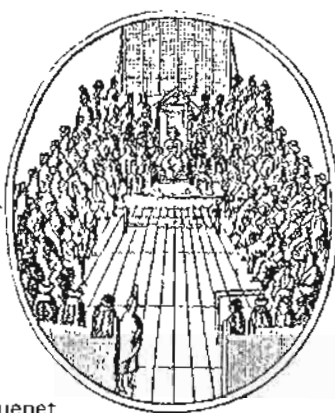


38 "Stuart" - Silver

"Hitherto Hath The Lord Helped Vs" (1x)



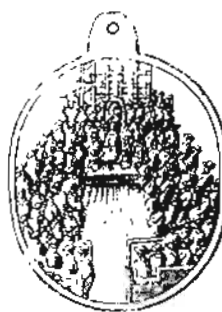
39 Raguenet



42 Vertue



40 Evelyn (1 of 2)



41 Evelyn (2 of 2)



Early Illustrations (1x)