SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

AN UNPUBLISHED EARLY PENNY FROM LINCOLNSHIRE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

LLOYD LAING AND MATTHEW PONTING

THE penny or sceat which is the subject of this note was found near Partney, Lincolnshire, by a metal detectorist. The site had previously yielded ninth-century Northumbrian stycas of barbarous style and other Anglo-Saxon artefacts, and is near another site which has produced an important range of Iron Age finds.

The coin (fig. 1) weighs 0.486 g, with a die axis of 20°. Its appearance is of bright silver. Analysis (below) indicates that the metal has a low silver content and that the coin flan has been 'blanched' to produce surface enrichment, a process found in late Roman Imperial coinage, but hitherto undocumented in the early medieval series, though a blanched penny of Alfred is known to Matthew Ponting.

Fig. 1. Early penny from Lincolnshire (×2).

The weight and fineness of the penny suggest that it belongs to the secondary series. Neither the obverse nor the reverse are closely matched in the Anglo-Saxon sceatta series. The obverse depicts a crested bird walking right, with curved wing and with tripartite tail, the feathers ending in pellets. A pellet adorns the tip of its wing and another is in the centre of its wing; further pellets are to be found in the field. The reverse has a cross crossée.

This type is without any parallel in Anglo-Saxon England, but has relatives in the Merovingian denier series, where the croix croissée occurs as a type. A series of these has been attributed to the palace mint.[1] No coins of these types are represented in the early medieval coin index in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The bird, which appears on the obverse, displays some features in common with the angular form with pellets which appears on the Series Q pennies,[2] but perhaps also compares with the prototype form of the bird on the Series U.[3] Neither series is represented in Lindsey.[4] The triple tail however is also found on some other pennies of series J,[5] which are early in the Secondary series.[6]

The conclusion must be that the penny in question represents a type hitherto unrecognized in the Anglo-Saxon series, and is perhaps inspired by a Merovingian model. It is probably to be seen as a confused rendering of one of the coins of Series Q.

[1] A. de Belfort, *Description Générale des Monnaies Mérovingiennes*, III (Paris, 1893), nos 3530–3552.

[2] I.H. Stewart, 'The Early English denarial coinage, c.680–c.750', pp. 5–26, at p. 16, type 65, in D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf (eds), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent: The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Oxford, 1984) (=B.A.R. Brit.Ser. 128). For the specific type, see D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, III (Oxford, 1994), Type QID–F, 490–1. Series Q has a predominantly East Anglian distribution.

[3] Stewart, op. cit. n. 2, p. 12; Metcalf, op. cit. n. 2, pp. 552–69. The style to which this coin is closest is Metcalf's type 23b, but it may have been copied from a blundered version.

[4] M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'Sceattas, a styca and other coins from a site in north-east Lincolnshire', in D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf, (eds) op. cit. n. 2, pp. 233–7 at p. 233; M. Blackburn, 'Coin finds and Coin Circulation in Lindsey, c.600–900', in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln, 1993), pp. 80–90, at p. 81, table.

[5] Metcalf, op. cit. n. 2, pp. 361–2, type 36.

[6] M. Blackburn, op. cit. n. 4, p. 81.

The assemblage of coin finds in Lindsey point to the circulation in the kingdom of coins of types commonly found in eastern and southern Mercia.[7] There is nothing Mercian (apart perhaps from the triple tail on the bird) about the 'near Partney' penny: in the Anglo-Saxon series its closest relatives are to be found in Kent – there is a single specimen of a series U penny in Lincolnshire, which it has been suggested might be due to East Coast traffic (along with the single finds of Series O and W which also derive from Kent).[8]

Due to metal detecting, the discovery of Anglo-Saxon coins in Lincolnshire has been happening at an ever increasing rate. In the early 1980s comparatively few early pennies were known in the region.[9] By the early 1990s the considerable quantity and quality of coins and other types of metalwork in Lindsey led Mark Blackburn to suggest that 'Lindsey was one of the wealthiest regions of England in the 8th and 9th centuries'.[10] Since then there has been a considerable increase in the number of finds from Lincolnshire, and it is becoming increasingly apparent that there is a concentration of imported Continental pottery in North Lincolnshire, as well as an almost exclusive concentration of rare Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian and Carolingian gold coins in Lindsey.[11] In this context, the 'near Partney' site lies in an area comparatively poorer in Middle Saxon finds than the region to the north of the Wolds.[12]

The coin which is the subject of this note, then, should probably be placed on account of its weight and fineness quite late in the Secondary Series.

Analysis

The analysis was conducted by one of the authors (MP) using a Jeol IC-845 scanning electron microscope with an Isis 200 energy dispersive analyser system. Standard operating conditions of 25 kV counting for 200 seconds were used to obtain approx. 2000 cps on cobalt metal with <25% dead time. A small (2 mm) area on the edge of the coin was first ground down to create a flat platform and to remove the overlaying silver enriched material. This area was then polished with fine diamond pastes to a mirror-like finish. This process was repeated until the original 'heart-metal' of the coin was adequately exposed.

The initial examination showed a heavily segregated two-phase structure typical of base silver alloys (**Plate 10**). Considerable heterogeneity was apparent, again as is usual in such alloys.

Analyses were conducted at three different locations across the polished area at a magnification of around ×300 (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Table of analyses

No.	*Fe*	*Cu*	*Zn*	*Ag*	*Sn*	*Au*	*Pb*
1	0.12	71.40	3.06	21.36	2.52	nd	1.02
2	0.08	68.57	3.02	23.61	2.60	0.72	1.29
3	0.13	69.16	2.99	23.27	2.84	nd	1.62
average	0.11	69.71	3.02	22.74	2.65	0.24	1.31

As can be seen there is a fairly close spread of values from the three locations analysed indicating that the results are representative of the un-corroded metal of the coin's core. The average values suggest a silver content of around 23% with the bulk of the remainder being copper (70%). The main minor contaminants are zinc (3%) and tin (2.5%), with lead present at about 1.5%. Traces of iron and gold were also noted. The silver enriched surface-layer of the coin was also analysed (**Plate 10**) and is composed of approx. 83% silver with 4% copper, 5% lead and 5% tin. This layer is undoubtedly the result of 'diffusion silvering' or 'blanching' as it is sometimes called. Recent

[7] K. Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy and the "Productive" Site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, AD 650–780', *Medieval Archaeology* XLIV (2000), 53–80, at pp. 77–8.

[8] M. Blackburn, op. cit. n. 4, p. 81.

[9] M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, op. cit. n. 4.

[10] M. Blackburn, op. cit. n. 4, p. 83.

[11] K. Ulmschneider, op. cit. n. 7, at pp. 77–8.

[12] K. Ulmschneider, op. cit. n. 7. Distribution maps figs. 3–6.

work by Harris and Griffiths[13] has shown that certain coins of this period (and later) were silver plated in the true sense of the word, using a mercury amalgam. However, a thorough examination failed to detect mercury in the silver enriched surfaces of this coin.

What is unusual here is the fact that the 'silver plate' is not pure silver, but a silver rich alloy containing significant levels of lead and tin. Both these metals have a stronger affinity for silver ('solid solubility') than for copper, and so would tend to segregate in favour of the silver-rich phase.[14] The dark grey areas in the SEM image are the copper-rich areas, which have become voids in the 'blanched' zone towards the surface of the coin. Thus we can safely say that the silver-rich surface of the coin was produced by the preferential leaching of the oxidised copper-rich phase – otherwise known as 'diffusion' silvering. This would have been carried out at the mint immediately prior to striking. Evidence for this is clear in the SEM image, showing the compression of the 'blanched' zone at the very surface. The act of striking compressed the 'sponge-like' silver-rich zone, collapsing the voids left by the leaching of the copper-rich metal and resulting in a consolidated shiny silver-rich surface disguising the coppery colour of the low-silver bulk alloy.

The silver content of this coin at 23% is towards the bottom end of the finenesses reported for all sceattas by Metcalf and Northover.[15] This evidence alone would support the view that this coin belongs in the secondary phase. Within the secondary phase, a number of series are reported as having coins of finenesses with which this coin is consistent. These are L, O, Q, R, U and X[16] and include the series (Q and U) which present the closest stylistic parallels (see above).

The level of tin present in the coin is also consistent with issues of the secondary phase, the presence of tin being unusual in primary phase sceattas.[17] Zinc, on the other-hand, is found in coins of both series, although higher concentrations are generally found in the baser issues of the secondary phase. The level of zinc found here is consistent with that found in the baser series, although these figures are very variable. The presence of both tin and zinc in the alloy suggest that the silver was alloyed with a mixed gunmetal alloy containing about 4.5% tin and 4.5% zinc, or the silver was alloyed with both bronze and brass. Gunmetals containing both zinc and tin are a common alloy type found in Anglo-Saxon copper-based metalwork and suggest that the base-metal used for alloying was scrap-metal of varying composition.[18]

The lead content is consistent with that found in silver that has been extracted or refined by the process of cupellation. The amount of lead remaining in silver is generally regarded as an index of the efficiency of the process, with more lead indicating a less efficient process. However, the amounts of lead found in debased secondary phase sceattas are so high when calculated as coming solely from the silver, that an additional source must be suggested. The analysis of contemporary copper-based metalwork supplies the answer, with most containing several percent of lead, especially cast objects. Metcalf and Northover[19] suggest a two-source origin for this lead, a small amount from the cupelled silver, but the majority coming from the gunmetal alloyed with the silver. The analysis of this coin is entirely consistent with this explanation.

As is shown in Plate 10, this coin has an enriched silver content at its surface giving a silver content of 83%. This enriched area is some 50 microns deep and is therefore very unlikely to be the product of natural corrosion processes. Diffusion plating, as it is called, is a process that has been documented archaeologically since the 2nd millennium BC,[20] and was certainly a technique

[13] E.J. Harris and D.R. Griffiths, 'Mercury plating on some early English coins', in *BNJ* 69 (1999), 37–46

[14] L.H. Cope, 'The metallurgical analysis of Roman Imperial silver and Aes coinage', in E. Hall and D. Metcalf, (eds), *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Analysis of Ancient Coinage*, (= Royal Numismatic Society Special Publications, 8), (London, 1972), pp. 2–47

[15] D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'What are sceattas made of? Historical Implications of their alloys', in D.M. Metcalf op. cit. n. 2, pp. 611–79.

[16] Ibid. p. 616

[17] Ibid. p. 639.

[18] W.A. Oddy, 'Bronze alloys In Dark Age Europe', in R Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, Vol 3, part 2, (British Museum, 1983) pp. 945–61; C. Mortimer, A.M. Pollard, and C. Scull, 'XRF analyses of some Anglo-Saxon copper-alloy finds from Watchfield, Oxfordshire', *Journal of Historical Metallurgy* 20/1 (1986), pp. 36–42.

[19] D.M. Metcalf and J.P.Northover, op. cit. n. 15, p. 658.

[20] W.A. Oddy, S. La Niece, J.E. Curtis and N.D. Meeks, 'Diffusion-bonding as a method of gilding in antiquity' *MASCA Journal*, 1 (8) (1981), 239–41.

employed by the Roman mint to disguise the debasement of the Roman Imperial coinage.[21] The artificial enrichment would have been necessary in order to produce a coin that would have looked as if it were pure silver. An alloy containing so little silver would have looked very coppery when freshly minted and would have clearly signalled any significant debasement to the coin using population. It is therefore not surprising that such a technique would have been employed by Anglo-Saxon moneyers when silver stocks were low and increases in trade demanded more coin. It is only by removing the 50 microns or so of enriched surface metal that the true composition of a coin so treated can correctly be ascertained.[22] Unfortunately, it is only recently that the scale of the use of depletion silvering in coinage production has begun to be fully appreciated, casting doubt on many of the earlier 'non-destructive' X-ray fluorescence analyses. For many years it was thought that it was only surface enrichment caused by natural corrosion processes during burial that affected analysis. This phenomenon can quite easily be overcome by the careful abrasion (euphemistically called 'polishing') of the area to be analysed. However, if such an approach is applied to depletion silvered coins, the analysis so gained will be only of the enriched zone and therefore not representative of the original alloy from which the coin was made. Clearly such data are useless for numismatic or historical research.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR OUTLYING CHURCHES? A PERSPECTIVE ON THE USES OF MONEY IN EIGHTH-CENTURY NORTHUMBRIA

D.M. METCALF

THROUGH the activities of metal-detectorists, as well as through controlled archaeological excavations, there are now approximately 200 single finds of thrymsas and sceattas from north of the Humber, an impressive total. Many of them have been reported in the Coin Register maintained by the Society and published in this Journal. If one maps all the finds, they reveal rather clearly that, whereas most of the territory of the kingdom of Northumbria was devoid of stray finds of sceattas, or virtually so, there was a quadrilateral in the south-eastern part of the kingdom where a pervasive monetary economy grew up during the eighth century. This quadrilateral was bounded by the estuary of the River Humber, the Vale of Pickering, the North Sea, and an arbitrary line a couple of miles to the west of the River Ouse – roughly speaking, the old East Riding.[1] York lay at the north-western corner of this area, which made up only a smallish fraction of the area of Northumbria. The sharp contrast in the frequency of stray finds may to some extent be because searching by detectorists has been more concentrated in the East Riding area, where success has encouraged persistence, but one can form a judgement by considering the proportions of different categories of coinage that are found by detectorists in other parts of Yorkshire, where sceattas form a negligible fraction of all coin finds. The contrast is so sharp that one may accept it as broadly reliable. The only important exception is Whitby Abbey, where major archaeological excavations in 1920–8 produced a good crop of sceattas. The statistics there obviously reflect the care and intensity of searching, primarily.

Within the find-evidence from north of the Humber, the writer recently happened to notice a previously unremarked curiosity which, if it is judged to be statistically significant, leads us towards some intriguing questions about the monetary affairs of the Northumbrian kingdom in the time of King Eadberht (738–59) and his successors in the later eighth century. This note is intended mainly to alert archaeologists and others to a problem, in order that if they should be fortunate enough to find new evidence they will ensure that the facts are scrupulously recorded in

[21] L. Cope, 'Surface-silvered ancient coins', in E. Hall and D. Metcalf, op. cit. n. 14, pp. 261–78.

[22] K.E.T. Butcher and M.J. Ponting, 'Rome and the East: Production of Roman provincial silver coinage for Caesarea in Cappadocia under Vespasian, AD 69–79', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1) (1995), 63–77.

[1] Work in progress.

such a way as to be useful. Eadberht made major innovations in the production and use of coinage, presumably at York, which included extending the privilege of minting to the archbishop (his brother), Ecgberht. Sceattas are known in Eadberht's sole name, but also there are specimens with the king's name on one side and that of the archbishop on the other. This dual system may even be earlier in its origin, involving the sceattas of Series J, Types 85 and 37 respectively. There are historical difficulties in that interpretation,[2] whereas the coins of Eadberht and his brother are perfectly explicit in their legends. Series J will be left on one side in what follows. There is no reason to think that it affects the general argument.

The joint issues account for about twenty-two per cent of all the single finds from Eadberht's reign, or roughly one in five, among a total of 113, which come from some twenty-five different localities north of the Humber. Of the 113, the majority come essentially from the East Riding, as explained above. The region was heavily monetized from *c.*700 onwards, i.e. a generation before Eadberht's reforms. Its money economy was driven by maritime trade reaching the Humber estuary. Initially, monetary exchanges mostly took place at sites not too far from navigable water, e.g. the productive site in or somewhere near the parish of South Newbald. York, as a tidal river-port, attracted a colony of Frisian merchants, who seem to have been settled in the southern suburbium of Fisherwick, where porcupine sceattas have been excavated. Further afield, and outside the east Yorkshire quadrilateral, there are plenty of coins from the reign of Eadberht and his successors from the monastic site of Whitby, already mentioned,[3] and similarly from excavations at Whithorn,[4] on the coast of southern Scotland. There are other scattered examples recorded from Malham,[5] Settle,[6] Guisborough,[7] Hutton Rudby,[8] Hartlepool,[9] Jarrow (3),[10] Holy Island,[11] and Aberlady.[12] Most of these localities are on or near the east coast, and the coins are likely to have arrived by sea (as will many of those from Whitby). The finds from Guisborough, Hartlepool, and Settle are joint issues with Archbishop Ecgberht. Three out of nine is in no way remarkable when measured against an expectation, derived from the over-all proportion, of twenty-two per cent. It could easily be nothing more than a statistical quirk, given that one coin (e.g. two out of eight) could remove the anomaly. One's curiosity is aroused, however, by the contexts of the finds. The Guisborough specimen comes from excavations at the priory, and the Hartlepool find is from just north of the parish church of St Hilda. Again, two swallows do not make a summer.

But if the enquiry is extended in time, the evidence begins to accumulate. From an earlier period, there is a gold coin from Skipton parish church.[13] And from the later part of the ninth century, examples come thick and fast. A joint issue of Ecgberht with Eadberht's successor, Alchred, is on record from Richmond, from the Hospital of St Nicholas.[14] One of King Æthelred I jointly

[2] D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 27), 3 vols (London, 1993–4), pp. 343 f.

[3] There are thirteen coins of Eadberht, of which four are joint issues, and twelve later eighth-century coins, of which one is a joint issue: par for the course. There are also finds from elsewhere in Whitby. See R.J. Cramp, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by D.M. Wilson (1976), pp. 453–7. For the site generally, see P. Rahtz, 'Anglo-Saxon and later Whitby', in *Yorkshire Monasticism*, edited by L.R. Hoey (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15) (Leeds, 1995), pp. 1–11.

[4] Excavations of 'a monasterium with urban functions' yielded *inter alia* six coins of Eadberht, of which one was a joint issue, and six of Alchred or Æthelred I, of which again one was a joint issue. P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninians* (1997).

[5] E.J.E. Pirie, 'Finds of "sceattas" and "stycas" of Northumbria', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History. Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 67–90, at p. 74, no. 20.

[6] Pirie, as in n. 5, no. 21. From Attermire cave in the mid or late nineteenth century.

[7] J. Booth, *Northern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coins to 1279* (*SCBI* 48) (London, 1997) (hereafter *SCBI Northern*), no. 192.

[8] 'Coin Register 1997', *BNJ* 67 (1997), 125–47, no. 86.

[9] From excavations at Church Close (to the north of St Hilda's church, on Hartlepool Headland). *SCBI Northern*, as in n. 7, 190.

[10] Two from excavation of the upper make-up of the S bank (NZ 339 652) in 1976. *SCBI Northern*, as in n. 7, 178 and 183. Also one from the churchyard (in the same general locality). *BMC* Alchred 13.

[11] From the priory: Pirie as in n. 5, no. 25. Also 'Coin Register 1987', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 122–52, no. 97, excavated in 1977.

[12] Information supplied by Dr J.D. Bateson. Thirteen coins have been recovered by a detectorist and acquired by the National Museums of Scotland. Details will be published by N. Holmes in 'The Evidence of Finds for the Circulation and Use of Coins in Medieval Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* (forthcoming).

[13] Casual find of a continental tremissis in the northern graveyard of Holy Trinity church. *SCBI Northern*, as in n. 7, 1920.

[14] *Gentleman's Magazine* (1832), 304 and 601.

with Archbishop Eanbald comes from Carlisle (excavations at the cathedral).[15] There is another of the same type from Jarrow.[16] Coins of Archbishop Eanbald alone (a later development) come from Jarrow (again)[17] and also from Coldingham churchyard.[18] This later batch makes up a high proportion of the outliers from the late ninth century – the bulk of the finds being, as before, from the East Riding and from Whitby. Of course, one often cannot prove that a medieval church stood on what was already a church site in the eighth century. But it seems that there is a phenomenon worth thinking about.

Stray finds as such in a churchyard or on an ecclesiastical site do not necessarily imply that the church was institutionally involved in the use of coinage. A churchyard may have been a convenient social meeting-place, with some buying and selling thrown in. Likewise there is currently no evidence that coin finds are in any way associated with burial practices in eighth-century Northumbria.[19]

One should mention the possibility that the archbishops' coins were of less pure silver than the royal coins, or were thought to be so;[20] but even if true it probably does not affect the issue (since, e.g. there is apparently no question of inferior coins being used as grave-goods). If coins had been circulating in the ordinary way at these outlying sites, the expectation would be that the proportion of archbishops' coins would be no different statistically from the over-all pattern, subject only to margins of statistical variation which can distort a small sample. If archbishops' coins really do exceed expectation, which should be considered as an interesting hypothesis rather than an established fact while the numbers remain so small, that could have arisen either because people using coins locally sifted through what was in their purses and chose to give or pay archbishops' coins rather than royal coins to the church or to the priest; or because the money had come directly from the archbishop, presumably as some sort of support or subvention. (Again, it would have been perfectly possible for him to send whatever sort of money came to hand.) Neither option is particularly appealing, but the former is less so. In either case the pattern of losses would seem to imply that once such coins had reached the vicinity of the church, they tended to stay there, i.e. monetary circulation was sluggish or very restricted. That fits in well enough with the broader pattern that has been described. But it is always difficult to know whether a zero level of stray finds in a region should be assumed to imply a zero level of monetary use – or merely a very much lower level than in the obviously monetized regions nearby.

It will be prudent to reserve judgement, but it is certainly desirable to air the hypothesis, if only because the exact details of the context of any new find may have a bearing on the historical interpretation of the pattern as a whole.

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM LLANDDONA, ANGLESEY

EDWARD BESLY

On 18 June 1999 Mr Graham Williams deposited a group of 205 silver coins at the National Museum & Gallery in Cardiff. The coins had been found with the aid of a metal detector on a beach above low water mark near Llanddona at the eastern end of Red Wharf Bay, on the Isle of Anglesey. As a result of further searching two more batches, totalling 106 coins, were received in September 1999 and January 2000. The coins were declared treasure at an inquest in Caernarfon on 12 September 2000 and have been acquired by Oriel Ynys Môn, Llangefni.

There is no doubt that the coins form a single deposit, scattered in the beach within an area of around fifty square metres. On one coin, a concretion preserved evidence of a fine plain weave

[15] *SCBI Northern*, as in n. 7, 207.
[16] *SCBI Northern*, as in n. 7, 208.
[17] Pirie, as in n. 5, no. 81.
[18] Pirie, as in n. 5, no. 91.
[19] D.M. Hadley, 'Burial practices in the northern Danelaw, c.650–1100', *Northern History* 36 (2000), 199–216. Churchyard burials occurred from the eighth century onwards.
[20] Cf. *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, as in n. 2, nos 464 and 468; chemical analyses at pp. 678 f.

textile, indicating a possible cloth container.[1] The presence of so many coins on this beach may have one of several explanations. Coastal erosion is unlikely here and there are no reports of other finds from the area that might suggest a shipwreck. However, the sands have long been used as a shortcut by people crossing the bay, a distance of around 5½ km from end to end, rather than going inland.[2] The hoard was most likely accidentally lost in this context, or from a beached vessel.

The coins themselves are English pennies of Edward I–II, with the customary sprinkling of Irish, Scots and Continental issues; none requires individual comment. The latest are of class 15c from Bury, Durham and London, placing the hoard in the 'hard-to-date' category within the period *c.*1325–*c.*1345. The proportion of classes 11 or later in the hoard, a possible criterion for dating the hoard, is 27.0 per cent (79 out of 293 English coins), a high figure which might suggest a deposit early in the period (late 1320s or perhaps early 1330s).[3]

However, the hoard itself ends strongly, with a notable representation of class 15 coins of the Durham mint, which as a result accounts for an exceptionally high proportion (16.7 per cent) of the whole. In this context the mint distribution is also of interest. If Llanddona is compared with the figures quoted by Mayhew,[4] northern mints such as Hull and York are well represented, as are the Scottish issues, which include four pennies of John Baliol. It must be remembered that the numbers are all very small, however, and of limited statistical significance. Nevertheless, London and Canterbury, while they provide (as expected) the two largest mint groups in the hoard, are both distinctly weakly represented overall. Whatever the circumstances of the hoard's loss on an Anglesey beach, its source would appear to lie in northern parts.

The preservation of the coins is, as might be expected for a beach find, generally poor. Weights of individual coins have been recorded, but except as a museum curatorial tool, are not informative. Three coins show signs of significant clipping.

CATALOGUE

ENGLAND

Edward I–II			*% of hoard*
London	1c; 1d; 1d or 2a (2); 2b (2); 3c; 3c–d; 3d; 3f; 3g (2); 3g? (3); 3; 3 or 4; 4a (4); 4b (3); 4c; 4e; 4 (4); 5a; 8c; 9a1 [no star]; 9a1 [plain cross]; 9a; 9b1 *[no star] (2);* 9b1 [star] (3); 9b1 [?]; 9b2; *9b (5); 10ab1?; 10ab2 (2);* 10ab5 (5); 10ab (2); 10ab with crown *cf1; 10cf1 (11);* 10cf2 (5); 10cf3 Mayfield (7); *10cf3 late (8); 10cf5 (9);* 10cf3–5 (2); 10cf4–5; 10cf (3); 11a1; 11b1 (2); 11; 12; 13 (3); 14 (4); 15b? (2); 15c (2)	**120**	*38.6*
			% of hoard
Canterbury	3c; 3d; 3; 4a; 4a?; 4a–c (2); 4c; 4d; 4 (3); 9b1 (2: one with adherent concretion bearing traces of fabric); 9b (3); 10ab3; 10ab5; 10ab5?; 10ab (5); 10cf1 [EDWAR]; 10cf1 (2); 10cf1or2; 10cf2 (7); 10cf3 (4); 10cf3 Mayfield; 10cf3 late lettering (2); 10cf5 (2); 10cf 3–5 (4); 10cf? (2); 11a2 (2); 11b2; 11b3 (2); 11b (3); 11c; 13; 13 or 14; 14 (5); 15b (2); uncertain	**70**	*22.5*
Bristol	2b; 2b or 3; 3c; 3g2; 9b1	**5**	*1.6*
Bury	9a2 (2); 9b; 10ab3; 10cf3 Mayfield; 10cf3b; 10cf3? (2); 10cf5?; 11a1; 11a3; 11a; 13; 14 (3) 15a; 15c/b; 15c (3)	**21**	*6.8*

[1] Information from Louise Mumford, Cardiff.
[2] Information from Kate Geary, Sites and Monuments Officer, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.
[3] N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68 at pp. 42–3.
[4] Mayhew, as in n.3, p. 49, Table 2 (Finds analysed by mint).

			% of hoard
Durham	9b2; 9b?; 9; 10ab?; 10cf3 Mayfield; 10cf3; 10cf3–5; 10cf (3); 10?; 11a; 11 or later (3); 13?; 15; 15?; uncertain [10 or later]		
Bek:	9b1; 9b; 10ab5; 10ab?; 10cf3 (3); 10cf4–5		
Kellawe:	11a; 11b2; 11b3; 11b; 11b?		
Beaumont:	13; 13–15 (3);15c (6); 15c? (2); 15; 15? (2)		
Unc. mm.	15c (4); 15c?	**52**	*16.7*
Exeter	9b2 [Pothook/Roman N]	**1**	*0.3*
Hull	9b1; 9b (2)	**3**	*1.0*
Lincoln	3c	**1**	*0.3*
Newcastle	3e; 9b1 (2); 10ab2	**4**	*1.3*
York	2b; 3b; 3e; 9b1 (4); 9b1 archiepiscopal; 9b2	**9**	*2.9*
Uncertain	11 or 13/ Durham?; 10cf3 Durham??; 11? Durham?	**3**	*1.0*
Berwick	4b (2); 4c (2)	**4**	*1.3*
		293	*94.2*
IRELAND			
Edward I	Dublin, group A/rev.1 (2); C/rev.3; G2/rev.2	**4**	*1.3*
	Waterford, group A(2)	**1**	*0.3*
SCOTLAND			
Alexander III	sterlings: groups B2:24pts; M/D:24; E/D:25 (stars); B/M: 24?; uncertain:23? (one star)	**5**	*1.6*
John Baliol	sterlings: 1st coinage S.5065[5]: 4×6pts; 2nd coinage S.5071: 4×6pts (2); S.5071?: 4×5pts	**4**	*1.3*
CONTINENTAL			
John of Louvain (1285–1309), Herstal crockard, M.82[6]		**1**	*0.3*
Gaucher de Châtillon (*c.*1313–22), Yves, M.239		**1**	*0.3*
IRREGULAR			
'10ab Canterbury', M.377; 'London'		**2**	*0.6*
Total		**311**	

A NOTE ON TWO CONTINENTAL STERLINGS

DAVID SYMONS

DURING the summer of 2002 two continental sterlings were reported to the Department of Human History, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. The first (**Plate 11, 1**) was initially recorded by my colleague Angie Bolton, of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and I am grateful to her for bringing it to my attention.[1] It belongs to a series issued by John I (1261–94) and John II (1294–1312), Dukes of Brabant. The obverse has a rose-crowned bust with the inscription +I·DVX·BRABANTIE (with reverse barred N and round E). The punctuation consists of single pellets. The reverse is of

[5] P. Seaby and P.F. Purvey, *Coins of Scotland Ireland & the Islands* (London, 1984).
[6] N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (London, 1983).

[1] The coin was found with a metal-detector at Mitton, Staffordshire by Mr Paul Robinson in March 2002. Mr Robinson then very commendably reported his find to Ms Bolton.

standard English type and has the legend BRV XEL LEИ SIS (again with reverse barred N and round Es). The coin weighs 1.28 g.

Reference to Mayhew[2] shows that the standard punctuation for coins with this legend (Mayhew 40) consists of small saltires, usually in pairs although other variations are known. (Mayhew 41 is a variant with no punctuation at all.) The new find, which seems to be of perfectly acceptable style, is thus likely to represent a hitherto unrecorded variety of the type. A slight note of caution does need to be sounded, however. Dr Mayhew, who has kindly examined digital images of this coin, has noted that the use of round Es throughout the legends is unusual and has raised the possibility that this specimen might actually be one of the 'enigmatic imitations', where issues of Brabant are not so far much represented.

The second coin (**Plate 11, 2**) was obtained in trade by Format of Birmingham Ltd. and I am grateful to Mr G. Charman of Format for allowing me to record it.[3] It reads +EDWARANGL'DNSHYB on the obverse and CIVI TAS VTE: ROP on the reverse. The type has been known since at least the discovery of the Montraive (Fife) hoard in 1887. In the list of coins in the hoard (originally compiled by Edward Burns) a single specimen appeared among the 'Forgeries of English and Irish Sterlings' and was listed as 'Civitas, VTE: ROP. Waterford?'.[4] Another specimen was found in the Blackhills (Parton, Kirkcudbrightshire) hoard of 1911. In this case the reverse was published as CIVI TAS VTE ROP and the coin described as 'what seems to be an imitation – probably executed abroad – of the early Edward I penny of Waterford without the triangle on the obverse'.[5]

Mayhew briefly referred to these two coins in an article published in 1976, where he identified them as die duplicates. In that article, however, he gave the reverse reading as CIVI TAS VTE: FOR.[6] This reading was repeated in 1983 in his *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*, where the coins appeared as type 381d and were described as combining a probable imitation of a 'Waterford' reverse with an 'English' obverse.[7]

The new coin makes it quite clear that the correct reverse legend is indeed CIVI TAS VTE: ROP and that the reading given for Mayhew 381d should be amended. Comparison with the photographs of 381d suggests that this is actually a third die duplicate. Sim, Macdonald (or rather Burns) and Mayhew are all surely correct in suggesting that the reverse legend is intended to suggest the name Waterford, which appears as CIVI TAS VATE RFOR on contemporary coins of Edward I

THE CLASS III PENNY OF ROBERT THE BRUCE: A SECOND LOOK

RON KIRTON

THE first ever die study to be done on the pennies of Robert the Bruce was published in volume 70 of this journal.[1] In the published study the authors drew attention for the first time to the existence of Class III, of extreme rarity, and represented in their study by only two coins of well known provenance struck from the same obverse die – the ex Lockett example now being in the collec-

[2] N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (London, 1983). Coins of this series, Types 40–53, appear on pp. 45–7.

[3] The coin was again a metal-detector find, said to have been found in Gloucestershire. It weighs 0.89 g.

[4] G. Sim, 'Notice of Recent Discoveries of Coins in Scotland', *PSAS* XVI (1881–2), 464–72. The relevant coin appears on p. 470.

[5] G. Macdonald, 'Two Hoards of Edward Pennies Recently Found in Scotland', *NC*[4] 13 (1913), 57–118. The relevant coin appears on p. 116. The 'early Edward I penny of Waterford without the triangle on the obverse' is, of course, itself also a continental imitation: see M. Dolley and W.A. Seaby, *SCBI Ulster Museum, Belfast I: Anglo-Irish Coins: John–Edward III*, nos 593–4.

[6] N.J. Mayhew, 'Imitation Sterlings in the Aberdeen and Montraive Hoards', *NC* 136 (1976), 85–97, at pp. 90–1. Mayhew also showed that these two coins were die linked via their obverse die with another group of imitations with a 'London' reverse.

[7] Mayhew, op. cit. n. 2, p. 139, no. 381d, pl. 43.

Acknowledgement: The author is grateful for the unfailing courtesy and assistance provided by Nick Holmes of the National Museums of Scotland during the production of this note and many related matters.

[1] N.M.McQ. Holmes and Lord Stewartby, 'Scottish Coinage in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century', *BNJ* 70 (2000), 45–60.

tion of the National Museums of Scotland,[2] and the coin illustrated by Burns[3] as figure 226a, now being in the collection of one of the authors. Since publication a third example has turned up, and is now in the collection of the author of this note (**Plate 12, 1**). This third example throws further light on the letter punches used.

In the description of the classes, the study states that in Class III there is a 'new letter E on obverse (fig. I,4)'. A look at the plate illustration of dies 5/D (Plate 4), which shows the better preserved of the two examples then known, shows that the first letter E is unclear while the second E is perfectly formed. The new coin, however, clearly shows both Es, and while it confirms that the second E is perfectly formed, it equally shows that the first E is the broken E seen on the dies of those Class I coins placed later in the sequence, and the dies of Class II (**Plate 12, 2**). The question, therefore, arises as to whether there were two E punches used on the Class III die – the old broken E, and a new E. The purpose of this note, as well as to point out the problem, is to suggest that the problem does not, in fact, exist.

The lettering on this coinage is composite in structure, with the possible exception of the V. Take the C for example (**Plate 12, 3**). This is clearly formed from two punches – a rear piece, curved at the back with two pins projecting forward, and a wedge, used twice, at the front. On no die is the C perfectly formed. Those coming closest are Class I, dies B, G and L, where the top wedge has been correctly positioned while the lower wedge is a little to the inside of the pin. On the reverse of the Class III coin under discussion the wedges have both been placed noticeably to the inside of the pins. Similar observations could be made of the other letters.

It would be strange, therefore, if the letter E, alone among the letters, had been punched in by a single punch. And, indeed, close inspection shows this too to be composite. The E appears to have been formed using the same back piece as the C (Fig. 1), and another to form the front (Fig. 2). The front is often incorrectly positioned in relation to the rear. To take some examples from Class 1 coins, the two parts lie parallel on die D, but are not parallel on die 17. On die 11 the front has been displaced upwards while on die L it has been displaced forwards. This accounts for the fact that the internal spaces are not uniform in size from die to die. It also accounts for the 'broken' E, this being where the front punch has been slightly displaced downwards, and leaning slightly inwards at the top, thus contacting with the lower pin but not contacting correctly with the upper. To confirm this, it will be seen that the upper internal space in the first E on the Class III obverse die is smaller than the lower, while on the second E where the positioning is correct, the internal spaces are of equal size.

A similar argument could be made in relation to the 'broken' O on the reverse die of Class III (**Plate 12, 4**). In this case the O would be formed by using the same punch as for the rear of the C and E, and then reversing it to form the front. Here again the internal space is of different dimensions on the two Os found on die D of Class II and Class III.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that, while main design features such as hair, face and crown were undoubtedly renewed during the production of this coinage, the lettering punches were not, or if some were, their greater simplicity made it easier to replace a damaged punch with one of virtually identical appearance.

This would seem to be an opportune moment to add two dies to those included in the die study. A Class 1 penny is illustrated in Patrick Finn List 3, no. 370, neither die of which has previously been published. These dies add nothing to any observation which has previously been made.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

[2] Ex Lockett sale (1960), lot 787 (Museum reference H.C1537)
[3] E.Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887), Vol. I, p. 230; Vol. III, Figure 226a.

TWO EARLY COINS OF RICHARD II

LORD STEWARTBY

THE noble and halfgroat of Richard II illustrated on plate 11 are both hitherto unpublished varieties.

1. Calais noble, Webb Ware type Ia.
In his paper on the coinage of Richard II delivered to the Society on 28 January 1992, Mr Webb Ware identified no Calais noble of his type Ia. This type, which he defined as having the same lettering as on the last nobles of Edward III, was represented by two London obverse dies identical to late Post-Treaty dies except for the king's name and for showing a small lis instead of an annulet above the sail. Richard's earliest Calais nobles, however, were from three old obverse dies of Edward III combined with reverses with the new king's initial. The noble under consideration here is also from one of these three Edwardian dies, but with the beginning of the king' s name altered from *Edw* to *Ric.* In this respect it is comparable to certain London half-nobles also struck from Edwardian dies with the name altered (e.g. Schneider 119 and 123–4). Since the altered obverse dies of these halves are classified as Webb Ware type Ia, it is appropriate to use the same designation for the new Calais noble. One can only speculate as to why this die was eventually recut after it and others from the previous reign had been used extensively in their unaltered state. The die in question shows considerable signs of rust in the field on the new coin, and some rust was already beginning to show before the alteration was made (see Doubleday lot 316, which appears to be the same coin as Clarke-Thornhill lot 17).

2. London halfgroat, Potter type II/I
Writing in 1959 (*BNJ* XXIX, pp. 344–6), Potter recorded only eight obverse dies for halfgroats of this reign. Five of them were of his type II, of which three read *Rex Anglie* and two include the French title also, *Fr(anc).* The halfgroat here noted is from a sixth obverse die of type II, and this appears to be the first new obverse die for either a groat or a halfgroat of Richard II discovered in over forty years since Potter's article. The new coin comes from the hoard found at Brokes Road, Reigate on 22 September 1990 (Glendining, 8 December 1992, lot 162). It is heavily clipped, but reads *Ricard Di G Re(••••••)r,* with double saltire stops between words and a single (?) saltire after the final *R.* The *Anglie* dies read *Gra,* whereas the two previously known with the French title have G only, so although only the bottom of the last *R* is visible the Reigate coin probably read *Rex Angl & Fr.* It does not appear to have any pellets above the crown, as do three of the other type II halfgroat dies. The reverse of this coin has what appears to be the bottom of Potter's R2 (characterized by its angular tail) in *Adiutore,* and so would be described as Ib under his classification. It is very similar to (possibly the same as ?) the only Ib reverse die recorded by Potter (*BNJ* XXIX, pl. XX, no. 1), which is likewise paired with an obverse with the French title (Potter die 1, with a wedge after *Fr*). The two *Fr* dies may therefore be the earliest halfgroat obverses of the reign.

HOARD OF LEAD BOY BISHOP TOKENS AND LEAD BLANKS FROM SIBTON PARISH, SUFFOLK

JOHN NEWMAN

A hoard of 196 Boy Bishop type tokens and 204 blank lead discs was located in a field north of Sibton Abbey, Suffolk in February 1992 by two metal detector users. The finders were metal detecting, with the landowner's permission, on arable land and they have regularly reported finds to Suffolk C.C. over a number of years.

Initially 27 tokens and 10 discs were found in the plough-soil over an area of some 100 m by 100 m. Suspecting that they might be dealing with a large find, or hoard, the finders concentrated their efforts within this area and eventually located the bulk of the hoard. The hoard appears to have been originally deposited in a shallow pit whose base was *c.*600/650 mm below the surface of the field. No container was found which might have held the tokens and discs, but their pattern in the pit indicates the use of cloth or leather bags when they were originally deposited, the agricultural cultivation of the field in following years having disturbed and dispersed some of the tokens and discs through the plough-soil around the pit. The finders noted that the plough-soil is now 300 mm. It was also noted by the finders that the hoard in the pit, below the level disturbed by ploughing, appeared to be in two parts separated by a thin layer of soil. The upper deposit being of 150+ tokens and discs and the lower one of 180+ tokens and discs. Unfortunately the finds from the two parts of the hoard were not kept separate. However, it was the finders impression that all parts of the hoard consisted of equal proportions of tokens and blank discs. That two groups of tokens and discs could have been deposited in the same pit therefore remains a distinct possibility. The original finds from the plough-soil of 27 tokens and 10 discs would therefore come from the upper deposit. To some extent these initial finds were kept separate and the 27 tokens were in a somewhat poorer condition than the bulk of the deposit. The tokens had been mechanically cleaned and coated with a clear lacquer by the finders before they were examined.

The find spot of the hoard is some 400 m northeast of Sibton Abbey in east Suffolk. The close spatial association with a monastic house is of particular relevance given the direct relationship of Boy Bishop tokens with other monastic houses and churches, particularly Bury Abbey, noted by Rigold in his original work on the series.[1]

Sibton Abbey was a small Cistercian House founded in 1149/50 and dissolved in 1536. The hoard was found close to an old field boundary, which was removed in recent times, and this feature of the landscape may well have influenced its position and have been meant for use in relocating the spot for the future retrieval of the deposited tokens and discs. No other finds of any age were located in the general area of the hoard.

The Boy Bishop tokens consisted mainly of one type with 194 'groats' (**Plate 12, 5**), as Rigold plate IXb, Series I, and two 'pennies' (**Plate 12, 6–7**), also of series I, making up the total of 196. The 204 blank lead discs are more difficult to define as Boy Bishop tokens were cast, not struck from blanks. The blanks appeared to be slightly heavier than standard Boy Bishop groat type tokens. One interpretation of the blanks, therefore, could be that they were used as 'nominal' tokens in place of true Boy Bishop tokens. While the finders and landowner have retained the majority of the tokens and blanks, two groats and two blanks have been deposited in Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds (BSEMH 1996.22).

Perhaps this hoard, or hoards if the two deposits are treated as separate acts of concealment, represents an action motivated by the gathering momentum for the Dissolution of the monasteries in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately for those concerned with the concealment of the hoard it was a futile action as the monastic tradition was broken in England by the late 1530s and the *raison d'être* behind Boy Bishop tokens disappeared making the retrieval of the deposit a pointless act by the middle of the century.

Acknowledgement: The author is grateful to the two finders for reporting the find and for supplying additional information relating to the nature of the deposit.

[1] S.E. Rigold, 'The St Nicholas or "Boy Bishop" Tokens', *Proc Suffolk Inst Archaeol* 34(2) (1978), 87–101.

A PROBABLE SCOTTISH HOARD OF THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

M.A. HALL AND N.M.McQ. HOLMES

MANY of the coins listed below were offered for sale at Loves Auction Rooms, Perth, as lots 67–91 in Sale 675 (13–14 December 2001) and as lots 82–127 in Sale 695 (25–26 June 2002). The two groups were sent for sale by the same vendor, and were described in the catalogues as 'A collection of chiefly James VI Scottish silver coins 1550–1600' and as 'A collection of chiefly James VI Scottish silver coins (Part II)'.

Although the coins had been sold and dispersed before preparation of this paper commenced, lists had been compiled by Mark Hall, Human History Officer at Perth Museum, who had been approached by the auction house to provided identifications, and who had recognised the potential significance of the assemblage.

It was assumed that no more of these coins would be consigned for sale, but a third batch was sent for auction later, and these were sold as lots 430–488 on 7 February 2003. MAH was again permitted to examine and list all the coins. The catalogue below draws on his lists and the descriptions in the auction catalogues, which were based on these. It includes three coins noted by MAH which do not appear to have found their way into any of the sales, although the circumstances under which the coins were examined do not rule out the possibility of an accounting error.

Mr Reid, at Loves Auction Rooms, enabled MAH to contact the vendor, Mr Bill Robertson, and he was able to glean the following information relating to the possible history of the coins. Mr Robertson had found them in an earthenware pot while clearing out his late father's house in the Aboyne area of Aberdeenshire in 1986. He had not previously known of their existence. Mr Robertson's family had lived in the Aboyne area for generations, and his great-grandfather had worked as a ditcher and dyker. Mr Robertson's father had inherited the family cottage and worked as a farm employee in the area.

The pot in which the coins were stored is discussed and illustrated below (Appendix 2). The fact that it seems to be generally contemporary with the coins strongly suggests that the coins constituted a hoard and had been buried inside it. Mr Robertson's long-standing family connections with the Aboyne area also make it probable that the hoard was unearthed there, although it is now impossible to say how many years, or generations, ago this took place.

Analysis (NMMcQH)

The total number of coins recorded was 223 (including the three not in the sale catalogues). All but one of these were Scottish, and the latest for which a date was noted were 10-shilling pieces minted in 1595. Since there were four coins of the same issue for which dates were either illegible or not recorded, the possibility remains that the latest coin in the assemblage may have been minted as late as 1601, but coins of this type dated after 1595 are rare, and this year must be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for deposition. Since no examples of the relatively common eighth (thistle merk) coinage of 1601–4 were included, it is reasonable to assume that accumulation had ceased by or soon after 1601.

Despite the uncertainty surrounding its history and provenance, this hoard is nonetheless of some value since there is no published record of any other which concludes with coins of the later 1590s or shortly after. Indeed, adequately described hoards dating from between 1567 and 1603 are themselves remarkably few.[1] Its contents are thus worthy of some discussion.

The hoard comprises coins belonging to what may be regarded as the middle range of denominations in terms of face value. There are no gold coins, and no examples of the largest silver

Acknowledgements: The writers wish to thank Mr Reid, of Loves Auction Rooms, Perth, for information about the source of the coins offered for sale and for forwarding a letter to the vendor. We are also grateful to Derek Hall, of SUAT Ltd., for his comments on the pot, and to Marion O'Neill, at the National Museums of Scotland, for her excellent drawing.

denominations of the 1560s and early 1570s – the ryals (30 shillings Scots) of Mary and Darnley, Mary as widow and James VI – although there is a single 30 shillings of James's fourth coinage. Equally there are no specimens of the billon coins tariffed at four pence or less (placks and lions/hardheads of 1555–60, hardheads of 1588–90), but the more valuable billon denominations (bawbees of James V and Mary, nonsunts of Mary and Francis and placks of James VI) make up seventy-five of the 223 coins. The hoard may thus be seen to comprise a cross-section of the coins which might have belonged to, and appeared worth accumulating to, a person of average means at the very end of the sixteenth century.

The silver coins comprise largely those most recently issued – those of James VI's sixth and seventh coinages, struck during the 1590s – and base silver issues of the 1570s, perhaps remaining in circulation after purer silver pieces had already been withdrawn. It is notable that an Act of Parliament of 6 August 1591 called for the surrender to the mint within three years of all old silver coins, for conversion into the newly commissioned (sixth coinage) balance half and quarter merks.[2] If this might conveniently seem to explain the small number of older pure silver coins in this hoard, it should also be noted the Act also required the surrender of debased coins, and a hypothesis of obedience to this instruction does not explain the fact that so many debased silver coins of the second coinage were retained. An Act of the Privy Council of 4 July 1594 called for the return to the Mint of all coins predating those authorised the previous year (the seventh coinage, issued from 1594), and this instruction was repeated in a further Act of 31 January 1594/5.[3] Clearly the owner of the hoard had not had the time or inclination to comply with this instruction.

The billon coins belong to those denominations which contained the highest proportion of silver in their alloy. The fact that so many of these were being retained in private hands in the mid 1590s or later is evidence of repeated non-compliance with government attempts to remove them from circulation. An Act of Parliament of 27 February 1580 included instructions that all alloyed money in circulation except countermarked placks and hardheads was to be brought to the Mint for recoinage.[4] An Act of the Privy Council of 24 December 1583 specifically ordered the recall of 'twelf pennie pieces [i.e. nonsunts], babeis and plackes, with the thre pennie grottis [half bawbees] and half plackes' for melting down and restriking into 'grottes at aucht penneis the pece and hawlf grottes at iiiid' [James VI's placks and half placks].[5] The proportion of silver in the nonsunts and bawbees, combined with the reduction in their face value ordered in 1567, had made it profitable for people to melt them down, and it is not surprising that the order to surrender them was widely ignored and had to be repeated on several occasions. The Act of Parliament of 6 August 1591 called again for the return to the Mint of old billon coins – 'babeis, thre penny grottis, twelf penny grottis and gray plakkis' – and also ordered the demonetisation and withdrawal of the placks and half placks, minting of which had ceased only in the previous year.[6] This left only the very base hardheads of 1588–90 as legally circulating billon issues.

It is unfortunate that there are no records of exactly contemporary Scottish hoards with which this can be compared, and there is therefore no way of establishing whether it represents a 'typical' hoard of the period. The nearest in terms of *terminus post quem* is that found at Boreray, South Uist, in 1836.[7] This is said to have comprised 'a few' gold coins and over 400 silver of James VI, all the latter dated 1592. If this is true, all the silver coins must have been balance half and quarter merks, but a hoard of so many coins of the same issue and date seems somewhat unlikely, especially in a location so far from the Mint in Edinburgh.

[1] D.M. Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History, 1100–1600', in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100–1600)*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (= BAR British Series 45, Oxford, 1977), pp. 1–59. Twenty-three post-1567 hoards are listed (pp. 52–4, nos. 239–61), almost all of them recovered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and very poorly recorded.

[2] R.W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), vol. I, pp. 117–19, XVII.

[3] Cochran-Patrick, as in n. 2, pp. 186–9, XCI and XCIII.

[4] Cochran-Patrick, as in n. 2, pp. 111–12, X.

[5] Cochran-Patrick, as in n. 2, pp. 158–9, LXIII.

[6] Cochran-Patrick, as in n. 2, pp. 117–19, XVII.

[7] J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of Scotland* (Cork, 1855), p. 268.

A few somewhat earlier hoards have been recorded which are comparable with the assemblage under consideration here in being made up of both silver and larger billon coins (see Appendix 1 below). That from Braeside, Greenock, Renfrewshire, found in 1955, was considered to have been deposited around the mid 1570s.[8] The latest of the fifty coins recorded were quarter merks of 1573, and the hoard also included testoons of Mary before and during her marriage to Francis, as well as billon bawbees of James V and Mary and nonsunts of Mary and Francis. The hoard of nineteen coins found at Mossend Farm, Beith, Ayrshire, in 1958 comprised six nonsunts plus a one-third ryal of 1565 from the reign of Mary, and five half merks and six quarters dating from 1572–4.[9] A small hoard found at Steinish, near Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, in 1876 included twenty-three nobles / half merks of James VI's second coinage and one ryal of 1571, with single specimens of a Mary plack and a nonsunt,[10] whereas the 692 coins found at Ayr in 1914 were all billon issues of the reigns of James IV and V and Mary, except for six coins from the ryal coinages of 1566–7.[11]

None of these earlier hoards is directly comparable with the assemblage listed below, therefore, but they do at least serve to indicate that the hoarding of silver and larger billon coins together was not uncommon in the later sixteenth century, and thus lend some support to the hypothesis that this group is indeed a genuine hoard.

It is worth drawing attention to one particular coin – the bawbee of Mary which is listed below as a counterfeit. It is most unfortunate that no photograph of this coin exists, but Mark Hall recorded that the reverse design comprised a voided saltire with five pellets to the left and a rose to the right, instead of the normal fleurs-de-lis. If this was indeed a counterfeiter's error, it appears both odd and somewhat self-defeating in terms of putting it into circulation undetected, but there seems to be no other logical explanation.

LIST OF COINS

James V

bawbees	2

Mary

testoon, type III (1557), countermarked	1
half testoon, type III (1558)	1
bawbees (3 × plain saltire, 2 × voided saltire, 10 × type not recorded)	15
bawbee (counterfeit)	1

Mary and Francis

testoon, first issue (1558)	1
nonsunts (1 × 1558, 9 × 1559, 3 × date uncertain, 10 × date not recorded)	23

James VI

2nd coinage

nobles / half merks (12 × 1572, 11 × 1573, 2 × 1573 or 1575, 11 × 1574, 6 × 1575, 2 × 1576, 13 × 1577, 1 × 1580, 10 × date not recorded)	68
another, recorded by MAH, but not in sale catalogue	(1)
half nobles / quarter merks (6 × 1572, 2 × 1573, 1 × 1574, 2 × 1575, 2 × 1576, 3 × 1577, 2 × 1580, 10 × date not recorded)	28

4th coinage

30 shillings (1585?)	1
20 shillings (1 × 1582, 1 × 1584)	2
10 shillings (1582)	1

[8] R. Kerr and R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Coin Hoards in Scotland, 1955', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 89 (1955–6), 107–17, at pp. 109–12.
[9] R.B.K. Stevenson, 'Scottish Coin Notes', *PSAS* 91 (1957–8), 195–9, at pp. 197–8.
[10] G. Sim, 'Notices of Recent Finds of Coins in Scotland', *PSAS* 12 (1876–8), 306–7, at p. 306.
[11] G. Macdonald, 'Notes on Three Hoards of Coins Recently Discovered in the South of Scotland', *PSAS* 58 (1913–14), 395–402, at pp. 401–2.

6th coinage

balance half merks (9 × 1591, 2 × 1592)	11
another two, recorded by MAH, but not in sale catalogue	(2)

7th coinage

10 shillings (3 × 1593, 14 × 1594, 4 × 1595, 4 × date uncertain)	25
5 shillings (1 × 1593, 1 × ?1593, 3 × 1594)	5

billon

placks (5 × type 1, 11 × types 2–3, 18 × type not recorded)	34

Elizabeth I

sixpence (1583)	1

APPENDIX 1: LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH HOARDS

It may be useful to include summaries of the contents of the four hoards discussed briefly above. These constitute the only later sixteenth-century Scottish hoards for which adequate records survive.

Ayr (High Street) (1914)

James IV (107)	placks (107)
James V (110)	placks (53)
	bawbees (54)
	half bawbees (3)
Mary (1st period) (431)	bawbees – Edinburgh (306); Stirling (6)
	half bawbees (11)
Mary and Francis (37)	nonsunts (37)
Mary and Henry (3)	ryals – 1566 (3)
Mary (2nd widowhood) (3)	ryal – 1567 (1)
	two-thirds ryal – 1567 (1)
	one-third ryal – 1567 (1)
James VI (1)	ryal / sword dollar – 1567 (1)

Braeside, Greenock, Renfrewshire (1955)

James V (1)	bawbee (1)
Mary (38)	testoons, type III – 1556/7 (1); 1557, small crown (1); 1557, large crown (1); 1558 (2)
	bawbees (33)
Mary and Francis (8)	testoons – 1559 (2)
	nonsunts – 1558 (1); 1559 (4)
James VI (3)	half nobles / quarter merks – 1573 (2); uncertain date, broken (1)

Mossend Farm, Beith, Ayrshire (1958)

Mary and Francis (6)	nonsunts – 1558 (1); 1559 (5)
Mary and Henry (1)	one-third ryal – 1565 (1)
James VI (12)	nobles / half merks – 1572 (1); 1573 (2); 1574 (2)
	half nobles / quarter merks – 1572 (5); 1573 (2)

Steinish, Stornoway, Lewis (1876)

Mary (1)	plack – 1557 (1)
Mary and Francis (1)	nonsunt – 1559 (1)
James VI (24)	ryal / sword dollar – 1571 (1)
	nobles / half merks – dates illegible or not recorded – 23

APPENDIX 2: THE POTTERY VESSEL (Fig. 1)

The pot in which the coins were stored was shown to Derek Hall, of the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd., in Perth, and he was able to confirm the suitability of a late sixteenth-century date. The vessel may originally have been a small jug, with a short narrow neck and a handle, although the degraded state of the exterior surface renders this less than certain. There is a slightly eccentric circular pedestal base, and the body itself is of somewhat irregular profile. The fabric is red, with traces of a green glaze surviving, and there are three concentric incised grooves around the body, just below the neck.

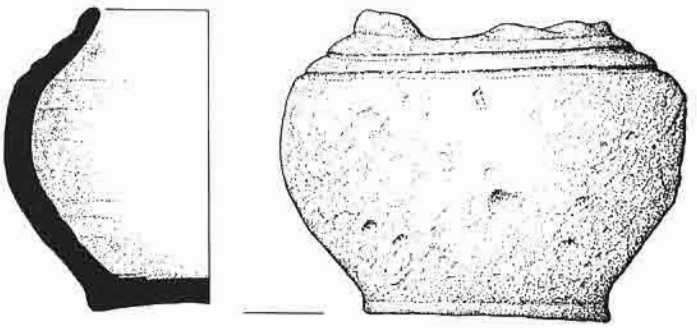

Fig. 1. Pottery vessel: scale 1:2 (drawn by Marion O'Neill)

A CIVIL WAR HOARD FROM SHROPSHIRE

EDWARD BESLY

In November 2001 the Shrewsbury Museums Service accepted a donation of 142 sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coins, which clearly form a hoard deposited during the English Civil War.[1] The coins were apparently found in the 1930s by the grandfather of the donor, and are likely to have been found at Hawkestone Park, near Market Drayton, where he worked as a groundsman, though the Church Stretton area is another possibility. Either way, a Shropshire provenance appears to be secure and the hoard otherwise unrecorded. The two significant published hoards of 1642–4 from Shropshire found before 1939, Oswestry (1904) and Donnington (1938), both ended too weakly to have been potential sources of the present coins.[2]

In its size, with a face value of £5 18*s.* 0*d.*, the group fits into the general pattern of Civil War hoards, the majority comprising sums under £10. The latest coins are two Tower Mint shillings with privy-mark (P) produced from the spring of 1643 to some time in spring–summer 1644.[3] The composition of the hoard is consistent with the general picture for hoards closing with this mark. Coins of Elizabeth and James are close to the high levels typical of early Civil War hoards, while coins of Charles, though more numerous than those in contemporary hoards from the area, do not achieve the high levels which are consistently characteristic of hoards of 1644–5.[4] A date of deposit later than the second half of 1643 would appear unlikely, although bearing in mind the difficulties inherent in dating hoards, even in historically well-documented periods, it would be unwise to try to be more precise.[5]

[1] I am grateful to Michael Stokes of Shrewsbury Museums Service for drawing my attention to the hoard.

[2] Donnington (*ECWCH*, D7): 522 silver coins to Triangle-in-Circle (1641–3), contained no half crowns; Oswestry (*ECWCH*, E12): 4 gold, 401 silver coins; gold to (P) (1643–4), but no silver later than T-in-C – of which fewer than in the present hoard. *ECWCH* = E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, BM Occasional Paper 51 (1987).

[3] The Pyx trials for T-in-C and (P) were held on 29 May 1643 and 15 July 1644, respectively.

[4] At 53.4 per cent of the hoard's value, the Tower Mint coins of Charles I are reasonably typical for a hoard of 1643–4. The average of 42.7 per cent quoted in *ECWCH*, p.56, Table I should read 44.7 (a misprint in Table VI has distorted the figures for (P)). This figure is in turn dragged down by the unusually small presence of Charles I in Prestatyn (2.9 per cent of the hoard's value).

[5] See N.J. Mayhew and E. Besly, 'The 1996 Broughton (Oxon) coin hoard', *BNJ* 68 (1998), 154–7.

The hoard contains one royalist coin, a shilling struck at Shrewsbury between early October and some time in December 1642 (the mint was transferred to Oxford, arriving on 3 January 1643). Shrewsbury was essentially a 'campaign' mint, the output from which was used towards paying and equipping the army that was to fight at Edgehill on 23 October. Pay was distributed, probably at Edgecote, near Banbury, shortly before the battle.[6] The Shrewsbury shilling may therefore have returned to the area in circulation some time later, perhaps as part of a sum gathered elsewhere; it is also possible that it went directly into local circulation in payment for supplies around October 1642. Alternatively, the mint's operations during November and December 1642, once the army had marched away, might have included the coining of plate for local citizens (as certainly happened in Exeter in 1643–4),[7] another mechanism by which the Shrewsbury shilling might have entered circulation in the area.

CATALOGUE

					Weight (g)
Philip & Mary					
1	*Shilling*	uncertain, Spanish titles			5.44
2		1555, English titles			4.56c
Elizabeth I					
3	*Shilling*	N. 1985	Lys		4.69c
4–5			Crosslets		5.58, 5.53
6–10			Martlet		5.67, 5.63, 5.61, 5.45c, 4.65c
11			uncertain		4.57c
12		N. 2014	Woolpack		5.70
13			Anchor		4.70c
14			2		5.94
15–16	*Sixpence*	N. 1997	Pheon	1561	2.93, 2.80
17				1562	2.66
18				1565	2.82
19–20				156?	2.86, 2.64
21			Rose	1565	2.52
22–3			Portcullis	1566	2.70, 2.61c
24			Lion(?)	1566	2.73
25			Coronet	1567	2.25c
26–7				1568	2.76, 2.22
28–9				1569	2.83, 2.71
30				156?	2.83
31				1570	2.71
32			Castle	1570	2.82
33–4				1571	2.92, 2.22c
35			Ermine	1572	2.73
36–7				1573	2.89, 2.82
38–9			Acorn	1574	2.99, 2.54
40			Eglantine	1574	2.87
41				1575	2.80
42–3				1577/6?	2.62, 2.34c
44			Plain Cross	15??	2.17c
45–6			Long Cross	1581	2.89, 2.88
47–50			uncertain	15??	2.85, 2.74, 2.65, 2.43c
51–2		N. 2015	Bell	1583	2.69, 2.35c
53			A	1583	2.79
54				15??	2.89
55			uncertain	1583	2.22c
56–7			Hand	1590	2.90, 2.77
58				1591	2.73
59			uncertain	1592(?)	2.53
60		N. ?	uncertain	15??	2.60

[6] G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), pp. 93–103; distribution of pay: p. 97.
[7] E. Besly, 'The English Civil War mints at Truro and Exeter, 1642–1646', *BNJ* 62 (1992), 102–53, at pp. 105–6.

James I

61	*Shilling*	N. 2073	1/2 Thistle		5.97
62			1/2 Lys		5.77
63			1/? Thistle		5.01c
64			1/2 uncertain		5.55
65–8		N. 2100	2/4 Rose		5.99, 5.90, 5.89, 5.55c
69			2/4 uncertain		5.79
70		N. 2101	2/5 uncertain		5.80
71		N. 2124	3/6 Thistle		5.97
72–3	*Sixpence*	N. 2074	1/1 Thistle	1603	2.80, 2.80
74		N. 2075	1/2 Thistle	1604	2.81
75–7			1/2 uncertain	1604	3.12, 2.85, 2.84
78			1/? uncertain	160?	2.91
79–81		N. 2102	2/3 Lys	1604	3.24, 2.78, 2.58
82			2/4 uncertain	1607	2.78
83			2/? Uncertain	160?	2.78

Charles I

TOWER

84	*Halfcrown*	N. 2211	Tun		14.86
85			Triangle		15.13
86		N. 2212	Triangle		15.35
87		N. 2214	⏃ (long sword)		15.56
88–90			⏃ (broken sword)[8]		15.55, 15.17, 14.35
91	*Shilling*	N. 2218	Cross on steps		5.76
92		N. 2223	Harp?		5.25
93		N. 2225	Bell		5.75
94–5			Crown		6.08, 5.89
96–101			Tun		6.24, 6.21, 6.18, 6.14, 6.10, 6.00
102		N. 2229?	Tun		6.01
103			Anchor	u/?[9]	6.09
104				r/l	6.02
105–7		N. 2231	Triangle		6.44, 6.02, 4.65c
108–14			Star		6.30, 6.13, 6.06, 5.96, 5.88, 5.87, 5.70
115–23			Triangle-in-circle		6.53, 6.31, 5.99, 5.95, 5.90, 5.83, 5.83, 5.83, 5.30c
124–5			(P)		6.11, 5.92
126–30			uncertain		6.34, 6.11, 5.99, 5.86, 5.84
131–4	*Sixpence*	N. 2241	Crown		3.10, 2.99, 2.96, 2.83
135			Tun		2.92
136		N. 2243	Tun		2.82
137		N. 2244/5 Anchor		l/r	2.95
138–9				l/?	2.99, 2.81
140			uncertain		2.72
141		N. 2246	uncertain		2.98

SHREWSBURY

142	*Shilling*	N. 2379 Morrieson A-1 same dies as Brooker 827	Aberystwyth obv. die		6.65

Average weights, Tower mint coins:[10]

	Sixpence	*Shilling*	*Half Crown*
Philip & Mary		5.00 (2)	
Elizabeth I	2.68 (46) 89.0	5.31 (12) 88.2	
James I	2.86 (12) 95.0	5.74 (11) 95.3	
Charles I	2.92 (11) 97.0	5.96 (40) 99.0	15.14 (7) 100.6

[8] This refers to damage to the punch for the figure of the king on the obverse dies.
[9] This refers to the orientation of the anchor privy mark: upright, or horizontal with flukes to left or right.
[10] Convention as *ECWCH*: average weight in grams (number weighed) percentage of post-1601 standard.

The 'Hawkestone' weights for coins of Charles I compare well with other deposits, those for shillings being depressed slightly by the presence of two clipped coins, indicated by 'c' against the weights. Sixteen shillings (40 per cent) and five of the seven half crowns, as well as one sixpence and the Shrewsbury shilling, are above standard. The weights for James I and for the sixpences of Elizabeth are typical, but the Elizabethan shillings are at the lower end of the expected range, several being heavily clipped. Overall, the Tower coins in the hoard average 96.1 per cent of the contemporary standard.[11]

QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S MEDAL FOR THE RECOVERY OF GEORGE III

LAURENCE BROWN

OCCASIONALLY there have appeared on the market a small number of uniface gold and enamel badges with loop and ring for suspension, dated March 10, 1789. These appear simply to commemorate the apparent recovery of King George III from what is now generally believed to have been an acute intermittent porphyria. This conclusion, the chronicling of the King's illness and the history of the disease, have been admirably investigated by Dr Ida Macalpine and Dr Richard Hunter, their findings being brought to wider notice in their book *George III and the Mad-Business*.[1]

The medals, 35 mm in diameter, are hollow, the reverse uninscribed and are made of what appears to be fine gold. On the obverse there is a gold crown with the caul in red enamel above an engraved G III R cypher with VIVAT above. The inscription REGI · AMATO · REDVCI is above this in gold on a dark blue enamel ground, all set on a white enamel field. Below the exergual line is the inscription MART · X / MDCCLXXXIX and all is set within a gold wreath on a red enamel ground (**Plate 11, 5**).

These pieces, which are generally described as 'George III: Recovery from Illness' (with variants thereof) are clearly of some significance since they must have been quite costly to make and are rare; as there is no manufacturer's name on them it is impossible to attribute them to a maker. The clue as to the probable origin of these pieces is to be found in Macalpine and Hunter's book,[2] which quotes from the *Diary of Madame D'Arblay (1778–1840)*.[3] In the latter is recorded against a date in March 1789 (unfortunately the precise day is not noted), ' ... all the rest of our household were there. Lord Harcourt came and showed me a new medallion just presented to him by the Queen, with a Latin inscription in honour of the King's recovery. He called himself master of the order, from receiving the first in the distribution. "Though," he added, "I am a very singular courtier, for I have been one, hitherto, without either profits or honours." '[4] Madame D'Arblay, the novelist Fanny Burney, was Keeper of the Robes (or dresser) to Queen Charlotte from July 1786 to July 1791; her French title derived from her subsequent marriage.

This entry with its reference to 'a new medallion ... with a Latin inscription in honour of the King's recovery' would seem to indicate that the badge under consideration is the correct one, as it is the only piece with an appropriate inscription and grand enough to have been presented by Queen Charlotte to friends and courtiers. Against the entry in the published copy of Madame D'Arblay's diaries in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle is a pencilled marginal note 'several of these in King's audience Rm'.[5] The Royal Collection contains three examples of the medals, one from the collection of a Colonel Charles Swaine.

[11] *ECWCH*, p. 65, Table III. As is usual in Civil War hoards, most Elizabethan sixpences are both worn and clipped, with only the most extreme examples here denoted 'c'.

Acknowledgements: I am indebted to Sir Hugh Roberts, Director of the Royal Collection, and the Hon. Lady Roberts, Librarian and Curator of the Print Room at Windsor Castle, for checking my text; Miss Pamela Clark, Registrar of the Royal Archives; Miss Tracey Earl, Archivist, Coutts & Co; and Miss Alison Turton, Archivist, Royal Bank of Scotland, for their help in researching the Royal diaries and accounts on my behalf.

[1] Dr Ida Macalpine and Dr Richard Hunter, *George III and the Mad-Business*. (London, 1969 and Pimlico, 1991). Originally the subject of a paper in the *British Medical Journal*, 8 January 1966.

[2] Macalpine and Hunter, as in n. 1, p. 92

[3] *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, Preface and notes by Austin Dobson, 6 vols (London, 1905).

[4] D'Arblay, as in n. 3, vol. 4, p. 278.

[5] D'Arblay, as in n. 3, Royal Collection Inventory number 1052616.

The date 10 March 1789, on the medal coincides with the date that Parliament presented Addresses of Congratulation to the King on his recovery. In the following month, April 1789, Madame D'Arblay notes, 'The Queen graciously presented me with an extremely pretty medal of green and gold, and a motto "Vive le Roi", upon the Thanksgiving occasion, as well as a fan ...'[6] The 'occasion' was the Service of Thanksgiving for the King's recovery held at St Paul's Cathedral on 23rd April and the Queen's presentation of such a (presumably enamelled) medal would, perhaps, suggest that coloured medals were in the Royal mind as a suitable memento of such happy events.

Conclusive contemporary evidence for the attribution of the March 1789 medal is not to be found. Queen Charlotte's diaries held in the Royal Archives only exist for August to December 1789 and for 1794. Greville's diary[7] is of no help either; although Col. Greville was the favourite equerry of King George III and, as such, might reasonably have expected to received such a token of regard from Queen Charlotte, his diary ends on 4 March 1789[8] when the King was pronounced sane and Greville proceeded to other duties.

A search of the archives at Coutts Bank, where the King had had an account until he took his business away from them in 1802, has failed to produce any reference to the medal, owing to the non-survival of the account. In addition to his account at Coutts, George III had also conducted some business with Drummond's Bank (now part of the Royal Bank of Scotland), probably as early as 1784. The RBS also have no records of an account for Queen Charlotte, and although there are records of an account for one Gabriel Mathias, who conducted business for the Queen *c.* 1770–1805, these contain no reference to a medal. The absence of a banking account, other financial papers or a reference to a medal in Mathias's account for the period in question is unfortunate, since the cost of the medal is likely to have been met by the Queen herself rather than the King.

Despite the lack of contemporary identification of the medal, the attribution of the enamel piece to Queen Charlotte was sufficiently compelling for Dr Macalpine to label the specimen in her collection, 'Queen Charlotte's Medallion' and translate the Latin legend on the obverse as 'The Court Celebrates Your Return'. Ida Macalpine's collection of medals and other items relating to the recovery of George III was presented to HM The Queen in 1974.

THE APPOINTMENT OF WILLIAM WELLESLEY POLE TO THE ROYAL MINT

KEVIN CLANCY

THERE has over the years been some degree of confusion over certain aspects of the career of William Wellesley Pole, specifically when and why he was appointed Master of the Mint, and in what circumstances he left office nine years later. In an uncharacteristic slip Sir John Craig recorded that Pole's term as Master began in July 1812 rather than September 1814. In his defence, however, it should be noted that working notes kept by Craig indicate that he was aware of the correct date of Pole's appointment. Rather more inexplicably, in *Wellington, Pillar of State* Elizabeth Longford suggested that Pole did not become Master until some time after February 1816, and there are further instances of this confusion in some biographical dictionaries of the nineteenth century. There is less muddle over when Pole left the Mint, the autumn of 1823 appearing pretty well consistently in political biographies, but use of the term resignation to describe the manner of his departure does not convey the bitterness that surrounded his leaving.[1] The purpose

[6] D'Arblay, as in n. 3, vol. 4, p. 285.

[7] *The Diaries of Colonel the Hon. Robert Fulke Greville*, edited by F. McKno Bladon, Bodley Head (London, 1930).

[8] Greville's Diary also has additional anecdotes which probably all occurred in 1794.

[1] Sir John Craig, *The Mint: A History of the London Mint from A.D. 287 to 1948* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 278, 296–7; Sir John Craig, manuscript note book, Royal Mint Library; E. Longford, *Wellington, Pillar of State* (London, 1972), pp. 43–4; R.B. Mosse, *The Parliamentary Guide* (London, 1835); *Men of the Reign. A Biographical Dictionary of eminent persons of British and Colonial birth who have died during the reign of Queen Victoria*, ed. T.H. Ward (London, 1885).

of this note is therefore to clarify one or two details of Pole's tenure as Master of the Mint and to show in passing that he was during his career quite often at the whim of political forces tantalisingly beyond his control.

As might be expected from a man who had for an elder brother Lord Wellesley, the Governor General of India, and for a younger brother the Duke of Wellington, Pole made steady if somewhat belated progress through the ranks of government. He joined the Ordnance Office in 1802, an appointment as Secretary to the Admiralty followed in 1807 and in 1809 he moved on to the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland before eventually taking on the Mastership of the Mint in 1814. He was not universally liked by his parliamentary and Cabinet colleagues but his no-nonsense approach to administration earned him respect: even Robert Peel, who scarcely had a good word to say about him, appreciated that on occasion he could be a formidable opponent.[2] With his family connections and, from 1814, his seat in Cabinet, he stood very much at the centre of affairs – a comfortably established member of Britain's political class during the early nineteenth century. High office, however, eluded him, and partly at least this stemmed from the very family connections that in other circumstances were to prove extremely useful.

He was offered the chance of taking on the role of Secretary of War at the beginning of Lord Liverpool's administration in 1812 but he turned it down, choosing instead to side with his brother Lord Wellesley who was Liverpool's main rival in seeking to form a new government following the assassination of Spencer Perceval. This display of family loyalty was damaging for Pole. For the next two years in Parliament he set himself in opposition to certain of Liverpool's policies and years later Liverpool still bore animosity towards Pole for his behaviour during this period. If support for his elder brother had been a poisoned chalice, the close relationship that he enjoyed with his younger brother Arthur, Duke of Wellington, played a much more positive role in his political rehabilitation. It was Wellington who, on returning victorious from the Peninsular War in 1814, secured for Pole the position of Master of the Mint and with that appointment he insisted there go a seat in Cabinet.[3] Although previous Masters may have held Cabinet rank, they did so by virtue of their holding other official positions; the Mastership of the Mint had never in itself carried such status and it was for this concession in particular that Pole had good reason to be grateful to his younger brother.

The reshuffle that brought Pole back to the government benches took place in July 1814 but he did not take up the duties of Master for a couple of months, the Patent authorising his appointment being dated 28 September.[4] Whatever the reasons for the confusion over the beginning of Pole's career at the Mint he was soon into his stride and there is a sense that much more than his immediate predecessors he was concerned to become intimately acquainted with the affairs of his department. It was an approach that stood in stark contrast to the semi-detached control that had been exercised by Masters for the previous fifty years and it was a style of leadership that was admired by those senior officials at the Mint with whom he worked most closely. As evidence of the high regard in which he was held, a medal was commissioned by his colleagues on his removal from office, complete with a laudatory inscription acknowledging his achievements.[5] Apart from Lord Effingham in the 1780s, it would be a vain search to look for other Masters from this period being similarly revered.

The legacy from his time at the Mint lies chiefly in the important administrative changes he introduced early on and in his determined control over the major recoinage and exchange of 1816–17. The recoinage, stretching as it did over several years, was very much the focal point of

[2] *History of Parliament: House of Commons, 1790–1820*, ed. R. G. Thorne (London, 1986), V, 515.

[3] *History of Parliament*, V, 514–5; Sir Charles Petrie, *Lord Liverpool and His Times* (London, 1954), p. 277; BL, Additional MS 38,291, fos 397–405, Liverpool to Thomas Wallace, 18 January 1823.

[4] PRO, Mint 22/12, for Pole's formal appointment as Master, 28 September 1814.

[5] The Latin inscription on the reverse of the medal can be translated as 'In honour of the noble William Wellesley Pole, Baron Maryborough, for nine years Master of Mint affairs, who not only restored the British coinage to its former brilliancy but instituted a new and more beautiful one, and who, in distributing the coins to all parts of the country, did so with such wisdom that everywhere almost at the same time the old money fell into disuse, being quickly succeeded to the public advantage by the new. He directed the coinage with the utmost judgement and fairness. The officers of the Royal Mint, London, have ordered this medal to be struck as a token of their respect and friendship. 1823.'. The translation is taken from W.J. Hocking, *Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint* (London, 1906–10), II, *Dies, Medals and Seals*, 236. Another translation is provided in L. Brown, *A Catalogue of British Historical Medals 1760–1960* (London, 1980), I, *The accession of George III to the death of William IV*, 294.

his Mastership and its successful completion meant that he presided over a department that was without doubt held in higher regard after his term than before. If the physical evidence of the coins is anything to go by, his time in office witnessed a clear technical and artistic improvement. Enormous effort – some argued at the time too much effort – was put into striking coins to the very highest standards. Production of the crown piece of 1818 epitomised the perfectionist streak in Pole and, by presenting to influential figures specimens of the coin, he was quite consciously promoting the image of the Mint and very probably his own standing. His position in the country's political life combined with his reputation of being an energetic and efficient administrator brought him into contact with the likes of Sir Joseph Banks and reinforced the sense of a department that had been transformed from a bastion of sinecures to a creditable organ of the state.[6] All this, however, was to no avail when questions over the changing shape of the government were being discussed and when the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool was looking for a victim to placate rival political factions.

Fig. 1. Medal commemorating Pole's Mastership of the Mint.

Change was in the air for Pole from the early 1820s but it took Liverpool no less than three attempts to lever him out of office and again Wellington played no small role in the final outcome. In May 1821 Wellington was given the task of breaking the news to Pole that his services would no longer be required at the Mint. Pole is said to have flown into a rage and to have spoken to Wellington in such an offensive manner that the Duke was still annoyed about his brother's behaviour some time after their meeting. In a fit of what was a well-known temper, Pole seems to have deeply offended his brother who felt him to have been ungrateful for all that he had done for him over the years, not the least of which was securing his position in Cabinet in the first place. Perhaps Pole feared the political wilderness that awaited him on departing from the Mint, but such sentiments do not necessarily accord with a man who had in recent years given up any kind of active parliamentary role and who had in any case never become properly reconciled to Liverpool's administration.[7]

Nothing was to come of this attempt and when the Prime Minister was looking to rearrange his government two years later in January 1823 and again had Pole in his sights, the Master of the Mint, now elevated to the peerage as Lord Maryborough, was just as aggressive in his opposition to the plans. One report of Pole's response described his determination that nothing would remove him from the Cabinet and that as Wellington's brother he was owed more respect. Before the year was out, however, plans were again afoot to remove him from office and on this occasion the Prime Minister had his way and Pole had to accept the position of Master of the Buckhounds in

[6] PRO. Mint 1/20, pp. 18, 124; Mint 4/27, Pole to James Morrison, Deputy Master of the Mint, 28 August 1818; Mathew Boulton Papers 332, George Rennie to Matthew Robinson Boulton, 23 March 1819. A detailed account of the recoinage will appear as a volume in the Society's Special Publication series.

[7] *The Journal of Mrs Arbuthnot, 1820–1832*, eds F. Bamford and the Duke of Wellington (London, 1950), I, 96, 99.

George IV's household or, as the political diarist Charles Greville put it, he had to 'exchange the solid pudding for the empty praise'. When Pole left the Mint on 9 October 1823, to be succeeded by Thomas Wallace, he was indeed dissatisfied with the outcome, reflecting bitterly that he had been 'shamefully deceived, and ill-used, and abandoned'. Disappearing into the household of George IV, his political career was after this at an end and although when into his seventies he was appointed Postmaster General in Robert Peel's ministry of 1834–5, there was never any real question over his having serious political pretensions. As far as Wellington was concerned, Liverpool's action in removing Pole was thought to weaken the Duke's standing. In writing to his friend Charles Arbuthnot, however, on 16 November 1823 Wellington, with typical nonchalance, reflected that 'it is certainly true that the removal of Lord Maryborough is considered a blow to me by the wise Publick. But for that I don't care one pin.'.[8]

The circumstances surrounding Pole's appointment to and resignation from the Mint reflected the strained relations between the Wellesley family and Lord Liverpool. There had been tensions between the two camps for many years and although Liverpool recognised that the country owed Wellington a great debt in 1814, which the Duke not unreasonably used to help his family, nine years later a more firmly established Liverpool could risk offending Wellington by forcing his brother's removal. That Pole was dismissed from office on account of 'the necessities of Cabinet making and not for any political offence' did not make it any easier for him to bear.[9]

THE CENTENARY MEDAL OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

KEVIN CLANCY

WHEN, at the beginning of 2002, the Society began to consider how its centenary in 2003 ought to be celebrated, the idea of issuing a medal generated a good deal of interest. That this would be an appropriate way in which to mark such a milestone in the history of the Society was readily acknowledged, but in order to examine the idea in greater depth a small committee was formed consisting of the President, John Porteous acting as chairman, Philip Attwood, Kevin Clancy and Graham Dyer, with the sculptor John Mills very kindly agreeing to offer his advice from the perspective of a successful numismatic artist.

At the committee's first meeting on 26 March, held at the Royal Mint's London office, the financial implications of issuing a centenary medal were explored and, although it was recognised that there would be a cost for the Society to bear, it was nevertheless felt that this would indeed be a proper way for the Society to celebrate its centenary and that commissioning a medal carried the additional welcome benefit of acting as an encouragement to medallic art in Britain. Consensus soon emerged that the medal should be the same size as the Society's membership medal, 45 millimetres, that it should be struck rather than cast and that designs ought to be obtained by way of competition. A matter which proved somewhat more difficult to resolve, however, was whether the existing obverse of the membership medal, with its attractive Britannia design by John Lobban, should be adopted as the obverse of the centenary medal or whether two completely new designs should be commissioned. Opinion was initially divided but the view eventually prevailed that a completely new medal design would be better from an artistic point of view, would give due weight to the importance of the centenary and could well generate more interest.

Having therefore decided on the nature of the medal, the committee turned its attention to the artists who were to be invited to submit designs. It was thought that no more than four would be

[8] *The Journal of Mrs Arbuthnot*, I, 205, 208–10. *The Greville Memoirs, 1814–1860*, eds L. Strachey and R. Fulford (London, 1938), I, 149; *George Canning and his Friends*, ed. J. Bagot (London, 1909), II, 192–4; Longford, *Pillar of State*, p. 98; R. Grenville, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, *Memoirs of the Court of George IV, 1820–1830* (London, 1859), I, 488; II, 7.

[9] Charles Duke Yonge, *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool* (London, 1868), III, p. 392; W.R. Brock, *Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 61. For a general view of Pole's time at the Mint see G.P. Dyer and P.P. Gaspar, 'Reform, the New Technology and Tower Hill, 1700–1966', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C.E. Challis, pp. 472–93.

sufficient and one of the first names to emerge as a candidate was Avril Vaughan, who had taken part in the membership medal competition and whose work at that time had attracted a lot of support. Gordon Summers of the Royal Mint Engraving Department would, it was agreed, bring a maturity of style to the subject, Ron Dutton was included in view his long experience as a medallist, and for the fourth artist the committee chose Danuta Solowiej-Wedderburn on the basis of the promising reputation she had developed over a number of years. With these four the committee was confident of obtaining a good variety of designs, and happily they all subsequently accepted invitations to take part in the competition. The guidance offered to the artists intentionally avoided being too prescriptive but they were all positively encouraged to think in terms of allegorical designs representing the Society, drawing inspiration from the figure of Britannia which appears on the Society's seal. They were directed away from making reference to a single coin or a particular period of time and although it was thought useful for the name of the Society to be included an inscription that referred directly to the centenary was left to their discretion.

Twenty-six drawings were submitted by the closing date of 11 June and on 23 July the committee met again at the Mint's London office to consider these designs which, in order to secure impartiality, were at this stage identified only by letters and numbers (**Plates 13–15**). While it was acknowledged that one or two of the six designs submitted by Avril Vaughan represented a traditional approach that would readily have meaning for the membership of the Society, the committee thought the work of Danuta Solowiej-Wedderburn had succeeded more clearly in conveying a sense of what it is that numismatists actually do, which is to study coins. The ideas expressed in three of her drawings, centring on the themes of coins being held, coins being studied and Britannia, were thought to have real potential and the committee judged that the best way forward would be for her to prepare revised versions of these designs, taking even greater care to depict accurately a tray of coins and how numismatists handle coins.

Mrs Solowiej-Wedderburn readily agreed to the suggestions put forward by the committee and revised drawings were duly received. At the committee's next meeting on 3 September, this time at the British Museum, there was a sense from the start that the initial potential glimpsed in the designs had now been realised. The intensity of her design depicting the eye combined with the image of Britannia seen through a magnifying glass was thought to work well, reflecting the idea of concentrated study and marrying this with a refreshing image of Britannia drawn in an inventive way against the background of a tray of coins. The committee was in no doubt that this approach might seem radical but there was nevertheless general agreement that intellectually the designs held together and that there was every prospect of obtaining an attractive medal. Models were subsequently commissioned from the artist and, after photographs of these were circulated to members of the committee, a few minor alternations were suggested before final approval was received to proceed with production of the dies. Specimens were available for Council to examine at its meeting in March 2003 and the medal was then put on sale to the membership and also, through the Royal Mint, to non-members of the Society. For Mrs Solowiej-Wedderburn, an artist known for her cast medals, the process of designing the centenary medal was challenging. As a struck medal, requiring a very low relief model, it was a real departure for her, but it was one that she found rewarding and the toned finish of the medals, which she supervised, gave her particular pleasure.