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A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENQUIRY INTO THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE BURY ST EDMUNDS MINT

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IN the seventeenth century Sir William Dugdale published the Latin text of a thirteenth-century enquiry into the operation of the Bury St Edmunds mint which provides a unique insight into the administration of an English ecclesiastical mint.¹ It has been mentioned in two publications on the Bury St Edmunds mint and a survey of ecclesiastical mints in the thirteenth century, but it has never been published in translation or discussed in detail.² It is the purpose of this note to rectify these omissions.

The mint enquiry is on folio 219^r of the *Liber albus* (White Book) of Bury St Edmunds Abbey (British Library Harley MS 1005). Rodney Thomson has analysed the complex history of the *Liber albus*, which was originally compiled in the 1260s or 1270s by binding copies of two earlier Bury St Edmunds chronicles (Jocelin of Brakelond and the *Electio Hugonis*) with a new chronicle known as the *Gesta Sacristarum*, a collection of memoranda on the administration of the abbey, and treatises on accounting and estate management. Thomson argued that this compilation was probably made for the personal use of Robert Russel, who was the prior of the abbey from 1258 to 1280.³ The volume in its present form includes numerous additions and annotations made at various times until the fifteenth century, but the mint enquiry is part of the original compilation of the 1260s or 1270s.⁴ It is of course possible that the text of the enquiry was originally composed much earlier than this.⁵ I argued in 2001 that the enquiry might have been connected with the reopening of the Bury St Edmunds mint in 1215, and Robin Eaglen has suggested that it was probably made during the king's leasing of the Bury St Edmunds exchange in 1223–30, but it contains internal evidence which indicates that it should be probably be dated to 1256–58.⁶

In the text of the enquiry the exchanger takes *6d.* for the exchange of one pound, which was the standard rate of seigniorage until 1279, and an extra *2d.* is struck from each pound of silver over and above *240d.*, which is the 'increment' normal in mint accounts from the 1250s to 1278. An increment also appears in mint accounts between 1234 and 1247, but the metrology of the Short Cross coinage of 1180–1247 indicates that more than *242d.* was struck from a pound of silver before the introduction of the Long Cross coinage in 1247.⁷ A question as to who will answer for the moneyer and his staff elicits the response that 'R' will speak and give satisfaction for all. This 'R' could have been Randulf le Blund, the moneyer from 1252 to 1258, or Reginald FitzHenry, his successor from 1258 to an unknown date before 1265.⁸

Acknowledgements. I have greatly benefited from the advice of Prof. T.V. Buttrey on the translation of the text of the enquiry and from the comments of Dr Robin Eaglen on a draft of this article. Dr Antonia Gransden has given advice on the dating of the enquiry and David Palmer has provided invaluable information concerning the coins of the Bury St Edmunds moneyer Stephane.

¹ British Library, Harley MS 1005, fol. 219^r; Dugdale 1846, III, 164.

² Allen 1999, 211 n. 12, 212; Eaglen 2006, 148; Allen 2001c, 115.

³ Thomson 1980, 17–19, 33–4, 142–5.

⁴ Thomson 1980, 144.

⁵ Gransden 2007, 241.

⁶ Allen 2001c, 115; Eaglen 2006, 148. Eaglen 2006, 147, dates the end of the lease of the exchange to 1229, because the last payment was for the Michaelmas term of 1229 (*Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1226–1240*, 148), but the agreement was formally ended on 25 February 1230, when Abbot Richard de Insula was granted a die and an exchange (*Close Rolls 1227–1231*, 299).

⁷ Blunt and Brand 1970, 62–3; Mayhew 1992, 105, 132–3; Allen 1999, 210–11; Allen 2005b.

⁸ Eaglen 2006, 177, 179.

The moneyer is to render the profits of the mint on whatever day of the year the king wishes, and he must give the king £5 (*per annum* presumably), which clearly implies that the enquiry was conducted during one of the two periods in the 1250s and 1260s when the temporalities of Bury St Edmunds Abbey were in the king's hands. The first period of royal administration was in the vacancy caused by the death of Abbot Edmund of Walpole on 31 December 1256. Two successive keepers subsequently administered the temporalities until 12 January 1258.⁹ The second period was during Henry III's confiscation of the Liberty of Bury St Edmunds in 1262–65. The Liberty was ordered to be taken into the king's hands on 7 March 1262, and a keeper was appointed, but the confiscation was subsequently deferred until after the king's return to England from France, which occurred on 20 December 1262.¹⁰ The Liberty was restored on 24 September 1265, and a formal restitution of the abbey's right to a die followed on 27 October 1265.¹¹

It has been suggested that the Bury St Edmunds moneyer Stephane, who succeeded Reginald FitzHenry and was in turn replaced by John de Burnedissee in January 1265, must have ceased production no later than the beginning of the confiscation of the Liberty in 1262.¹² There is reason to believe, however, that Stephane replaced Reginald FitzHenry during the confiscation and not before it. The Brussels hoard, the English element of which was closed in about 1264 or 1265, had eighty-four recorded coins of Reginald FitzHenry (Renaud on the coins) to six of Stephane. If Stephane's output had ended no later than 1262 one might expect a more equal distribution between the two moneyers, because there are six pairs of dies recorded for Renaud and exactly the same number for Stephane (only two or perhaps three of which were represented in the Brussels hoard).¹³ An exchequer memorandum from the Michaelmas term of 1264 records the exchange of an old pair of dies from the Bury St Edmunds mint for a new pair, and it must be concluded that the dies involved were Stephane's.¹⁴ The presentation of John de Burnedissee at the exchequer as Stephane's replacement on 29 January 1265, together with a new assayer and a die-keeper, is further evidence that the mint was active between 1262 and the restoration of the dies to the abbey's control on 27 October 1265.¹⁵

The statement in the text of the enquiry that the moneyer must pay the king 100s. (£5) of new money seems to imply that the enquiry was made in the vacancy of 1256–58 and not during the confiscation of 1262–65, because this is the same amount as the annual farm paid by London and Canterbury moneyers from 1255 to early in 1262. This system was terminated at about the same time as the appointment of two new wardens of the London and Canterbury mints in January 1262, some months before the beginning of the confiscation.¹⁶

The record of the enquiry consists of a series of twenty-four questions and answers, which are numbered for ease of reference in the transcript and translation below. After the first item establishes that the moneyer will speak for all of the staff of the mint, the enquiry deals with each level of the mint's hierarchy in turn: the moneyer (items 2–7), the exchanger (8–11), the assayer (12–18), the die-keepers (19–21), the workmen (22) and their boys (23). The names of the moneyer, the assayer and two die-keepers were recorded in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls in 1217/18 and 1221/2.¹⁷ In 1278 a new moneyer, assayer and die-keeper were presented at the exchequer to take their oaths of office, and on various occasions between 1252 and 1277 there were presentations to one or two of these three offices.¹⁸

⁹ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1251–1260*, 361; *Close Rolls 1256–1259*, 85–6, 214; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 612; Eaglen 2006, 164–5, 179–80.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 204; *Close Rolls 1261–1264*, 37, 163; Eaglen 2006, 166 n.46.

¹¹ *Close Rolls 1264–1268*, 134; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1258–1266*, 471; Eaglen 2006, 166–7, 180.

¹² Eaglen 2006, 180.

¹³ Eaglen 2006, 188, 322–5, recording five pairs of dies for Stephane. A sixth pair of dies has now been found (pers. comm. David Palmer).

¹⁴ TNA: PRO, E 368/39, rot. 1.

¹⁵ TNA: PRO, E 368/40, rot. 6d; Eaglen 2006, 180.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, 456, 468, 506, 539; Mayhew 1992, 116–20.

¹⁷ TNA: PRO, E 368/1, rot. 5, E 364/4, rot. 4d, Brand 1964, 66; Brand 1994, 49; Eaglen 2006, 139, 147–8.

¹⁸ TNA: PRO, E 159/31, rot. 15; E 159/51, rot. 3d., 5d; E 368/26, rot. 8, E 368/26, rot. 2d; E 368/33, rot. 18; E 368/40, rot. 6d; E 368/43, rot. 2d; E 368/50, rot. 1d., 5; Fox and Fox 1910, 129; Allen 1999, 211 n.10; Eaglen 2006, 177, 179–81.

A Bury St Edmunds mint account of 1250 includes a payment to the die-keepers, an account of 1256–58 has payments in cash or kind to the moneyer, the die-keepers and the mint servants, and a third account from an unknown year between 1268 and 1276 shows payments to the moneyer, the assayer, two die-keepers, four servants and five boys.¹⁹ None of the accounts or exchequer presentations includes an exchanger, although four of the enquiry's questions concern this official. One possible explanation of this apparent anomaly is that the questions were compiled by someone with knowledge of the organization of the royal mints, which included exchangers as well as assayers, and that the offices of exchanger and assayer were combined in the Bury St Edmunds mint.²⁰

The enquiry shows that the moneyer's authority over his staff was absolute, at least in theory. He could sit in judgement and punish with imprisonment, fine, dismissal or beating (5–7, 22). Presumably beating was reserved for the workmen and their boys, and the boys were to be kept in 'fear and trembling' (23). We cannot know to what extent these coercive measures were applied in practice.

The exchanger, or the assayer acting as exchanger, is second in command to the moneyer (8), and he takes custody of the profits of the mint each day (4). He charges a seigniorage of 6*d.* for the exchange of one pound (10), and is expected to make an additional profit of 1*d.* (11). This extra profit may have been derived from skilful manipulation of the calculation of payments to mint customers.

The assayer is paid 1*d.* for an assay (13), and silver is assayed in consignments of about thirty-one pounds (14). The surviving roll of assays from the Shrewsbury mint in 1249–50 records the bullion received in standard units of thirty-one pounds, and one of the two consignments of silver in the Bury St Edmunds mint account of 1268–76 registered in the moneyer's own name was of exactly that amount. Thirty-one pounds may have been a convenient quantity for one firing of an assayer's furnace.²¹ If the assayer finds that new coins are too fine or debased they have to be remelted at the expense of the moneyer (16), but the owner of the bullion shall have any profit or loss caused by deviations from the standard that are not corrected (18). Attempts at fraud by the owners of silver shall result in the withholding of the coins made from it (17).

The die-keepers receive 12*d.* for every 100 pounds of silver struck, which was the normal rate from no later than 1220 to 1279 (19),²² and they have 6*s.* 8*d.* as their expenses when they are sent to London to obtain dies (20). The dies cost 6*d.* each (21), which differs from the rates documented after the coinage reforms of 1279. The London and Canterbury mint accounts of 1281–1327 record costs of 2*s.* per dozen (2*d.* each) to make new dies and fees of 7*s.* per dozen (7*d.* per die) paid to the hereditary engraver.²³ The charge of 6*d.* per die does, however, correspond with the rate paid in 1425–27 for dies supplied to the Calais mint.²⁴

APPENDIX

Text of the enquiry

Note: Abbreviations have been silently expanded when their meaning is unambiguous. The capitalization of the original text has been retained.

Ista inquirenda sunt de hiis qui administracionem habent in monetaria

[1.]	De monetario et hiis que pertinent ad eum	Pro aliis R dit et satisfacit
[2.]	Quo pacto administratur	Dat domino Regi C sol. scilicet de novo

¹⁹ British Library, Harley MS 645, fol. 260^v; Allen 1999, 211–13.

²⁰ Johnson 1956, 51–2, published the text and a translation of a contemporary description of the duties of royal mint officials, including the exchanger, in the Long Cross recoinage of 1247–50. Allen 2005a analyses payments to the exchangers, clerks and die-keepers of ten provincial mints in this recoinage.

²¹ Brand 1971, 131; Allen 1999, 211–12.

²² Johnson 1956, xxvi, 52; Blunt and Brand 1970, 62; Brand 1994, 40, 43, 45–6. Brand notes that the payment was 6*d.* per 100 pounds from 7 July to 8 Aug. 1234.

²³ Mate 1969, 208.

²⁴ TNA: PRO, E 364/60, rot. 7*d.*; Allen 2007, 197.

[3.]	Quoties per annum reddit proficuum	Omni die pro voluntate Regis
[4.]	Quibus temporibus et cui reddit	Illo die quo fabricat et cambiatori
[5.]	Qua libertate aliis precellit	Tenet iudicium et iusticiam de aliis
[6.]	Que potestas eius circa operarios	Secundum delicta punire et amovere
[7.]	Qualiter punit delinquentes	Virga deponicione carcere bursa
[8.]	De eschambiatore	Qui secundus post monetarium
[9.]	De sumptibus suis	Ut melius et sumptu minori
[10.]	Si recipit xx sol. minus vj d.	Nunquam minus vj d. xx sol.
[11.]	Qualiter salvet se in vj denarii	Bene quia semper in xx sol. lucrabitur j d.
[12.]	De assaiatore	Poterit amoveri et deponi pro voluntate
[13.]	Quantum capit pro uno assay	j d. sed nunquam plus
[14.]	Si in xxxj libris facit assay	In minori et majori
[15.]	Pondus xx s. quantum per numerum	ij d. et quod plus est a malo
[16.]	Pro qua quantitate vel minoritate debet iterum fundi	Argentum bonit' super sumptibus monetarii
[17.]	Si deceptus in accipiendo argentum	Distringend' pretia mercat'
[18.]	Cuius erit dampnum vel proficuum	Recipiencium et liberancium
[19.]	De custodibus quo pacto	In centena xij d.
[20.]	Quantum percipiunt in quirendo cuneum	Dimidiam marcam de monetario
[21.]	Quantum pro ferro	vj denarii
[22.]	De operariis magistris	Semper sub virga monetarii
[23.]	De garcionibus eorundem	Semper in timore et tremore
[24.]	De consuetudinibus et libertatibus	Secundum libertates antiquas H ²⁵

Translation of the enquiry

These are the matters to be enquired into concerning those	who have administration in the mint.
[1.] Concerning the moneyer and those who pertain to him.	R[andulf le Blund?] speaks and gives satisfaction for the others.
[2.] By what agreement is the mint administered?	The moneyer gives 100s. to the lord king, namely in new money.
[3.] How many times a year does he render the profit?	On every day the king wishes.
[4.] At what times and to whom does he render the profit?	On every day that he strikes coins, and to the exchanger.
[5.] By what liberty does he preside over the others?	He holds judgement and exercises justice concerning the others.
[6.] What is his power as regards the workmen?	To punish and dismiss according to their offence.
[7.] In what way does he punish delinquents?	With the rod, dismissal, imprisonment and fine.
[8.] Concerning the exchanger.	He is second after the moneyer.
[9.] Concerning his expenditures.	[He ensures] that they are better and of less expense [than might be].
[10.] Whether he receives less than 6 <i>d.</i> for the exchange of 20 <i>s.</i>	Never less than 6 <i>d.</i> for 20 <i>s.</i>
[11.] In what way does he make a saving in the [charging of] 6 <i>d.</i> ?	He does it well, because there will always be a profit of 1 <i>d.</i> in 20 <i>s.</i>
[12.] Concerning the assayer.	He can be removed and dismissed at will.
[13.] How much does he take for an assay?	1 <i>d.</i> but never more.
[14.] Whether he makes an assay of thirty-one pounds of silver	More or less.
[15.] How much is the weight of 20 <i>s.</i> by tale?	2 <i>d.</i> [more than 240 <i>d.</i>] and that more is bad.
[16.] For what excess or deficiency ought the silver to be melted again?	The silver is made good at the expense of the moneyer.
[17.] If he is deceived in receiving silver?	The merchant's money is to be withheld.
[18.] Whose shall be the loss or profit?	Of those who receive and deliver the silver.
[19.] Concerning the die-keepers, by what agreed payment?	12 <i>d.</i> for 100 pounds of silver.
[20.] How much do they take for obtaining the dies?	Half a mark from the moneyer.
[21.] How much for a die?	6 <i>d.</i>
[22.] Concerning the moneyer's workmen.	Always under the rod of the moneyer.
[23.] Concerning their boys.	Always in fear and trembling.
[24.] Concerning the customs and liberties.	According to the ancient liberties.

²⁵ The meaning of the 'H' is uncertain.

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THE DIE AXIS OF PENNIES FROM HENRY II TO EDWARD I

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It is nearly sixty years since Michael Dolley demonstrated that the die axis of late Anglo-Saxon pennies generally corresponded with the four main points of the compass.¹ This implied that the dies were square in section to give rise to such consistency. The use of flat-sided dies continued after the Norman Conquest, although a surviving obverse die from Stephen's first (Watford) type, now in the Museum of London, is hexagonal rather than square in section.² It has also been tacitly accepted that at an undefined date die axes became random, arising from flat-sided dies being superseded by circular ones. This change would have helped to speed up the rate of striking coins but, unless care was still taken, the reverses were liable to be struck off-centre. To the best knowledge of the writer, no one has taken the trouble to demonstrate that this change actually took place, and to consider when.

The *SCBI* series contains copious information on die axes for the period from Henry II to Edward I, but their value is limited for two reasons. Firstly, the earlier volumes recorded the axes by arrows, thereby lacking precision and, perhaps, paying unwitting homage to the practice recognised in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman period. Secondly, even where the axes are given in degrees (to an accuracy of 5°) the very obvious variations in die axis are not conclusive of randomness unless the coins being compared were struck from the same pair of dies.

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¹ Dolley 1952–54.

² Andrew 1934–37.

The writer's die studies of the output at Bury St Edmunds enable this deficiency to be addressed.³ Tables 1 to 4 below show the results from sufficiently well-represented identical die combinations in the Tealby, Short Cross, Long Cross and Robert de Hadeleie (Edward I)

TABLE 1. Tealby (Cross and Crosslets) coinage, Bury.

Type A2, Willem (Eaglen 53, dies Dd) (1158)		
<i>source</i>	<i>die axis (°)</i>	$\pm 45^\circ$
Hocking 328 (a)	15	+15
BMC 45	30	+30
SED 465 (b)	0	0
BMC 46	20	+20
BMC 47	295	+25
BMC 48	90	0
BNJ 62, 227	165	-15
T. Crafter	190	+10
SED 28 (b)	310	+40
Type B1, Henri (Eaglen 60, dies Kk) (1161 or later)		
BMC 19	325	-35
BMC 20	170	-10
SED 21 (b)	350	-10
BMC 21	265	-5
BMC 22	105	+15
Hocking 331 (a)	340	-20
T. Crafter	0	0
BMC 23	300	+30

(a) Royal Mint Museum, Llantrisant

(b) D. Palmer collection

TABLE 2. Short cross coinage, Bury.

Type Vb1, Fulke (Eaglen 82, dies Ab) (1205)		
<i>source</i>	<i>die axis (°)</i>	$\pm 45^\circ$
Fitzwilliam Museum (1.47 g)	115	+25
G. Gittoes (1.45 g)	30	+30
BM (Colchester, 999)	320	-40
SCBI Glasgow, 384	40	+40
SED 743 (a)	40	+40
G. Gittoes (0.62 g, ½d.)	335	-25

Type VIIa B – CI, Willem (Eaglen 128, dies Cc) (1217)

BM (Eccles 420)	315	± 45
SCBI Mass, 1969	300	+30
Fitzwilliam Museum (1.42 g)	260	-10
BM (Colchester, 1031)	185	+5
G. Gittoes (1.40 g)	10	+10
BM (Colchester, 1027)	255	-15
G. Gittoes (1.37 g)	225	± 45
G. Gittoes (1.28 g)	15	+15
SCBI East Anglian Museums, 1511	285	+15
SED 937 (a)	105	+15

(a) D. Palmer collection

TABLE 3. Long Cross coinage, Bury.

Type IIb, Ion (Eaglen 255, dies Aa) (1248)		
<i>weight, g</i>	<i>die axis (°)</i>	$\pm 45^\circ$
1.46	270	0
1.36	350	-10
1.27	185	+5
1.27	135	± 45
1.21	350	-10
Type IIIbc, Ion (Eaglen 269, dies Bb) (1250)		
1.50	50	-40
1.49	215	+35
1.42	150	-30
1.41	45	± 45
1.40	140	-40
1.39	65	-25
1.36	155	-25
1.32	10	+10
1.32	260	-10
Type Vb/a3 mule, Randulf (Eaglen 305, dies Aa) (1252)		
1.50	140	-40
1.47	260	-10
1.46	220	+40
1.45	0	0
1.41	345	-15
1.38	0	0
1.36	85	-5
1.36	25	+25
1.35	290	+20
1.20	195	+15

Type Vf, Randulf (Eaglen 324, dies Bb) (1258)

1.47	280	+10
1.44	270	0
1.44	25	+25
1.44	240	-30
1.43	45	± 45
1.42	270	0
1.41	140	-40
1.40	135	± 45

TABLE 4. Edward I (Robert de Hadeleie), Bury.

Type 3c (Tatler dies Bb1, BNJ 68, 67) (1280)

<i>source</i>	<i>die axis (°)</i>	$\pm 45^\circ$
BM (1.42 g)	120	+30
B1034 (1.42 g) (a)	300	+30
B264 (1.39 g) (a)	260	-10
B391 (1.32 g) (a)	5	+5
Fitzwilliam Museum (1.26 g)	150	-30
B905 (1.00 g) (a)	190	+10
SED 226 (0.96 g) (b)	150	-30

(a) R. Eaglen collection

(b) D. Palmer collection

³ Eaglen 2006.

issues.⁴ The source of the coins included in Tables 1, 2 and 4 are indicated in the Tables. The Long Cross coins in Table 3 are from the Brussels hoard (1909), owned by Baldwin's. Any weights included in the first column of the Tables are purely for identification purposes. The second column shows the die axis of each coin to the nearest 5°. The third column shows the axis of the cross limb closest to the zero (0°) position. The resulting spread of up to ± 45° from 0°, enables the variation in axis to be seen more clearly.

From the foregoing it is clear that any attempt to produce coins with a regular die axis had been abandoned by the Tealby coinage. With more plentiful die duplicates than are available from Bury prior to the reign of Henry II it should be possible to pinpoint exactly when this change occurred.⁵

To conclude, the method used by the writer for measuring the above die axes is described below.⁶

- (1) The coin is placed in a clear plastic coin envelope, open on two adjoining sides, marked with a matching horizontal line on each side of the envelope from the centre of a closed side to the centre of the opposite open side;
- (2) The coin is so aligned that the bust is equally dissected from top to bottom by the line on the envelope;
- (3) The envelope is then turned laterally and placed with the reverse uppermost on a circular template;
- (4) The template is in the form of a sunburst, with radiating lines at 5° intervals from the central pivot. At the centre a circle is inscribed, slightly larger than the diameter of the coins to be measured. The lines representing 0°–180° and 90°–270° are bolder than the rest;
- (5) The die axis is read off using a clear plastic straight edge or ruler;
- (6) If the reverse of the coin is off-centre its position has to be adjusted so that the centre of the cross corresponds with the pivot of the sunburst, using the bold 0°–180° and 90°–270° as a guide;
- (7) If any realignment under (6) is not correctly made this will be evident because the reading on the far side of the sunburst will not show a 180° difference from the axis reading being taken.

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⁴ The die duplications in Table 4 derive from the writer's as yet unpublished die study of Edwardian Sterlings struck at Bury.

⁵ Die studies of individual coin types, as exemplified by Dr Allen's work on Stephen, type 7 (Allen 2006) and Henry I, type 14 (Allen 2009) are a potentially valuable resource.

⁶ A somewhat similar method was described by Goddard (1981; corrigendum 1982).

THE MONKNASH FIND AND OTHER FOREIGN MEDIEVAL COINS FROM SOUTH WALES

EDWARD BESLY

THIS small hoard was found on 21 September 2002 by Steve McGrory, using a metal detector on farmland at Monknash, in the Vale of Glamorgan. The coins were slightly scattered in topsoil within an area of a few square metres. The find was declared treasure at inquest in Cardiff on 20 December 2002 and has been acquired by the National Museum of Wales.¹

The coins

England

Edward III (1327–77)

1. Penny, Durham mint, Series Gc, c.1356–61; North 1217/Allen 130; some wear, 1.26 g. (Fig. 1.1)

Leon and Castile

Enrique II de Trastámara (1368–79)

2. Cruzado, Burgos; 1.71 g. Cayon 1278. (Fig. 1.2)
Obv. []RICVS : REX : LEGIONI : , crowned bust l.; B in field, r.
Rev. †EN[]VS : RE- X : CASTELL : , cross, E – N – R – I in quarters
3. Cruzado, Villalon; 2.25 g. Cayon 1293. (Fig. 1.3)
Obv. ENRICVS REX CASTELL[] , similar to 2; V in field, r.
Rev. ENRICVS [] ; similar to 2; E – N – R – I
4. Cruzado, counterfeit; 0.85 g. Type as Cayon 1278ff. (Fig. 1.4)
Obv. []VS REX [] , similar, weakly struck
Rev. [] LEGIONI , similar, weakly struck
5. Real de ½ maravedi, uncertain mint, 1369–73; 2.39 g. cf. Cayon 1250–60. (Fig. 1.5)
Obv. [] REX CA[]ELLE [] , crowned bust, facing
Rev. [] ENRICVS : REX : CASTELL [] , quarterly castle (1,4), rampant lion l. (2,3)

The Spanish coins are all of highly-debased billon (of the order of 25% silver)² and would have had no place in circulation in England and Wales; they are most unusual finds here. Barrie Cook has listed records of continental medieval coins from England; at that time only three Spanish coins of the fourteenth century were recorded, none of them Enrique II, and three from the fifteenth.³ The collection in Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, however, includes two specimens of cruzados of Enrique II, found at Llantwit Major, a few miles from Monknash, and in excavations at Cardiff Castle. Recently, two further specimens have turned up, at Marcross and St Donat's, both close to Monknash (see Appendix, 13–16). A blanca nueva of Juan II (1406–54) was found in excavations at Carmarthen Greyfriars (App., 17) and a blanca de 2 maravedis of Enrique IV (1454–74) is recorded from Cardiff Greyfriars (App., 18).

Looking more broadly at foreign medieval coins recorded from South Wales (Appendix), it will be seen that these mirror in miniature the main types found in England: double patauds, Venetian soldini, even one Portuguese chinfrac, with the occasional oddity (Teutonic

¹ Accession number 2003.21H/1–5. *TAR 2002*, p.142, no. 224. I would like to thank Barrie Cook, British Museum, for help identifying these Spanish coins and no. 18 in the Appendix.

² Semi-quantitative surface analyses of nos 3 and 5 suggested silver contents of 29% and 27% Ag, respectively (and hence potential treasure status under the 1996 Act). Elemental compositions determined by Mary Davis using a CamScan MaXim 2040 analytical Scanning Electron Microscope with low-vacuum chamber, plus Oxford Instruments Link Isis energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometer.

³ Cook 1999. Two further Spanish coins have since been recorded: a barbuda of Ferdinand I as pretender to the kingdom of Castile (1367–83), found in 2007 at Mattishall, Norfolk (CR 2008, 361). A billon dinero of Enrique IV found in 2003 at Phillack, Cornwall, is recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme as CORN-EDCA85.



Fig. 1. Coins from the Monknash hoard.

knights, Genoa).⁴ There is, however, one dramatic difference: the Portuguese copper ceitils of the fifteenth century, recorded from very few English contexts,⁵ but found widely across south Wales. These must surely relate to strong trading links between this area and the Iberian peninsula, evidenced by finds from the likes of Tenby, Swansea and Caerleon (then still a significant port), though again these coins would have found no formal place in currency in Wales. The only coins relating to its working life from the ship of the 1450s–60s found in Newport in 2002 were Portuguese coppers: a real preto of Duarte I (1433–38) and three ceitils of Afonso V (1438–81).⁶ The finding of late fourteenth- and fifteenth century Spanish coins may therefore also relate to trading connections with south-east Wales.

There is, potentially, another feasible context for the emerging ‘Vale of Glamorgan’ cluster of late fourteenth-century coins from Leon and Castile. Monknash is the site of an important grange belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Neath, one of the largest monastic farms in Glamorgan. There may therefore be a religious connection, the coins perhaps souvenirs of pilgrimage to the Kingdom of Leon and its most famous shrine, Santiago de Compostella – akin in modern terms to the useless foreign change left over from foreign holidays in the pre-Euro period.

APPENDIX. SINGLE FINDS OF FOREIGN MEDIEVAL COINS IN SOUTH WALES

The following list summarises those foreign medieval coins, excluding sterling imitations, known to the writer to have been found in South Wales – in terms of the 1972 counties, Dyfed: Pembrokeshire (P), Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire (Cm); Glamorgan: West, Mid, South (WG, MG, SG) and Gwent (Gw). Together, these counties have provided the vast majority of all coin finds recorded from Wales since 1986, latterly through the mechanism of the voluntary Portable Antiquities Scheme. To these have been added provenanced coins in the National Museum of Wales collection and those recorded from archaeological excavations. Where no reference is given, the coin has been recorded at NMW since 1986.

The list is intended to place these finds on record, complementing Cook’s (1999) list for England; there is a small amount of duplication where Cook’s use of Coin Register entries has led to a slightly flexible definition of ‘England’.

France, Royal

1. Philip II (1180–1223), denier parisus, Arras, Duplessy 168; Cowbridge area (Penllyn?), SG [*Treasure Hunting*, April 1998, 58]

⁴ These two coins were included in Cook’s ‘England’ list as nos 259 and 266.

⁵ E.g., South Devon (Cook no. 289); London, Vintry, one example (Kelleher and Leins 2008, no. 1189).

⁶ Identified by the writer, as yet unpublished. A further coin was discovered during post-excavation work – a billon petit blanc of Louis, Dauphin de Viennois, struck at Crémieu between 1445 and 1456. This mint-fresh coin had been set into the inboard face of the keel, at its junction with the stem post.

2. Louis VIII–IX (1223–66), denier tournois; Cowbridge, SG [NMW 80.33H]
3. Philip III or IV (1270–1314), denier tournois à l'O rond, L.228; Dryslwyn Castle, Cm [Besly 2007]
4. Charles V (1364–80), franc à pied; Ogmore by Sea, MG [NMW77.51H]
5. Charles V, franc à pied, Southerndown, MG⁷ [CR 1996, 348]
6. Charles VI (1380–1422), blanc or guénar, L.381; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 30]

France, Feudal

7. Brittany, John IV (1345–99), billon blanc, Nantes; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 31]
8. Brittany, John IV, billon demi-blanc; Chepstow, Gw
9. Brittany, John IV, billon double, Poey d'Avant 1045ff; Caerleon, Gw [NMW 31.78]
10. Brittany, François I (1442–50), billon blanc, Rennes, Poey d'Avant 1198; Mathern, Gw
11. Evreux, Charles le Mauvais (1343–87), sol coronat; Laugharne, Castle, Cm [unpublished excavation]
12. Romorantin, obol, 11th century?, Poey d'Avant 1894; Merthyr Mawr Warren (Candleston Castle), MG [NMW 37.121]

Castile and Leon

13. Enrique II (1368–79), cruzado; Cardiff, Castle [NMW 76.42H]
14. Enrique II, cruzado; Llantwit Major, SG [NMW 67.387]
15. Enrique II, cruzado; Marcross, SG [Coin Register 2008, 360]
16. Enrique II, cruzado, Seville; St Donat's, SG [found 2009]
17. Juan II (1406–54), blanca nueva, Burgos; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 33]
18. Enrique IV (1454–74), blanca de 2 maravedis, Seville; Cardiff, Greyfriars [NMW 30.197]

Portugal

19. John I (1385–1433), real de 3½ l., Lisbon; Tenby area, P
20. Afonso V (1438–81), chinfrão; Parc Seymour, Gw [Coin Register 2006, 307]
21. Afonso V, real branco; Wrinstone, SG

Portugal, ceitils

- 22–3. John I: Tenby, P (2)
- 24–38. Afonso V: Haverfordwest (2: one from Priory excavations), Pembroke, St Florence, Tenby (3), Wisemans Bridge, 'Pembrokeshire' (all P); Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 32]; Swansea Bay, WG; Ogmore, MG; Caerleon (2) [NMW 32.62 and 75.17H], Caldicote (both Gw)
- 39–40. Uncertain: Angle, P; Gower, WG

Venice, soldini

41. Antonio Venier (1382–1400); Pembroke
- 42–9. Michele Steno (1400–13); St Florence, Tenby (both P); Kidwelly, Cm; Ewenny (3), MG; Caerleon [NMW 35.120], Llanover (both Gw)

Italy

50. Genoa, T. Campofregoso (1436–42), petachina; Tenby, P [= Cook 1999, no. 266]

Netherlands

51. Holland, Floris V (1254–96), köpfchen, Dordrecht; Cowbridge area (Penllyn?), SG [*Treasure Hunting* April 1998, 58]
52. Flanders, Charles le Téméraire (1467–77), double gros; Margam, MG

⁷ These two coins perhaps derived from a single original deposit or wreck, though found nearly twenty years apart. Both are coastal finds from a single general locality.

Double patards

53. Brabant, Charles le Téméraire, Louvain: Sageston, P.
 54. Brabant, Philippe le Beau (1482–1506), Louvain: Llantrithyd, SG [CR 1999, 145]
 55–62. Flanders, Charles, Bruges: ‘South Pembrokeshire’; Carmarthen, Greyfriars [Besly and Boon 1995, no. 35]; Llanddewi, Gower, WG; Ewenny, Rudry [CR 1996, 354] (both MG); St Donat’s, SG (2) [CR 1995, 254 and 2009 find]; Chepstow area, Gw

Other

63. Denmark, Christoph II (1319–32), penny, Saksøbing; ‘South Wales’⁸
 64. Teutonic Knights, uncertain; Burry Holms Island, Gower, WG [= Cook 1999, no. 259]
 65. Jerusalem, Baldwin III? (1143–63), denier; Ogmores/Southerndown, MG

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PRIVY MARK ‘SLOT’ ON ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS

R.H. THOMPSON

A recent survey of British manifestations of the Golden Fleece included the Charles I privy mark on copper farthings which Peck tabulated as 29, *Fleece*.¹ Praise for Tim Everson’s line drawings should have added that they are by Paul Withers.² The enlarged photograph of Nigel Clark’s excellent specimen as Fig. 6 did nothing to encourage acceptance of Peck’s *Fleece* identification, but after close examination the best alternative that could be offered was a tentative ‘cloven hoof of a deer, goat or bovine’. The purpose of this present note is to propose that the privy mark should be identified, not as a hoof, but as the impression of a hoof, a hoof-print, or *slot*: ‘The track or trail of an animal, especially a deer, as shown by the marks of the foot; ... hence generally, track, trace, or trail’.³ The word may – perhaps – be more familiar in ‘Slot-hound’, sleuth-hound.

The meaning is recorded from 1575, and was employed by Michael Drayton in his *Polyolbion* of 1612, the same year that the making of farthings was first suggested:

The Huntsman by his Slot, or breaking earth, perceaves ...
 Where he hath gone to lodge.⁴

⁸ Found in 1984; identification provided via British Museum.

¹ Thompson 2009, 206; *BMC English Copper* 1964, 27–9, no. 29.

² Everson 2007, 2, 29.

³ *OED* s.v. ‘slot’, *sb.*³

⁴ Drayton 1612, xiii, 115.

Ben Jonson would use the word in the period *c.*1612–37:

Here's Little John hath harboured you a deer ...
For by his slot, his entries and his port,
His frayings, fewmets, he doth promise sport ...⁵

That is, by his footprint, and other tokens of woodcraft by which the size and weight of a deer may be judged.⁶

These passages are valuable in bringing 'Slot' close to the court circles responsible for the farthings, for Jonson was Poet Laureate, and Drayton had dedicated his poem *Endymion and Phæbe* to Lucy, daughter of Lord Harington who held the first patent for issuing farthing tokens, and herself the holder of the patent from 1616 with the Duke of Lennox.⁷ Moreover, James VI so loved hunting that he indulged it on his journey south from Scotland in 1603, to the extent of delaying his assumption of the English crown. Scaramelli, Venetian secretary in England, reported:

quasi scordatosi d'esser Rè per altro che per esercitar regalmente la caccia di Cervi, in che è perditissimo in eccesso
= 'he seems to have almost forgotten that he is a King except in his kingly pursuit of stags, to which he is quite foolishly devoted'.⁸

Charles I also hunted frequently.⁹

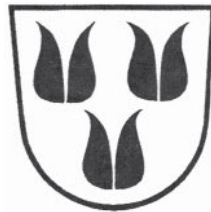


Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 from Leonhard (1976) shows that hoof-prints (in the opposite direction of travel) do have a presence in heraldry.¹⁰ The arms, captioned *Hirschschalen* (= 'deer-bowls'), are unlocated, but in Neubecker (1974), Inanimate Objects no. 80, they are attributed to the *Propstei* of Gars in Upper Bavaria, now Gars-am-Inn.¹¹ The arms of that *Propstei* (= Provostry), founded in 764 and suppressed in 1803, are blazoned in Siebmacher merely as *In Silber drei... Seeblätter (?)* (= Water lilies), so the charge is clearly rare.¹²

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⁵ Jonson 1641, I, ii; dates from Harbage 1964, 136.

⁶ Fortescue 1916, 335–6.

⁷ *ODNB* s.v. Russell, Lucy, countess of Bedford (bap. 1581, d. 1627), courtier and patron of the arts; Everson 2007, 6–7, but omitted from his list of Patent Holders.

⁸ *CSPV* 10: 1603–1607, 70–71, no. 101.

⁹ *ODNB* s.v. Charles I (1600–1649).

¹⁰ Leonhard 1976, 225, fig.3, captioned *Hirschschalen*; David Sealy supplied the English 'slot'.

¹¹ Neubecker 1974, 394; the captions are *Rehfährte* = *Passée de chevreuil* = 'Track of roe'.

¹² Siebmacher 1882, 49, and Tafel 70.

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‘PETER’ SKIDMORE: THE MAN WHO NEVER WAS AN ADDENDUM

D.W. DYKES

REFERENCE to the files of *The London Gazette* allows some minor refinement to be made to the history of the Skidmore firm of ironmongers and stove grate makers given on pp. 256–7 of my paper in volume 77 of the *Journal*.¹

The partnership between John Skidmore and his eldest son Meremoth ('No. 123, High-Holborn, and of No. 15, Coppice-Row, Clerkenwell, Stone [sic] Grate-Makers and Ironfounders') was dissolved 'by mutual consent' on 1 February 1809 and subsequently (by 6 February 1810) the business was being continued as a partnership between Meremoth and his brother Gamaliel. John Skidmore's retirement can therefore be firmly dated to February 1809.²

The partnership between Meremoth and Gamaliel Skidmore (now recorded only at 'High-Holborn' as 'Stove-Grate-Manufacturers and Furnishing Ironmongers') was dissolved 'by mutual consent' on 8 May 1815.³

The style of the firm given on p. 257 should be amended to read

John Skidmore, c.1784–1793
 John Skidmore and Son [John and Meremoth], 1793–1809
 M [Meremoth] and G [Gamaliel] Skidmore, 1809/1810–1815
 G [Gamaliel] Skidmore, 1815–1822
 Susan[nah] Skidmore (Widow of Gamaliel), 1822– c.1824

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¹ Dykes 2007.

² *The London Gazette*, 6–10 February 1810 (no. 16340), 200.

³ *The London Gazette*, 25 July 1815 (no. 17044), 1523.

CAPTAIN HARDY'S AND CAPTAIN BROKE'S REWARD OF MERIT MEDALS

SIM COMFORT

Captain Hardy's Reward of Merit Medal

ON 1 July 1981 Sotheby's held an Orders and Medals auction which contained a highly interesting award given by Captain Hardy to Robert Smith, a midshipman on board *HMS Victory* (Fig. 1).¹ I then knew of three examples of this medal. I became concerned regarding this lot because each man had also received the Naval General Service medal with Trafalgar clasp, and considered that there were very high odds against this happening. The late Virginia Medlen and I both collected named Boulton Trafalgar and Davison Nile medals. I would estimate that our joint holdings were around a hundred pieces. We found that it was very rare indeed to have a named Boulton Trafalgar or Davidson Nile medal awarded to a man who also received the Naval General Service medal, which tends to confirm the validity of most of these medals. (Having said that, one must be cautious because some of these pieces have certainly been engraved in more recent times.) Furthermore, I grew suspicious in that the auction note detailed that Midshipman Robert Smith had been killed in the action at Trafalgar. From what I knew about the battle, his body was most certainly consigned to the deep shortly after his demise. I wrote a letter, which detailed my reservations, to give to Michael Naxton, the auctioneer, on the morning of the sale. In the end, the medal did not sell and its whereabouts are currently unknown.



Fig. 1. The Robert Smith, Captain Hardy award in silver (courtesy of Sotheby's).

Twenty-five years have now passed and the Hardy medal has again come to my attention. During the interim, I managed to buy a silvered copper example for William Tarrant, so the list of known Hardy's Reward of Merit medals has now grown to four:

1. Midshipman Robert Smith. Killed in action at Trafalgar, but Smith's mother managed to get a posthumous Naval General Service medal awarded to him. Silver Hardy medal. Sotheby lot 125, 1 July 1981. Whereabouts unknown. (Fig. 1.)

¹ Sotheby, *Military and Naval Campaign Medals, Gallantry Awards*, 1 July 1981.

2. William Adams. Adams also received the Naval General Service Medal. Silvered copper Hardy medal, now in the National Maritime Museum collection, catalogue no. MED0006.
3. Midshipman John Lyons. Also received the Naval General Service medal. Silver Hardy medal, in the National Maritime Museum collection, catalogue no. MED0005.
4. William Tarrant. Also received the Naval General Service medal. The name is spelled Tarrant on the Naval General Service roll and Terrant on the *HMS Victory* muster roll. Silvered copper Hardy medal, in the Sim Comfort Collection. (Fig. 2.)



Fig. 2. The William Tarrant, Captain Hardy award in silvered copper.

Roughly 20,000 British seamen, marines and officers were at the battle of Trafalgar.² Only 1,600 lived to 1848 to receive the Naval General Service medal.³ The odds for a recipient of Captain Hardy's Reward of Merit to receive the Naval General Service medal are 12.5 to 1. To have four men receive the Hardy medal and all also receive the Naval General Service medal thus produces odds of 24,414 to 1.

I now feel most confident that all four of these medals are fakes and were probably made in the late 1920s or early 1930s. The faker must have gone to Colonel Hailes' *Naval General Service Medal Roll*, published in c.1910, and selected names from the roll of men who had been on board *HMS Victory* at Trafalgar. That all of these men had to live until 1848 to apply for the Naval General Service has proved the source of his unmasking. Further evidence of fraud is found by:

1. Milford Haven in his colossal work entitled *British Naval Medals*, published in 1919, did not record an example.⁴
2. The Chelsea Naval Exhibition of 1895 did not have an example.
3. The Royal United Services Institute collection did not have an example.
4. There is no reference to Hardy having made such a presentation. One might remember that under Hardy, *Victory* was certainly a flogging ship and such a reward may well be deemed out of character for Hardy.
5. There is no reference in the *Naval Chronicle* to such a medal.

² Ayshford 2004.

³ Hailes c.1910, Douglas-Morris 1982 and Message 1996.

⁴ Milford Haven 1919.

The faker did, however, really know how to excite the collector's imagination. His inscription on the two silvered copper examples, 'Metal from the French Ship REDOUTABLE taken at Trafalgar Oct 21st 1805 after having 300 KILLED AND 222 WOUNDED.', is certainly gripping! Just to make sure that everyone appreciates the importance of the medal, he has even engraved the edge with 'ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.' (Fig. 3.) Both silver examples bear London hallmarks and the date letter K for 1805/1806, which all goes to show the faker's attention to detail. This is actually amusing in that both the silver and silvered copper examples have a crudeness about them to give the impression that they were created on board ship. Then why have London hallmarks?



Fig. 3. Edge inscription of the William Tarrant medal.

Captain Broke's Reward of Merit Medal

As a further note, I am fairly certain that this faker is also the creator of the Reward of Merit presented by Captain Broke to William Stack following the capture of the *Chesapeake* on 1 June 1813 (Fig. 4.). The host medal certainly looks as though it was a school prize medal probably struck in the late nineteenth century. The Stack medal was illustrated by Milford Haven, so it was made prior to 1919.⁵ Needless to say, Stack also received the Naval General Service medal.



Fig. 4. The William Stack, Captain Broke award in silver.



Fig. 5. Edge inscription of the William Stack medal.

⁵ Milford Haven 1919.

I believe that three examples of the Stack medal are known, which are all nearly identical. I rather think that all three were made by the faker, instead of one original medal being copied by other people. I would suggest that the faker did not bother to change the name from Reward of Merit after he created the Stack medal, and simply decided to create Captain Hardy's medal as if this Reward of Merit was an established practice within the Royal Navy.



Fig. 6. The Johnson Shannon and Chesapeake box.

A tobacco box recently offered at auction is a final example demonstrating the imagination of our faker (Fig. 6). This box purported to have belonged to J. Johnson, a member of the crew of the *Shannon*. When checking the muster list of *HMS Shannon*, we find his name is actually spelled Johnston whereas on the Naval General Service roll, it is spelled Johnson, and indeed he did receive the Naval General Service medal for the fight with the *Chesapeake*.⁶ If one continued the 12.5×1 odds and includes the Broke medal and this box, then the final tally comes to 3,814,697 to 1 against all of these men having received the Naval General Service medal. However, an important contribution is made by the appearance of this box. When one compares the engraving of *H.M.S.* on the box and on the William Tarrant medal, we can now see that they are by the same hand: further evidence of the activity and invention of this imaginative early twentieth-century faker.

⁶ Pullen 1970 includes the muster list for *HMS Shannon*.

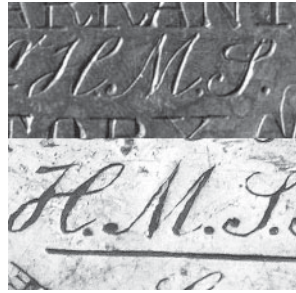


Fig. 7. Comparison of the engraving of H.M.S. from the Tarrant medal and Johnson box.

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