

OXFORD CITY TOKENS AND THE PROBLEM OF OUTPUT

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FROM time to time the question is raised of how many specimens of any seventeenth-century token might have been produced. This is a reasonable question to ask, but one very difficult to answer. There can be no expectation of finding proper output figures for any seventeenth-century token, since virtually all of those for England and Wales, and a proportion of those for Ireland, were made by the moneyers of the Tower of London, and no mint records of the tokens survive.¹ How can there even be estimates of die output in the absence of records of dies issued or received?

In the case of seventeenth-century tokens there is a possible approach. The tokens are of base metal. Presumably in consequence of this there seems to have been a high survival rate. Thus the thirty plus twenty-six dies found for Bristol farthings dated 1652, and the forty-six plus forty-three found for 1662, statistically represent 100 per cent of the total output.² Full die studies have also been published for the municipal issues of Oxford, Gloucester (those dated 1657), Henley and Nottingham, and information is probably complete for other corporation issues below. Any new token examined is usually from known dies, whereas with many coinages the continual discovery of new dies suggests that the original production is very far from being known.

Where no full die study has been carried out, the best available information may be the varieties noticed by Ralph Nott and Emery May Norweb, and identified in the published and unpublished parts of the Norweb Collection. The numbers of dies known from the surviving coins may be, in the particular circumstances of the tokens, an adequate substitute for contemporary records of dies.

Records of token orders and receipts do survive for certain corporations. The numbers of dies are lower than are really required for calculation purposes, but, without generalising from die-output figures found at other periods, the corporation issues with supporting documents provide the best information available. As regards private issues, which normally exhibit fewer dies and so even greater unreliability, the results for the corporations may at least indicate a ceiling which private token issues are unlikely to have exceeded.

First the very instructive records for Oxford will be put in a numismatic context, with some other comments; then three other corporations will be discussed, whose records include figures both for costs and for receipts; thirdly, some particular problems; and fourthly, other corporation records, in alphabetical order. Finally, a table relates these findings to dies, ending with a column of figures for die output.

I. Oxford 1652–57

These tokens may be described as follows (Fig. 1):

Obv. *THE·MAYOR·OF around a shield bearing an *Ox passing ford of water*, the arms of the city of Oxford.

Rev. *OXFORD·TOKEN around C·O | 1652 | ·R· [the signature of David Ramage].

¹ R.H. Thompson, 'Central or local production of seventeenth-century tokens', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 198–211, pl. 16 (esp. pp. 209–10).

² *SCBI* 38: *The Norweb . . . Tokens . . . Part II*, . . . (London, 1988), p. xvi.

This has been often called the Mayor of Oxford Token, but that now seems wrong. With no possessive S after OXFORD, and with such a break between THE MAYOR OF and OXFORD TOKEN on different sides of the coin, the phrase would really be very clumsy. The contemporary records, on the contrary, use the name 'the City tokens [*or farthings*]'. Much better to complete the obverse by reading those canting arms, *Ox passing ford of water*, which as far back as the thirteenth century appeared on a seal of the City of Oxford with a legend referring to the mayor.³ The obverse alone, it may be suggested, identifies the issuing authority, and should be read THE MAYOR OF [OXFORD *understood*].

Leeds, from 116 specimens (totted up as 115), recorded eleven obverse and four reverse dies, a most unusual die ratio for tokens.⁴ Nevertheless, the examination of at least another forty-four specimens has brought to light no new die or die-combination, and every die is recorded from more than one specimen. It seems that the unusual pattern of die-linking must be accepted as real, due perhaps to a long-lived reverse die which paired with no fewer than six obverses (Leeds 3–8; Norweb 3668–73).⁵ See Addendum 1.

For publication of the Norweb specimens (3665–76), Leeds nos. 7–8 have been placed before Leeds 3–6, on which a flaw had developed on the central O on their common reverse; and Leeds 9 has been placed between the die-linked chains of Leeds 1–2 and 7–8–3–4–5–6, because the Y punch appears to take the same wide form on nos. 1–2–9–7 and 8. Leeds 10 and 12 remain isolated at the end, the letter N on their common reverse being much wider than on the other reverses.

The only purely numismatic addition to Leeds's work relates to die-axis. Milne supplied the information that the die-position is always inverted in eleven of Leeds's twelve varieties, and upright in his no. 5.⁶ However, an inverted specimen of Leeds 5 has found a home in Cambridge at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and another was in the Norweb Collection (3672b). Incidentally, on the reverse of Norweb 3665 the light seems to have been caught in the photograph by some pitting at the foot of the D, giving the impression of a pellet, but it is from the same die as 3666.

There is more to add to Leeds from the Oxford Council Acts 1626–1665, published in 1933 as Vol. 95 of the Oxford Historical Society.⁷ In addition to the payments in the Audit Book quoted by Leeds (p. 360), of £20 for making and 19 plus 7 shillings for procuring the City tokens, there are the following receipts and payments in extracts from the Annual Accounts of the Chamberlains and the Keykeepers:

1651–52. Received by the Keykeepers: ... in tokens which were made for the use of the City, £43 17s. 0d.; ... to George Potter which he disbursed for making the City tokens, £20.

This is another record of the same £20; it evidently bought tokens with a face value more than double.

1652–53. Paid by the Keykeepers: William New for dispersing the City farthings, £2; to William New who was appointed to receive and pay out the City tokens, £10.

The £2 were probably William New's expenses, and £10 the cost of a second order.

³ D.H.B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, Vol. 1 (London, 1992), p. 212.

⁴ E.T. Leeds, 'Oxford Tradesmen's Tokens', in *Surveys and Tokens* ... edited by H.E. Salter (Oxford, 1923), pp. 355–453, [10] pls. (pp. 366–68).

⁵ Norweb numbers are published as follows: 1–840, *SCBI 31: The Norweb ... Tokens ... Part I* (London, 1984); 841–1789, *SCBI 38: The Norweb ... Tokens ... Part II*

(London, 1988); 1790–3003, *SCBI 43: The Norweb ... Tokens ... Part III* (London, 1992); 3004–4191, *SCBI 44: The Norweb ... Tokens ... Part IV* (London, 1993).

⁶ J.G. Milne, *Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth-Century Tokens* (Oxford, 1935), p. xv.

⁷ M.G. Hobson and H.E. Salter, *Oxford Council Acts 1626–1665* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 436–40. Printed records are copied exactly, except that dates are given in a standard form.

1653–54. Received by the Keykeepers: for tokens new coined for the use of the City, £17 16s. 0d. Paid by the Keykeepers: to Ald. Nixon which he disbursed in procuring the City tokens, £10.

Apparently a third order cost £10, and resulted in farthings with a face value eventually of £17 17s. 10d.

1654–55. Received by the Keykeepers: the profits of the City tokens for the second time any were sent for, £8 15s. 0d.; the profits of the City tokens the third time any were sent for, £7 17s. 10d.

Thus the receipts for the second issue (1652–53) should have been £10 plus £8 15s., and for the third issue (1653–54) £10 plus £7 17s. 10d., slightly higher than the £17 16s. recorded in the year. No payments for tokens are published.

1655–56. Received by the Keykeepers: for City tokens the fourth time any were sent for, £18 14s. 2d.; ... for City tokens, £17 15s. 0d.

There are no details of payments, but the fourth and presumably fifth order perhaps cost £10 each, as in previous years for similar receipts.

1656–57. Received by the Keykeepers: for City tokens, £21.

Possibly a sixth order is to be understood. Again there are no details of payments, but if the cost were again £10 the receipts were more than double.

That is the last mention of the City tokens in the published accounts, and one suspects that the Corporation quietly withdrew from token issuing. The City tokens had begun in 1652, the year in which dated private tokens first appeared in Oxford, and they were supported by a resolution that 'noe tokens shall be passable in this Citty . . . but such onlie as shall be sett forth by this Citty'. For the following years, 1653–1656, there is not a single dated Oxford token. However, in 1657 Thomas Dennis, one of the token-issuers of 1652, was elected mayor, and no fewer than eight issuers appeared with dated tokens, among them William Tonge, the then Chamberlain, and John Souch and John Bowell, who were bailiffs.

One may note from the published records also the rescinding as early as 4 November 1653 of the initial provision that the City tokens should be issued and redeemed at the rate of 21s. in tokens to 20s. in silver:

in future the value is to be 20s. in tokens barely for 20s. in silver and they are to be called in again at this value,

II. Other Costs and Receipts

*Poole*⁸

1667 Aug. 22. Whereas Moses Durell, mayor of this town and county, have by the consent of us whose names are hereunder subscribed disbursed the sum of ten pounds in copper farthings, with the stamp of the towne armes in them, with the inscription (for the mayor of the town and county of Poole), and hath received in farthings, at four farthings to the penny, the sum of Nineteen pounds and four shillings...

Receipts of £19 4s. are close to double the cost, as in Oxford. One obverse and two reverse dies are known (Norweb 933–34).

⁸ T. Snelling, *A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England* (London, 1766), appendix p. 6.

*Marlborough*⁹

	£	s	d
1669–69.			
Recd of the remainder of the farthinges	3	17	0
of more farthinges	9	12	4
of Mr Grinfield and for fines and farthinges	105	17	8
1669–70. Recd in farthinges	19	18	10
Pd . . . farthinges	9	19	5
Recd More in farthinges	20	3	9
Pd . . . for farthings	10	0	0
1671–72. Recd in farthinges	39	5	0
Pd for farthinges	19	12	6

In 1669–70 and 1671–72 the receipts in farthings were almost or exactly double the costs. 'G' Kempson distinguished the varieties 123a–b and 124a–b.¹⁰ Figures 2–5 show that 123a–b are from the same reverse, and that consequently four obverse and three reverse dies are known. All are dated 1668, so the figures have been merged.

*Sherborne*¹¹

<i>Paymts for Farthings</i>	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1669 April 29. Payd for Farthings which came to in ready money	11	0	0
1669 May 27. Payd for the Farthings xl. & for change 5s. in all	10	5	0
1669 Dec. 18. Payd for Farthings xl. & for change 5s. 8d. in all	10	5	8
<i>Farthings received</i>			
1669 April 29. Rec 60 li. Weight of Farthings at 3s. 8d. the pound which in tale came to	13	7	9
1669 May 27. Rec in Farthings	20	3	0
1669 Dec. 18. Rec in Farthings	22	0	0
<i>Receipts</i>			
1670 Aug. 5. Rec in Farthings	21	10	0
167[?] Aug. 5. Rec then in Farthings	21	5	8
<i>Paymts</i>			
1670 Aug. 5 Payd for Farthings to Wm Clarke in money xl. & for cariage 6s. 3d.	10	6	3
167[?] Aug. 5. Payd for Farthings to Wm Clarke in money xl. & for carriage 5s. 6d.	10	5	6
1672 Sep. 2 <i>The account of Robt Roe and John Miller Treors for the Stocke rayased by Farthings. . .</i>			
Rec in Farthings	19	17	11
Payd for Farthings to Wm Clarke	10	0	0

After the first order in April 1669 the receipts are more than double the cost, except for the sixth order when they are slightly lower. Three reverse dies are known. Their obverses are so simple that it has so far proved impossible to distinguish whether they are from the same die or from different dies (Norweb 966–68), and for present purposes the number of obverse and reverse dies is assumed to have been the same.

III. Particular Problems

Pounds-Worth

The late Cyril Rowe, former Deputy City Treasurer of Salisbury, considered the Salisbury order for 'five pounds worth of farthings' to have been an order for farthings costing £5, rather

⁹ E.G.H. K[empson], 'The Marlborough token coinage of the 17th century', *Report of the Marlborough College Natural History Society*, no. 101 (1961), 31–45 (pp. 34–35).

¹⁰ E.G.H. Kempson, *Wiltshire XVII-Century Tokens*

[Salisbury, 1978], p. 12.

¹¹ M. Weinstock, *Studies in Dorset History* (Dorchester, 1953), pp. 57–59.

than, as might be assumed, for farthings which would amount to £5 in nominal value. He seems to be right. Tokens were a novelty for corporations, uncomfortably placed in their accounts as money, and more naturally treated as a product or service which had to be paid for. Stamford, it is true, referred to the sum which the mayor had 'gott' by the town halfpence, but only after they had arrived; it was not the wording of an order. In Bewdley, where a figure was given for nominal value, again it was after a quantity had been produced, and it was done apologetically: the quantity amounted to £30, 'admitting them current coine of the value of each of them of a silver half peny'.

The same understanding that figures refer to costs is applied to other corporations where there is not an unambiguous statement of expenditure: Boston with its order for '£20 of. . . halfpence'; Lincoln, ordering in July 1669 'Twenty pounds' worth more', the order in May 1669 having been for so many halfpennies as £20 will purchase; Nottingham, with its order for halfpence to the value of £15; and Southampton, ordering £20 worth. The applicability of this may be most doubtful in the case of Dorchester's order to procure £20 in copper farthings; conceivably it was minuted before the possibility of a profit was recognised.

*Bristol*¹²

Only two unconnected references to quantities have been found:

1653 July 9. Paid the 9th day to Alderman Jackson 14s. 6d., being paid for brasse monie being soe much hee had in 300 li. received by Mr Dyer.

Thanks to the late John Brand it was possible to understand Alderman Jackson's 14s. 6d. as a 5-lb bag out of a 300-lb barrel, so that the specification is likely to have been 140 farthings to the pound.

1653 Oct. 1. Paid the j^o of October 1653 to Alderman Aldworth 65 li. 18s. for farthings for the City.

A cost of £65 18s. for 300 lb of farthings would be excessive. Originally the cost was attributed to two 300-lb barrels, two substantive issues having been identified within the 1652 series of Bristol farthings.¹³ However, they are respectively from 14+10 and 14+14 dies (new dies), and there was in addition an early group of 2+2 dies, and an undated group of 1+2 dies. Lyme Regis (see below) paid £21 17s. 9d in 1668–9, probably for one of its two barrels, which suggests that Richard Aldworth paid not for two barrels but for three. Three 300-lb barrels would reduce the cost per lb to 17½d., which is very close to the 16d. per lb allowed on copper supplied until 1649 as alloy for the coinage.¹⁴ Finally, 900 lb in farthings amounts to £131 5s., extraordinarily close to double the cost as for Oxford etc. For all these reasons it is now suggested that Bristol farthings in c.1652 amounted to three barrels of 300 lb each.

*Gloucester*¹⁵

The first four passages below were quoted twenty years ago in a paper which examined the Gloucester farthings dated 1657, but produced also in 1659 and 1662.¹⁶ The identification of

¹² Bristol Record Office, 04026(23) Mayor's Audits 1652–5, pp. 91, 143. For this and other records transcribed from manuscript, spelling and capitalisation have been preserved, but abbreviated words are extended silently (none is ambiguous), and punctuation has been modernised; thorn is printed as 'th'; and superscript letters have been lowered.

¹³ SCBI 38: *The Norweb . . . Tokens . . . Part II . . .* (London,

1988), pp. xv–xvi, xxxi–xxxii.

¹⁴ W. Fleetwood, *Chronicon Preciosum* (London, 1745), appendix, p. 17.

¹⁵ Gloucestershire Record Office, City of Gloucester Minutes 1656–86, pp. 18, 27, 102, 230, 411.

¹⁶ R.H. Thompson, 'Gloucester Farthings, 1657–1662', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 77–91, pl. vii (p. 84).

eight obverse and nine reverse dies, and their sequence and allocation to three issues, need no modification. Dr Brand, however, with his sensitivity to the rhythms of monetary production, felt there was something wrong with the application of the documents to the three issues, which resulted in costs of £10, £30 and £30, but a coin survival in the population surveyed of 51, 45 and 36; in theory the numbers should have approached 1:3:3. A solution to this problem can now be offered.

On 19 February 1656[–7] the Common Council of Gloucester agreed that:

Mr Edward Nourse, a Member of this house, shall take care that farthings may be provided for exchange of moneys at the charge of the Chamber of this City soe as the same exceed not the summe of Twenty pounds. . .

On 30 April 1657, two and a half months later, the minutes read:

Whereas there was Twenty pounds to be layd out for Farthings according to a former act It is agreed at this House That the summe of Tenn pounds shalbe layd out for Tokens. . .

This order for £10 was originally understood to be executing what was agreed in February, taking 'Whereas' in its common use of introducing a statement of fact in contrast or opposition to that expressed elsewhere. This is sense 3 in the *OED*. Sense 2 is the use of 'Whereas' to introduce a preamble or recital in a formal document, meaning something like 'In consideration of the fact that'; so that in April 1657 it would have been citing the precedent for another decision, for expenditure of an additional £10, making £30 in all. The three issues would then have cost the same, and both the relative die numbers, and the relative coin survival in the sample, would look more acceptable. Sense 2 for 'Whereas' is to be preferred.

The other records of amounts follow:

1659 July 7. Mr Edward Nourse shall take care to lay out Thirty pounds for the procuring of farthings or tokens. . .

1662 May 23. Thirty pounds shall by layd out by the Stewards for the making of tokens or Farthings. . .

1669 May 4. Mr Nicholas Lane shall lay out Fifty pounds for procuring of Farthings. . .

1672 Dec. 13. He layd out more than fifty pounds. . .

For 1669 only one obverse and two reverse dies are known (Norweb 1659–60).

Great Yarmouth

No records, unfortunately, are known for Great Yarmouth, which appears to have had the highest number of dies after Bristol (Norweb 3273–98). The farthings were an initiative of the Overseers:

6 June 1667. Att this Assembly it is approved of what the Overseers have done in gitting a stamp for farthings for payment of the poore; And that the Overseers from time to time shall give [silver *struck through*] for those farthings the value in silver to any that shall bring the same unto them to be changed.

On 12 November following it was ordered that Messrs Thaxter, Huntington and Goore, or any two of them, take the account of the late Overseers of the last year (Thaxter and Huntington being the Bailiffs, *i.e.* chief magistrates); and notice was given to Mr Patridge to mind his partners forthwith.¹⁷ The Overseers' accounts, however, do not appear in the Borough Audit Books, and their own accounts do not exist between 1652 and 1727.¹⁸

¹⁷ Norfolk Record Office, Y/C19/8 Great Yarmouth Assembly Book 1662–1680, ff. 83v, 91v. This volume was searched for any record of amounts to f. 204, also Y/C19/20 Waste Assembly Book 1669–1683 (to f. 59v), Y/C27/2 Audit Book 1620–1678, Y/C39/2 Churchwardens' Accounts 1637–1681, Y/C18/7 Book of Entries 1635–1765, and Y/S1/3

Sessions Book 1651–1679 (to f. 259). The Norwich Central Library was burned out on 1 August 1994, and the Norfolk Record Office in the basement reportedly suffered water damage.

¹⁸ P. Rutledge, *Guide to the Great Yarmouth Borough Records* (Norwich, 1972), p. 23.

IV. Other Corporations

Only extracts recording amounts are printed below, but abridgment of the passages has been avoided as far as possible. As before, for records transcribed from manuscript, spelling and capitalisation are preserved, but abbreviated words are extended silently (none are ambiguous); punctuation has been modernised; thorn is printed as 'th'; and superscript letters have been lowered. Printed records (other than Andover's) are copied exactly except that dates are given in a standard form.

Andover¹⁹

1665 April 25. paid for a Stamp 5s., for farthings 40s.	2	5	0
1666 July 14. received by farthins	3	17	0
1667 (?). rec. of farthings by Mr Poppingay	22	8	1
rec. in farthings by Thos fidar	12	19	6
paid to Mr Poppingay in money	10	0	0
paid to Mr feildar	5	0	0
1667 Sept. 18. received of the farthings more than paid	0	0	7
Paied for Farthings which came from London 5 li. and for the Stamp 15s. and for Carigg 1s. on the whole	5	16	0

No farthings are dated 1665, but that record may refer to the rare 1664 farthing (Wetton, Andover 1b).²⁰ There are no farthings dated 1667, but two types and at least four varieties are dated 1666 (Wetton, Andover 1c; Norweb 1802–4), so the figures have been amalgamated for die calculations. The quantities received in 1667 are more than double what may be the costs of the same orders.

Beccles²¹

1670 March 8. Ten pounds were granted for procuring farthings for the common use of the poor.

The Beccles farthings appear to be from a single pair of dies. A specimen is illustrated in, for example, Seaby, *British Tokens and their Values* (London, 1984), p. 51, and the dies themselves have been published recently.²²

Bewdley²³

1668. Whereas the eight-square peeces of brass, stamped on the [one] side with the armes of the said Borough and by an inscription on the other side entituled the wardens' half peny of Bewdley, upon experience are found convenient for the more ready change of money and usefull in point of trade and commerce, especially to the poorer sort of the same Borough; and whereas the quantity thereof already stamped (admitting them current coine of the value of each of them of a silver half peny) amounts to thirtie pounds.

If Williamson's obverse and reverse are transposed, the Norweb Collection has impressions from a single obverse and two reverse dies. One of the octagonal halfpennies is illustrated in Spink Coin Auctions, *Sale no. 19* (1982), pl. 15.

¹⁹ A.C. Raper, 'The token coniage [i.e. coinage] of Andover', *Test Valley & Border Anthology*, 7 (1975), 143–50 (p. 144). Abbreviated words have here been expanded where the lines were not upset.

²⁰ J.L. Wetton, *The Hampshire Seventeenth-Century Traders' Tokens* (Lymington, 1964).

²¹ W. Boyne, *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*

(London, 1858), p. 410.

²² R.H. Thompson, 'Mechanisation at the 17th-century London mint', *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 3 (1993), pp. 143–53 (pl. 2).

²³ W.A. Cotton, *The Coins, Tokens and Medals of Worcestershire* (Bromsgrove, 1885), p. 54.

*Boston*²⁴

1667 Oct. 4. Mathew Browne ordered to send for £20 of brass or copper halfpence. . . .

Norweb 2909–11 exhibit three obverse dies and a single reverse die.

*Dorchester*²⁵

1668[–9] Feb. 5. This day ordered and desired that Mr Jasper Samwayes, one of this Company, doe speedily procuer Twenty pounds in copper Farthings. . . .

This is ambiguous, but is taken to be an order for £20-worth; possibly it was minuted before the possibility of a profit was recognised. Norweb 882–893 exhibit nine obverses and eight reverses, and a ninth reverse came to light in the Pegg Collection, Spink Coin Auctions, *Sale no. 19* (1982), lot 93.

*Dover*²⁶

1668 March 30. Whereas, according to a late decree, there is provided and put in the chamberlain's hands the value of xxxij [pounds *understood*] or thereabouts in farthings and halfpence. . . .

Norweb 2505–7 are from three pairs of dies, two pairs being for halfpence.

*Evesham*²⁷

c.1666. Paid to the present Mayor £11 10s. for the advance upon the settinge out of Farthings & halfpence.

1668. Paid by the late Mayor, cost the present mayor, the sum of Sixteen pounds, being by him advanced in his mayorality upon the settinge out of Farthings & halfpence. . . .

1672. Forty nine pounds was paid in Farthings and halfpence. . . .

Receipts of £55-worth at the 'Oxford' rate for 1666 and 1668 would find support in the 1672 record. The Norweb Collection has three types from four obverse and four reverse dies. One type is illustrated by Dickinson.²⁸ See Addendum 2.

*Henley*²⁹

1669 May 13. The Wardens to procure a stamp for the Corporation like that on the Borough Seal, and procure to be immediately stamped as many farthings and halfpence of copper as can be bought with £7 10s. 0d. of silver.

Three obverse and three reverse dies are now known, the halfpence being from two die-linked pairs (Norweb 3642–45). Two surviving dies have been illustrated.³⁰

*Lincoln*³¹

1669 May 22. It is ordered and agreed upon that one stamp. . . shall be forthwith provided and gotten, and so many halfpennies stamped therewith as twenty pounds will purchase. . . .

²⁴ J. Simpson, *A List of the Lincolnshire series of Tradesmen's Tokens & Town Pieces*. . . (London, pref. 1872), p. 4.

²⁵ C.H. Mayo, *The Municipal Records of the Borough of Dorchester, Dorset* (Exeter, 1908), pp. 510–11.

²⁶ Snelling (above, note 8), appendix p. 6.

²⁷ Cotton (above, note 23), p. 75.

²⁸ M. Dickinson, *Seventeenth-Century Tokens of the British Isles* (London, 1986), pl. 4.

²⁹ H.S. Gill, 'Addenda to Devonshire seventeenth century tokens not described in Boyne's work', *NC*, 3rd series, 1 (1881), 162–69, pl. vii (p. 164).

³⁰ Thompson (above, note 22), pl. 1.

³¹ A. Smith, *A Catalogue of the Town and Trade Tokens of Lincolnshire issued in the Seventeenth Century* (Horncastle, 1931), pp. 25–26.

1669 July 5. Twenty pounds' worth more of the city's halfpennies ordered to be procured and stamped.
 1669 July 24. Five pounds' worth of farthings of yellow brass to be procured. . . .
 1669 Nov. 20. Fifteen pounds' worth more of halfpennies and five pounds' worth of farthings to be procured.
 1670 June 15. Ten pounds' worth more of brass halfpennies to be procured.

For the Lincoln city farthings only a single pair of dies seems to be known (Norweb 2951). For the halfpennies Norweb 2952–54 exhibit three reverse dies, but their obverses are of such simple design that it has not proved possible to distinguish whether they are from the same die or from different dies. For present purposes the number of obverse and reverse dies is assumed to have been the same.

Lyme Regis

The orders reported by George Roberts,³² for one barrel of town farthings in 1669 and a second barrel six months later, are not among the Orders of the Lyme Regis Mayor and Council, Dorset County Record Office ref. DC/LR/D1/1, D1/2, and D1/3a, and they have yet to be found. However, the Mayor's Accounts 1662–99 (DC/LR/G1/3, pp. 53, 55, 57) include the following, Solomon Andrew being a sometime mayor:

1668–9. The account of Edward Edwards.	£	s	d
Received for farthings	25	14	4
Paid Mr William Smith to the Account of Mr Andrew for moneys layd out for Farthings	21	0	0
Paid Mr Andrew more		17	9
1669–70. The Account of Robert Coad.			
Received of Mr Andrew in Farthings	45	8	3
And for the profit of the same	8	0	6

On p. 60 a faint and partly illegible entry mentions '15 li. said to be received of Mr Solomon Andrew in page 33 [=57] which was not received, but said Mr Andrew is still accountable for the same to the Corporation. . . .'; and likewise on p. 61 an entry for £5 13s. 6d. is almost illegible. The same transactions appear with more detail in Fugitive Pieces III (DC/LR/N23/3, Folio 18, pp. 1, 3):

1669–70. Mr Robert Coad his Account: The Receipts.			
To mony Received of Mr Solomon Andrew In farthings	45	8	3
For the profite of the two Barrells of farthings	8	0	0
			[sic?].
The Disburstments.			
To mony paid mr Andrews the farthings the sum of	15	0	0
More paid mr Andreus towards farthings	2	7	8
ordred mr Andrews to Receiue of mr Walter Tucker toward the farthings	3	0	7
More paid mr Andrews towards the farthings		5	3

Thus the £45 8s. 3d. which, according to Roberts, both barrels cost, was actually the amount received in farthings in 1669–70. The cost of a barrel may have been £21 17s. 9d. in 1668–9, a little less in the following year. All the tokens are dated 1669, so the two years have been combined in Table 1. The Hanham collection and the Norweb Collection (920–925) had a total of nineteen specimens, a rather small number on which to rely for the numbers of dies: four obverses, six reverses.

³² G. Roberts, *The Social History of the People of the Southern Counties of England*. . . (London, 1856), p. 204.

*Northampton*³³

1652–3 March 24. The Chamberlins of this town shall forthwith for the benifit of the poor disburse fortie shillings for farthin tokens. . . .

The chamberlains for the year 1652–53 were Richard Rands and, continuing from the previous year, William Selbie.³⁴ The farthing tokens ordered are believed to be those from the earlier undated die-pairing (Norweb 3399) which bear the initials of their surnames, the senior chamberlain first.

*Norwich*³⁵

1667 Nov. 14. It is agreed that Christopher Jay Esqr be sent to to send for two hundred weight of Farthings more. . . .

The weights of 47 Norwich farthings in the Norweb Collection range from 2.30 to 6.46 grams, with a median of 3.61 grams or 55.7 grains. This average would give, to the nearest whole number, 126 coins to the pound avoirdupois. At this rate 2 cwt would amount to £29 8s.; but more than what is not recorded.

1667 Dec. 2. That there be as many farthings more stamped with the City Stamp as will amount to one hundred pounds. . . .

This newly-discovered reference is taken to be 100 lb weight, so £13 2s. 6d., from which the cost has been calculated at the ‘Oxford’ rate.

1668 June 20. That Mr Towneclerke doe write to Mr Jay about Fobbings[?] lease, and 400 wayte of Farthings.

1668 June 29. It is ordered that Edwin Bensly the Under chamberlyn doe dispose the 200 waite of Farthings that came last Satterday from Mr Jay at London. . . .

1668 July 8. It is ordered that Mr Town-clerk doe wright to Mr Ald. Jay at London to send downe 400 weight of Farthings hither by the first opportunity.

The decisions made in June–July 1668 need not have resulted in more than 4 cwt ordered, hypothetically £58 16s.-worth.

1668 Nov. 25. That Mr Dearing be sent to to get 100 li. of farthings new stamped, & that he goe to Mr Jay for the Stamp.

1668 Dec. 23. That Mr Townclarke doe write to Mr Deeringe this Post to send downe the quantity of Farthings formerly wrot for of perfect Copper and noe difference or distinction whatsoever, only wheras in the former ther is the yeare of our Lord is 1667, the yeare of our Lord in theise is to be 1668, and to be sent downe presently.

To judge from this wording the farthings ordered in June–July 1668 may have been dated 1667. Therefore the orders have been related to the dies of the 1667 and 1668 farthings combined (Norweb 3108–19). From the quantities received the hypothetical costs have been calculated at the ‘Oxford’ rate.

*Nottingham*³⁶

1669 Oct. 21. Ordered that Mr Ralph Edge and Mr John Parker shall provide halfe pence, stampd with the Armes of this Corporacion, to the value of 15 li.

Three pairs of dies were published by Preston-Morley and Pegg.³⁷

³³ W.C. Wells, *Seventeenth-century Tokens of Northamptonshire* (London, 1914), p. 74.

³⁴ Northampton Corporation, *The Records of the Borough of Northampton* (Northampton, 1898), ii. 568.

³⁵ Norfolk Record Office, Norwich City Records 16b: Mayor’s Court Books, Vol. 24, ff. 51v, 76v, 77v, 79, 95, 98; and for the passage dated 2 Dec. 1667, Norwich City Records

16c: Assembly Minute Books, 1665–1682, f. 17v.

³⁶ Nottingham Corporation, *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, Vol. V (London, 1900), p. 315.

³⁷ P. Preston-Morley and H. Pegg, *A Revised Survey of the Seventeenth Century Tokens of Nottinghamshire* ([London], 1983), pp. 16–17 and pl. 6, nos. 55–57.

Peterborough³⁸

1668[–9] Feb. 11. Ordered that the Towne Baleifes of Peterburgh doe lay out of the towne money in his [*sic*] hands the Summe of ten poundes for the stampe and coynage of the publique halfe penny. . . .

1670 May 10. Ordered that Mr Mortimor doe forthwith pay into the handes of Mr Gibbon the summe of Twenty poundes who is desired with all speed to send the same to London to be layd out in a stampe of Towne halfe pence. . . .

1671[–2] Jan. 12. Ordered that Twenty poundes be laid out for more halfe pennyys. . . .

The hypothetical quantities resulting from this expenditure have been combined in the Tables, since the 1669 halfpenny is die-linked with that dated 1670, and none is dated 1672. Three obverse and five reverse dies are known (Norweb 3430–34).

Rye

1668–9 March 20. Paid William Oake for farthings & per the bill	3	1	6
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1669 Aug 28. Received in farthings at twice from John Burkes	9	16	0
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These entries wre printed by L.A. Vidler, 'A numismatic history of Rye', *BNJ* 22 (1934–37), 247–56 (p. 253). His source turns out to be the Land Chamberlain's Rough Accounts amongst the Rye MSS, now ref. 61/65 in the East Sussex Record Office, from which 'per' has been inserted and 'Burkes' substituted for 'Burket'. The phrase 'at twice' seems to have no particular significance in accountancy, and may mean receipts with a nominal value of twice the cost, as found above for Oxford, Poole, Marlborough, Sherborne, Bristol and Andover. One pair of 1668 farthing dies is represented in the Norweb Collection, as illustrated by J.B. Caldecott, 'The Penfold bequest: coins and tokens', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 83 (1943), 101–14 (p. 113, fig. 153). A farthing in the British Museum from another pair of dies is described by Vidler.

Salisbury³⁹

1658 Oct. 30. It is further ordered that Mr William Stone and Mr James Heely do now in London take course for stamping of five poundes worth of farthings. . . .

It is unclear how this order relates to the next.

1658–9 Jan. 6. Mr Thomas Abbot is desired to procure a stamp for brass farthings to pass within this city and to disburse in such farthings £5. . . .

All the tokens are dated 1659, and the Norweb Collection has three obverse and three reverse dies. An example is illustrated by Rowe, p. 77.

Southampton⁴⁰

1669 Nov. 26. The Mayor should send for £20 worth of halfpence and farthings. . . .

There seems to be only a single pair of dies for each denomination (Wetton, pl. 17H and J; Norweb 2002–3).

Stamford⁴¹

1668 Oct. 8. Whereas Daniell Wigmore, gent., major of this Borough. hath gott the some of Tenn pounds threc[?] for the use of the towne, by the towne halfe pence lately come from London, It is therefore orderd and agreed that hee shall send the moneys agayne to London for more halfe penys. . . .

³⁸ W.T. Mellows, *Peterborough Local Administration* (Kettering, 1937), pp. 172, 176, 181.

³⁹ C.M. Rowe, *Salisbury's Local Coinage* (Salisbury, 1966), pp. 17–18.

⁴⁰ Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part III: The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn* (London, 1887), p. 31.

⁴¹ Stamford Town Hall, Borough of Stamford Hall Books.

Whether he did so is unknown. A quantity of £10 3s. in halfpence may derive from no more than two obverse dies and one reverse (Norweb 2988–9), for the variety supposed by Sheppard to have ten chequers may be the same as that with eleven chequers, the last of which can be faint.⁴²

*Weymouth*⁴³

1669 Nov. 5. Agreede uppon. Thatt Mister Deputie Maior bee pleased to laie outt Tenn pounds in Farthynges....

Only a single pair of dies seems to be known (Norweb 993).

*Wisbech*⁴⁴

1668 Nov. 20. The Town Balife is ordered to lay oute five or ten pounds in farthings at London, having them made with the toune armes upon them.

1669 Feb. 28. Itt is this day ordred that the Toune Ballif and Mr Richard Harrison dose lay oute twenty pound in halfpennys....

Strangely, no such tokens have been identified, and consequently Wisbech has been omitted from the table.

*Worcester*⁴⁵

1667. The sum of £50 be dispensed, on making farthings, for the necessary exchange....

One obverse and two reverse dies are in the Norweb Collection, a number which seems more appropriate to an expenditure one-tenth the size. An example is illustrated in Spink Coin Auctions, *Sale no. 19* (1982), pl. 17, lot 283 (the first).

Conclusion

In the last column of Table 1, taking the middle of the range where halfpence and farthings were ordered together, there are forty-two figures for die output. Their range (Table 2) is very wide, from 2,436 based on Stamford obverses, to 96,000 based on the Gloucester (1669) or Worcester obverse. If the upper and lower quartiles are marked, the range including those marked figures is still 6,400 to 19,200; the median falls at 12,208/14,400.

Of the corporations which might be selected as more reliable, Bristol with sufficient dies for statistical purposes lies in the lower quartile, and would do so even if the numbers of dies were reduced by the omission of the undated and early group. Marlborough however, with records of quantities both ordered and received, lies in the upper quartile, as does the Oxford figure based on reverses.

It therefore seems best to concentrate on the mean, which overall is 19,355 pieces per die. Thus an issuer with a single pair of dies is unlikely to have had more than 19,355 tokens. (There may be something amiss with the data for Gloucester 1669 and Worcester). Conversely, more than one pair of dies for an issuer suggests more than £20-worth of farthings, or £40-worth of halfpence, if the first dies were of average life and had been used to capacity. This is probably the best answer that can be given to the question raised at the beginning.

A useful by-product of this exercise has been the recognition of a consistent 1:2 ratio between what a corporation spent on farthings and the value it received, for Bristol and Oxford no less than for Andover, Poole, Marlborough and Sherborne; and Rye may preserve an awareness of this ratio at the time.

⁴² T. Sheppard, *Lincolnshire Tokens* (Hull, 1911), p. 137, no. 234. The variety is repeated by Smith (above, note 31), p. 43, no. 251.

⁴³ G.A. Ellis, *The History and Antiquities of the Borough*

and Town of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis (Weymouth, 1829), p. 328.

⁴⁴ Boyne (above, note 21), p. 30.

⁴⁵ Cotton (above, note 23), p. 98.

TABLE 1. Corporation Tokens with documented amounts, the number of dies, and output per die.

Corporation	Date	Denom	Net Cost			Quantity			Dies	Output
Andover	1665	¼d	2	0	0	*4	0	0	71+1	3840
Andover	1666	¼d	*2	0	0	3	17	0	≥4+4	9415
Andover:Mr P	1667	¼d	?10	0	0	22	8	1		
Andover:Mr F	1667	¼d	?5	0	0	12	19	6		
Beccles	1670	¼d	10	0	0	*20	0	0	1+1	19200
Bewdley	1668	¼d	*15	0	0	30	0	0	1+2	14400+7200
Boston	1667	¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0	3+1	6400+19200
Bristol	1653	¼d	65	18	0	*131	5	0	31+28	4065+4500
Dorchester	1669	¼d	?20	0	0	*40	0	0	9+9	4267
Dover	1668	½d, ¼d	*16	0	0	±32	0	0	3+3	5120/10240
Evesham	1666?	½d, ¼d	11	10	0	*23	0	0	4+4	6600/13200
Evesham	1668	½d, ¼d	16	0	0	*32	0	0		
Gloucester	1657 Feb	¼d	≤20	0	0	*40	0	0	8+9	21600+19200
Gloucester	1657 Apr	¼d	10	0	0	*20	0	0		
Gloucester	1659	¼d	30	0	0	*60	0	0		
Gloucester	1662	¼d	30	0	0	*60	0	0	1+2	96000+48000
Gloucester	1669	¼d	50	0	0	*100	0	0		
Henley	1669	½d, ¼d	7	10	0	*15	0	0	3+3	2400/4800
Lincoln	1669 May	¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0	73+3	20800
Lincoln	1669 Jly	¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0		
Lincoln	1669 Nov	¼d	15	0	0	*30	0	0		
Lincoln	1670	¼d	10	0	0	*20	0	0	1+1	19200
Lincoln	1669 Jly	¼d	5	0	0	*10	0	0		
Lincoln	1669 Nov	¼d	5	0	0	*10	0	0		
Lyme Regis	1668-69	¼d	21	17	9	25	14	4	4+6	17071+11381
Lyme Regis	1669-70	¼d	20	13	6	45	8	3		
Marlborough	1668-69a	¼d	?3	17	0	*7	14	0		
Marlborough	1668-69b	¼d	?9	12	4	*20	0	0	4+3	25699+34265
Marlborough	1668-69c	¼d	?0	7	8					
Marlborough	1669-70a	¼d	9	19	5	19	18	10		
Marlborough	1669-70b	¼d	10	0	0	20	3	9		
Marlborough	1671-72	¼d	19	12	6	39	5	0	≥1+1	3840
Northampton	1653	¼d	2	0	0	*4	0	0		
Norwich	1667 Nov	¼d	>*14	14	0	>*29	8	0	6+9	18312+12208
Norwich	1667 Dec	¼d	*6	11	3	*13	2	6		
Norwich	1668 Jly	¼d	*29	8	0	*58	16	0		
Norwich	1668 Nov	¼d	*6	11	3	*13	2	6	3+3	4800
Nottingham	1669	¼d	15	0	0	*30	0	0		
Oxford	1651-2	¼d	20	0	0	43	17	0	11+4	12039+33108
Oxford	1652-3	¼d	?10	0	0	?18	15	0		
Oxford	1653-4	¼d	10	0	0	17	17	10		
Oxford	1654-5	¼d	*10	0	0	18	14	2		
Oxford	1655-6	¼d	*10	0	0	17	15	0		
Oxford	1656-7	¼d	*10	0	0	21	0	0		
Peterborough	1669	¼d	10	0	0	*20	0	0	3+5	16000+9600
Peterborough	1670	¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0		
Peterborough	1672	¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0		
Poole	1667	¼d	10	0	0	19	4	0	1+2	18432+9216
Rye	1669 Mar	¼d	3	1	6	*6	3	0	2+2	9552
Rye	1669 Aug	¼d	24	18	0	9	16	0		
Salisbury	1658	¼d	25	0	0	*10	0	0	3+3	6400
Salisbury	1659	¼d	5	0	0	*10	0	0		
Sherborne	1669 Apr	¼d	11	0	0	13	7	9	73+3	37829
Sherborne	1669 May	¼d	10	0	0	20	3	0		
Sherborne	1669 Dec	¼d	10	0	0	22	0	0		
Sherborne	1670a	¼d	10	0	0	21	10	0		
Sherborne	1670b	¼d	10	0	0	21	5	8		
Sherborne	1672	¼d	10	0	0	19	17	11		
Southampton	1669	½d, ¼d	20	0	0	*40	0	0	2+2	9600/19200
Stamford	1668	¼d				≥10	3	0	2+1	2436+4872
Weymouth	1669	¼d	10	0	0	*20	0	0	1+1	19200
Worcester	1667	¼d	50	0	0	*100	0	0	1+2	96000+48000

NOTES TO TABLE 1

'Net Cost' excludes any identified costs of dies, transport, etc. An asterisk precedes calculated or hypothetical figures. Where halfpennies and farthings were ordered together the 'Output' column has the range between two figures, one if all had been supplied in halfpence, and another if all had been in farthings.

TABLE 2. Die Outputs for Corporation Tokens (from Table 1).

	96000 Gloucester 1669
	96000 Worcester
	48000 Gloucester 1669
	48000 Worcester
	37829 Sherborne
	34265 Marlborough
	33108 Oxford
	25699 Marlborough
	21600 Gloucester
	20800 Lincoln $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	19200 Beccles
	19200 Boston
	19200 Gloucester
	19200 Lincoln
	19200 Weymouth
	18432 Poole
	18312 Norwich
	17071 Lyme Regis
	16000 Peterborough
	14400 Bewdley
median	{ 14400 Southampton
	{ 12208 Norwich
	12039 Oxford
	11381 Lyme Regis
	9900 Evesham
	9600 Peterborough
	9552 Rye
	9415 Andover
	9216 Poole
	7680 Dover
	7200 Bewdley
	6400 Boston
	6400 Salisbury
	4872 Stamford
	4800 Nottingham
	4500 Bristol
	4267 Dorchester
	4065 Bristol
	3840 Andover
	3840 Northampton
	3600 Henley
	2436 Stamford

Fig. 1. Oxford, City (the Mayor). 1652[–7] Oxford Token:

A1 = Leeds 1 = Norweb 3665
B1 = Leeds 2 = Norweb 3666
C2 = Leeds 9 = Norweb 3667
D3 = Leeds 7 = Norweb 3668
E3 = Leeds 8 = Norweb 3669
F3 = Leeds 3 = Norweb 3670
G3 = Leeds 4 = Norweb 3671
H3 = Leeds 5 = Norweb 3672
I3 = Leeds 6 = Norweb 3673
J4 = Leeds 10 = Norweb 3674
K4 = Leeds 12 = Norweb 3675

Obvs. A, B, F, G, and I are from Ashmolean Museum specimens; the remainder R.H. Thompson.

Figs. 2–5. Marlborough, Borough, 1668[–71] Marlborough Farthings. On Figs. 2–3 the tower is battlemented of two embrasures, and specimens have a diameter of 21mm; on Figs. 4–5 it is battlemented of three embrasures, and diameters are 20mm.

Fig. 2 = Kempson 123a. Obv. initial mark mullet followed by A. . . Same rev. die as Fig. 3.

Fig. 3 = Kempson 123b. Obv. initial mark mullet followed by [stop]A. . . Same rev. die as Fig. 2.

Fig. 4 = Kempson 124a. Rosette initial mark both sides.

Fig. 5 = Kempson 124b. Pierced sexfoil initial mark both sides.

All from specimens in the Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Devizes.

ADDENDA

1. The six Oxford issues documented raise the possibility of administrative rather than technical causes for the unusual die ratio, if some of the mayors ordered a new obverse die to mark an issue in their name, while continuing with an old reverse die. In consequence all obverse dies would not have been used to their full capacity, and the output figure for Oxford obverse dies would be artificially low.

2. The publication of S. K. Roberts, *Evesham Borough Records of the Seventeenth Century, 1605–1687* ([Worcester], 1994) modifies the dating of the three records published for Evesham, and adds this further example of an approximately 1:2 ratio between costs and receipts (no. 438):

1666 Aug. 24. The mayor has spent £11 11s. 0d. in procuring the farthings and halfpence. The value of the coins struck is £23 8s. 6d.

No clear picture is immediately apparent from the remaining records which include amounts (nos. 441, 448, 452, 493, cf. p. xvi).

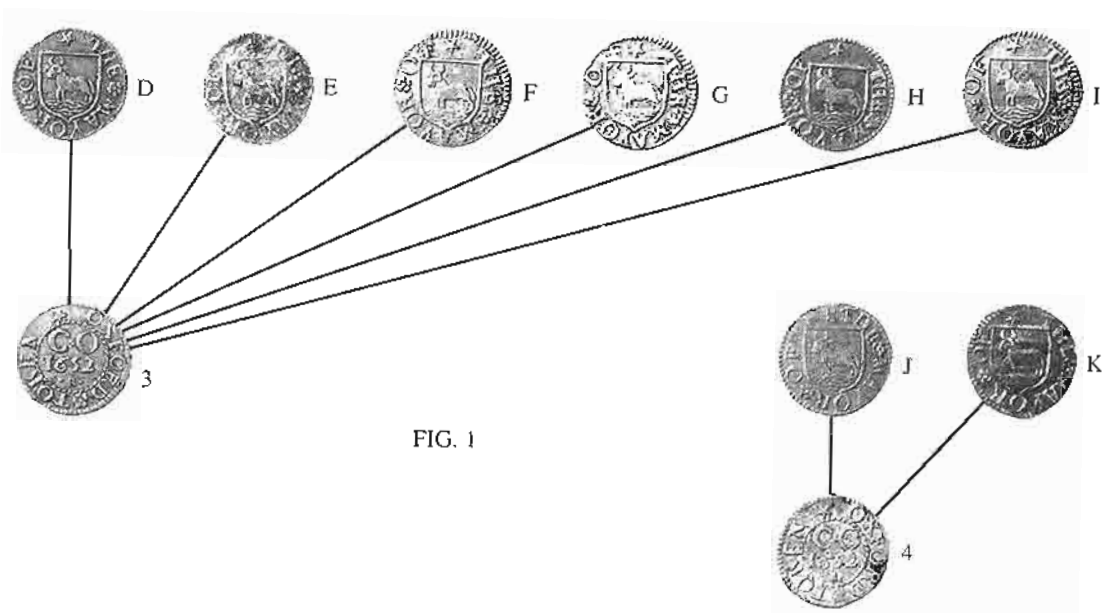
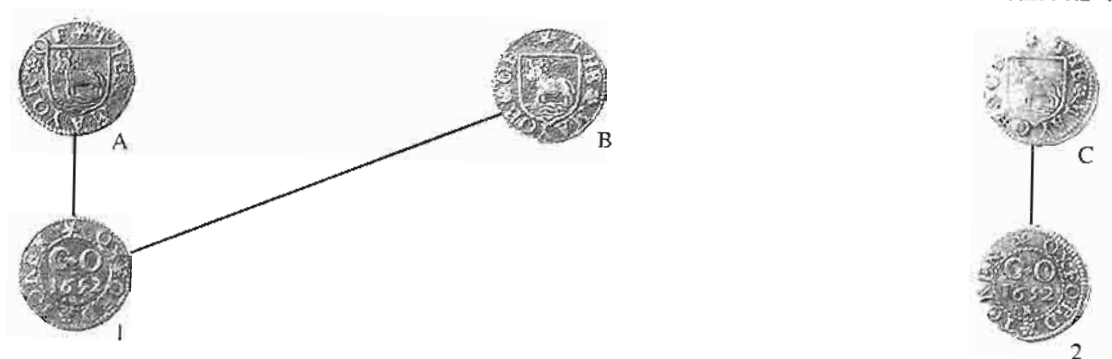


FIG. 1

