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THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC  
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THE  
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AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
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EDITED BY  
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.,  
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## SOME NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS NUMISMATICALLY EXEMPLIFIED.

BY F. STROUD, OF LINCOLN'S INN, *Recorder of Tewkesbury.*

**M**ONEY "is as it were the Sanguification of the Commonwealth," so said Hobbes in his "*Leviathan*, or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill." Money is the test of character, as well nationally as individually. It reveals the minor workings of the individual mind and in its larger aspect, it exemplifies the characteristics of the past. In this view the science of numismatics is the science of life. It recalls and illustrates history. This has been quite recently shown to the members of this Society—firstly, by the President's paper on "Treasure Trove" read at our Anniversary Meeting of 1904<sup>1</sup>; secondly, by that of Dr. Nelson on "Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion, 1642-9,"<sup>2</sup> read on January 18th, 1905. Those who had the advantage of hearing those papers will recall them with much pleasure. Each, in its own graphic line, brought before us phases in our English history of dramatic and abiding interest, whilst, by the way, the trenchant criticisms by our President on certain dealings of the British Museum were much enjoyed and remain a possession.

One point of national character which is numismatically illustrated I venture to emphasize, I mean the Idiotcy of England. No doubt that word "Idiotcy" sounds harshly, and were I to attempt to apply it to any one in particular, it could hardly be done in a perfectly agreeable manner. But the connotation of the word, like the value of forgotten coins, has got blurred over. We are always losing good and useful words, as some of us have lost the knowledge of (and perhaps never knew) the value of many a coin which was once current in the realm.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, 333.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in this *Journal*.

Thus "genteel" is quite out of date, and yet what other one word can be used for the idea expressed by the French adjective *gentil*? So "culprit" is generally used as indicating a criminal person, whereas its real meaning is, a person on his or her trial for an alleged offence. So of "Idiot" I find this written by Dr. Smyth Palmer in his *Folk and their Word-Lore* (p. 55); "Neddy, an ass or a simpleton, commonly used in dialect English, has no connection with Edward (familiarily Ned and Neddy), but stands for an Eddy, an *Idiot*, which is the Old English *eddi, eadi, eadig*, innocent, happy, blessed." But I am rather using the word in the sense of a man with one prevailing idea which dominates him, and am hoping that some of the Greek scholars amongst our members will be able to supply an etymology which will justify the meaning now sought to be attributed to the word for the purpose of this address, a meaning sometimes imperfectly suggested in the doggerel:

One thing at a time, and that done well,  
Is a very good thing as I can tell.

A wholesome doctrine that, and one which is characteristic of our race, but which we not infrequently push to extremes.

Probably one of the prevailing ideas of the British mind is a love of utility at the sacrifice, if need be and often without feeling any need, of beauty. Thus I think it would take a bold man to say that at any period of our history the current coinage was ever distinguished by its art. When one looks on this specimen of a Greek stater and



PHILIP OF MACEDON,  
PROTOTYPE.



BRITISH VERSION OF  
SAME TYPE.

compares it with a British stater, one is struck with the total lack of anything resembling artistic treatment in the latter coin, whilst that of Philip of Macedon is a thing of beauty. Doubtless the British coin is an outcome of the very infancy of the English people; but still there

was the Greek coin to copy, yet the copy of our British ancestors was as remote from what it followed as well could be. And a similar comparison might be made if one compares the English coinage at any date with much of the money coined elsewhere. One piece of English money—the Gothic crown of Queen Victoria—perhaps claims a place among art treasures, but the issue of that coin speedily ceased on account of its delicacy.

That latter remark gives rise to the reflection that, all the way, right from pre-Cæsar times, the British people thought only of one thing in connection with money—*i.e.* its utility, and, to mention again the comparison between the staters, it may be permissible to say that the British stater was of more utility than the Greek, in that it would pass from hand to hand with but little, if any, damage, whilst the high relief of the Greek coin and its delicate workmanship would subject its beauty to ruin by a very little amount of friction.

But the engrossing nature of the one idea is probably best shown when we consider the history of tokens. These private moneys revive memories of the seventeenth century, and especially of Cromwell's time. But the numberless issues at the end of the eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, are those which prominently arrest attention, and elucidate the moral point now being urged. In the early part of George the Third's reign we blundered into the quarrel with, and ultimate loss of, our North American Colonies. The nation had scarcely recovered from that shock, when the French Revolution with its Reign of Terror, terrified the nations. Then came the Napoleonic Wars, with Britain as paymaster. The whole energies of the Government were concentrated on the task of curbing the ambitions of the most successful, most ruthless and most unscrupulous, soldier that the world has ever seen. The Government was smitten with "Idiotcy," it could think of only the one thing, with the result that the coinage was neglected, and the people were not supplied with the regular "circulating medium"; there was but very little proper money with which to carry on every-day transactions. But we, as per usual, "muddled through." Tokens, metallic promissory notes, did the work which regal money should have done.



The Bank of England—Cobbett's "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street"—took a prominent part. The Bank had a regular issue of Tokens, *i.e.*, a Bank dollar of 5s., a three-shilling token, and one for eighteen-pence. But long before these, tokens in silver were issued in many localities by private firms, whilst tokens in copper so much abounded that scarcely any leading tradesman was without his token. They were a favourite means of advertisement. They were also used as part of a propaganda, *e.g.*, the John Howard tokens as promoting the movement for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. National legends were kept in memory by them; as for instance the Coventry tokens which presented the Lady Godiva in the scant garment of her beautiful hair, encircled with an inscription that she so appeared "Pro bono publico."

Incidentally, brief reference may here be made to the Crown-struck dollars of Spain, taken as prize from Spanish galleons, and which with a tiny impress of an effigy of the British King, were made to pass as currency for five shillings.

To show the deplorable state into which the currency had got during the Napoleonic scare, I may perhaps be allowed to quote the following *Tale of a Sixpence* taken from Charles Dickens's *Life of Joey Grimaldi* (illustrated by George Cruikshank)—a book by Dickens which is not mentioned in the list of his works given in the Index to the *Dictionary of National Biography*,—

One day Grimaldi and his friend Robert Gomery ("friend Bob" of Sadler's Wells) had been hunting all day for the beautiful butterfly then called Dartford Blues, and thinking of nothing but flies, until at length, their thoughts naturally turning to something more substantial, they halted for refreshment.

"Bob," said Grimaldi, "I am very hungry."

"So am I," said Bob.

"There is a public-house," said Grimaldi.

"It is *just* the very thing," observed the other.

It was a very neat public-house, and would have answered the purpose admirably, but Grimaldi having no money, and very much doubting whether his friend had any either, did not respond to the sentiment quite so cordially as he might have done.

"We had better go in," said the friend; "it is getting late—*you* pay."

"No, no. You."

"I would in a minute," said his friend, "but I have not got any money."

Grimaldi thrust his hand into his right pocket with one of his queerest faces, then into his left, then into his coat pockets, then into his waistcoat, and finally took off his hat, and looked into that, but there was no money anywhere.

They still walked on towards the public-house, meditating with woeful countenances, when Grimaldi spying something at the foot of a tree, picked it up, and suddenly exclaimed, with a variety of winks and nods, "Here's a sixpence."

The hungry friend's eyes brightened, but they quickly resumed their gloomy expression as he rejoined, "*It's a piece of tin!*" Grimaldi winked again, rubbed the sixpence, or the piece of tin, very hard, and declared, putting it between his teeth by way of test, that it was as good a sixpence as he would wish to see.

"I don't think it," said the friend, shaking his head.

"I'll tell you what," said Grimaldi, "we'll go to the public-house, and ask the landlord whether it's a good one, or not. They always know."

To this the friend assented, and they hurried on, disputing all the way whether it was really a sixpence or not; a discovery which could not be made at that time (*when the currency was defaced and worn nearly plain*) with the ease with which it could be made at present.

The publican, a fat jolly fellow, was standing at his door talking to a friend, and the house looked so uncommonly comfortable, that "friend Bob" whispered as they approached, that perhaps it might be best to have some bread and cheese *first*, and ask about the sixpence afterwards.

Grimaldi nodded his entire assent, and they went in and ordered some bread and cheese and beer. Having taken the edge off their hunger, they tossed up a farthing, which Grimaldi happened to find in the corner of some theretofore undiscovered pocket, to determine who should present the "sixpence." The chance falling on himself, he walked up to the bar, and with a very lofty air, and laying the questionable metal down with a dignity quite his own, requested the landlord to take the bill out of that.

"Just right, Sir," said the landlord, looking at the strange face that his customer assumed, and not at the sixpence.

"It's right, Sir, is it?" asked Grimaldi, sternly.

"Quite," answered the landlord; "thank ye, gentlemen." And with this he slipped the—whatever it was—into his pocket.

Gomery looked at Grimaldi, and Grimaldi, with a look and air which baffle all description, walked out of the house, followed by his friend.

"I never knew anything so lucky," he said, as they walked home to supper—"it was quite a Providence—that sixpence."

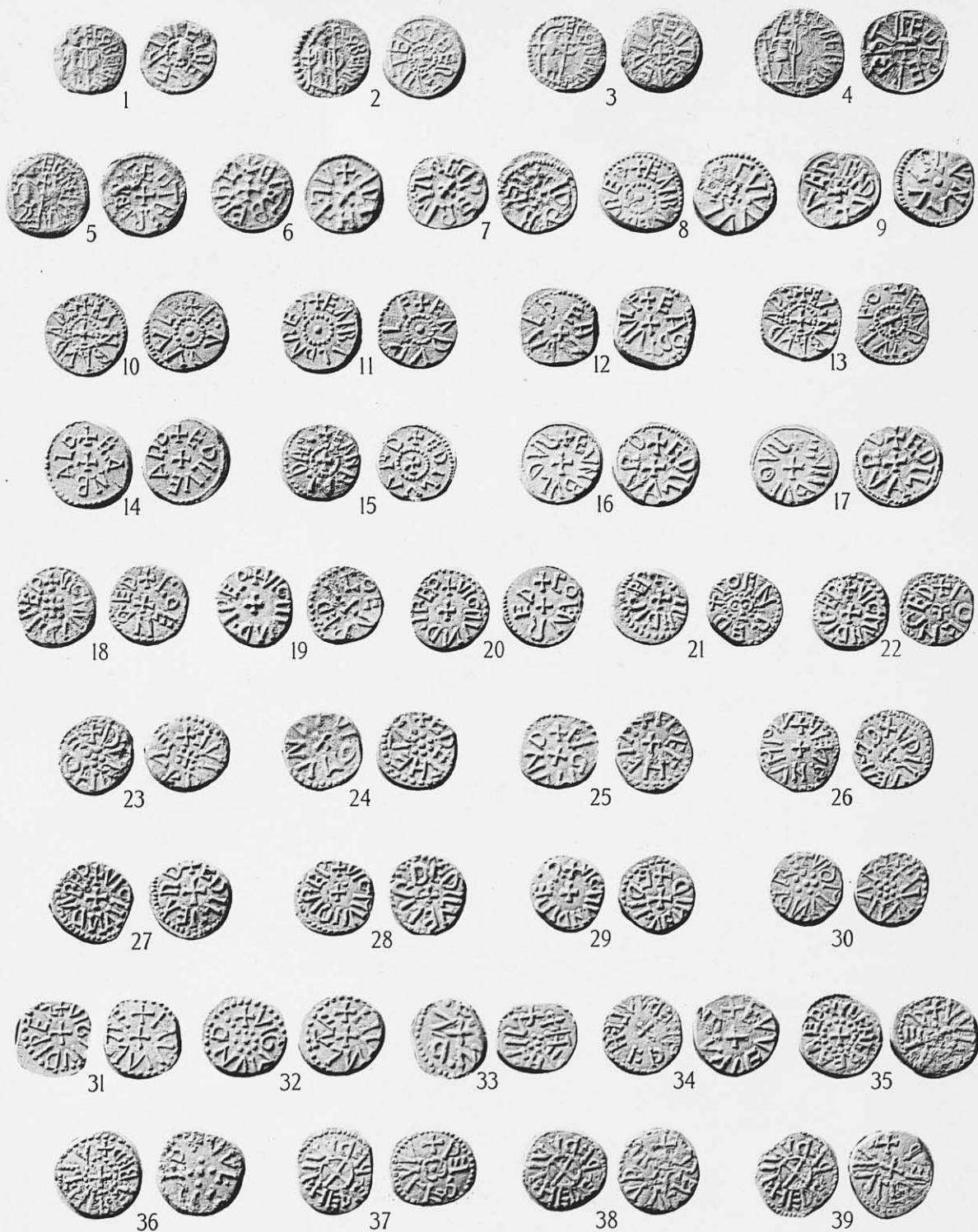
"A piece of tin, you mean," said Gomery.

Which of the two it was is uncertain; but Grimaldi often patronised the same house afterwards, and, as he never heard anything more about the matter, he felt convinced that it was a real good sixpence.

Thus in Dickens's own inimitable way, we get a numismatic sidelight upon the life of the people when the "Idiotcy" of the Government was so pronounced—their energies so pre-occupied with the task of overthrowing Napoleon—that they could not attend to the currency, and thus it came about that people could not tell whether they were handling sixpences or pieces of tin!

What a contrast did Napoleon himself present to all this! Nothing too small for that giant intellect; nothing too great. He indeed had the *mens æqua in arduis*. That colossal and minute brain was exemplified numismatically, for on his return from Elba, and when he was passionately gathering himself against all Europe in arms, and buckling on his armour for the crowning disaster of Waterloo, he attended to the currency and saw to it that his effigy should again be impressed on the money of France, as will be seen by the specimen of a Napoleon of the Hundred Days which I ventured to show to the Society.

The contrast between the idiosyncrasies of the two nations still remains to some extent. But now-a-days we see and know one another more, and have got to like one another better. Our mutual angularities are to a large extent superseded by friendly rivalry. Thanks to the royal tact and personal popularity, supported by rare diplomatic ability, of our Gracious King, Edward VII, the two nations have found that their interests, though not quite the same, are by no means hostile; that whilst the one may lend to the other the idea of solidity, the other repays the compliment by offering an infinite variety of resource; the *Entente Cordiale* flourishes, and will, it may be fondly hoped, bring Peace, Prosperity and Content.




THE SCEATTA AND STYCA COINAGE OF THE EARLY  
ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.

VIII.—IX. CENTURIES.



## THE SCEATTA AND STYCA COINAGE OF THE EARLY ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.

BY MAJOR A. B. CREEKE.

OME of the early Archbishops of Canterbury and York appear to have enjoyed the privilege of coining money and placing their names thereon, but there are no records extant to show when or why it was conferred upon them. The only evidence of the fact is that afforded by the coins themselves, and by certain records which refer to it as an ancient custom.

When Eadwine, the pagan king of Northumbria, married his second wife Æthelbercta, the Christian daughter of Æthelberht, king of Kent, A.D. 625, Bishop Paulinus<sup>1</sup> accompanied her to Northumbria, lest she and her companions should, in the absence of Christian ministrations, become corrupted by paganism and fall away from the faith. Through the teaching of Paulinus, and after long and serious deliberation, Eadwine embraced Christianity, and was baptized by Paulinus at York, on Easter-day, A.D. 627, in a small timber church dedicated to St. Peter, which Eadwine had built in order to receive baptism therein. Eadwine also created the See of York and appointed Paulinus its first Bishop, who soon afterwards received the pallium from Pope Honorius I., and became the first Archbishop of York.

Eadwine was slain in battle at Heathfield (Hatfield), in the West Riding of Yorkshire, A.D. 633, by Cadwalla, king of the Strathclyde Britons, and Penda, king of Mercia, who had revolted against his authority. The death of Eadwine and the destruction of his army enabled Cadwalla to cruelly ravage and oppress Northumbria and its

<sup>1</sup> Paulinus was ordained bishop by Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 21st July, A.D. 625, immediately prior to his accompanying Æthelbercta to Northumbria.

people. There being no prospect of safety, except in flight, Paulinus and Æthelbercta returned by sea to Kent, and were welcomed by King Eadwald, the Queen's brother, and Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury. The See of Rochester being then vacant, Paulinus, at the request of the King and Archbishop, took charge of it and held it until his death, A.D. 644.

The See of York remained vacant from the death of Paulinus until Cedda was appointed Bishop, A.D. 666, but it continued to be merely a Bishop's See until A.D. 735, when Ecgberht, the then Bishop, was created Archbishop. It has been suggested that the Archiepiscopal See remained so long dormant owing to the jealousy and machinations of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

It is reasonable to assume that the privilege of coining money was not conferred upon Paulinus, inasmuch as, so far as we know, neither King Eadwine nor any of his immediate successors issued any coinage. The only coins of the period were the anonymous sceattas used in Northumbria and the other so-called Heptarchic kingdoms, but there is no evidence yet ascertained to indicate by whom they were issued.

#### ECGBERHT,

son of Eata and brother of Eadberht, king of Northumbria, A.D. 737-758, was consecrated Bishop of York, A.D. 734, and, on receiving the pallium at Rome in the following year, became the second Archbishop. He restored the library<sup>1</sup> at York, and, through the influence of Beda, also founded a school there, which attained the highest fame throughout Europe; one of its greatest scholars, Alcuin, becoming the literary centre of the West. Alcuin took charge of the school from A.D. 767 to 780, during which period, scholars, not only from every part of Britain, but even from Germany and Gaul, are said to have crowded to his lecture-room. In the year 781, Alcuin was drawn by Charles the Great from his work in Britain to the wider work of spreading intellectual life among the Franks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This library was destroyed by fire early in the reign of William the Conqueror.

<sup>2</sup> Green's *Conquest of England*, pp. 41-2.



Ecgeberht died A.D. 766. He was the first Archbishop to exercise the privilege of coining money, for the earliest known Archiepiscopal coins of Canterbury were struck by Archbishop Jaenberht, A.D. 766 to 790, with the name and under the supremacy of Offa, king of Mercia, who conquered Kent A.D. 774. Ecgeberht's earliest coins were consequently struck many years prior to those of Jaenberht. All his coins are silver sceattas<sup>1</sup> and were struck by him during the reigns of Eadberht, Æthelwald Moll, and Alchred respectively: they are all very rare, particularly those which were struck during the reigns of the two last-named kings.

The following are varieties of Ecgeberht's coins:—

With the name of King EADBERHT, A.D. 737–758, on the reverse.

1. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT. Mitred figure to right, holding long cross in right hand and crozier in left.

*Reverse*.—E□TBERĥTVΓ.<sup>2</sup> Cross pattée. *Carlyon-Britton*.

2. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT <. Mitred figure to right, holding long cross in each hand.

*Reverse*.—□TBERĥTVΓ. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 1. *Carlyon-Britton*.

3. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT <. Mitred figure to right, holding two long crosses.

*Reverse*.—□TBERĥTVΓ. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 2. *British Museum*.

4. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT Λ. Mitred figure to right, holding two long crosses.

*Reverse*.—E□TBERĥTVΓ. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 3. *British Museum*.

5. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT AR. Mitred figure to right, holding two long crosses.

*Reverse*.—E□TBERĥTVΓ. Cross pattée. *Heywood*.

6. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT AR. Mitred figure to right, holding two long crosses.

*Reverse*.—E□TBERĥTVΓ. Cross pattée. *Creeke*.

7. *Obverse*.—ECĠBERĥT AR. Mitred figure to right, holding long cross in right hand and crozier in left.

*Reverse*.—E□TBERĥTVΓ. Cross pattée. Fig. 4. *York Museum*.

<sup>1</sup> The silver of these sceattas, like that of the anonymous sceattas, is more or less base.

<sup>2</sup> This letter Γ is an alphabetic variety of S, and is used in these legends for that letter.



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8. *Obverse*.—EĊƿBERĥT A. Mitred figure to right, holding two long crosses.

*Reverse*.—EĊTBEREĥTVΓ. Cross pattée. Fig. 5. *York Museum*.

With the name of King ÆTHELWALD MOLL, A.D. 759–765, on the reverse.

9. *Obverse*.—EĊƿBERĥT AR. Cross.

*Reverse*.—EDIGVΓD ĥ. Last four letters *retrograde*. (Runic ĥ = C, the initial letter of *Cununc* = King.) Cross pattée. *Rashleigh*.

10. *Obverse*.—EƿBERĥT AR. Cross.

*Reverse*.—†ADƿAĒDIN. (Last three letters = DVS.) Cross. *Clarkson*.<sup>1</sup>

With the name of King ALCHRED, A.D. 765–774, on the reverse.

11. *Obverse*.—EĊƿBERĥT AR. Cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—†VFĥHHĊD ĥ. *retrograde*. (Runic ĥ = C, the final ĥ is the initial letter of *Cununc*.) Cross pattée. Fig. 6. *Lord Grantley*.

12. *Obverse*.—EƿƿERHT Aƿ. Cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—†VFĥHHĊD ĥ. *retrograde*. Cross pattée. Fig. 7. *Lord Grantley*.

ÆTHELBERHT

succeeded Ecgberht as Archbishop, A.D. 766, and died A.D. 779.

EANBALD I.

was consecrated A.D. 779, and received the pallium in the following year. He died A.D. 796.

No coins are known of either of the last-named two Archbishops.

EANBALD II.

was consecrated A.D. 796, and received the pallium in the following year. He assisted Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in obtaining the abolition of the Archiepiscopal See of Lichfield, which Offa, king of Mercia, created A.D. 787. He also presided at the Synod of Wincanhealth, Finchale, Durham, A.D. 798, at which he

<sup>1</sup> This coin was in the possession of Mr. Clarkson of Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1832, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, 348. Its present location is not known.

ordered the adoption of the Confession of faith of the Five Councils. He died A.D. 808.

All the coins of Eanbald are stycas; for after the death of King Ælfwald I., A.D. 788, sceattas ceased to be coined, and stycas of copper, bronze, brass, or a mixed metal became the only regal and archiepiscopal coinage of Northumbria. A few stycas of base silver are, however, occasionally met with. Eanbald's coins are somewhat rare. The following are varieties of the types:—

1. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+CVNVLF. Cross of five pellets.
2. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+CVVVVLF. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 8.
3. *Obverse*.—ENDALD AER. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—CVNAVLF. Pellet. Fig. 9.
4. *Obverse*.—+ENDALD AEP. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+CVNVALF. Cross of five pellets.
5. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+CVVVVLF. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
6. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD APE. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet. Fig. 10.
7. *Obverse*.—EBAIALD AEP. *retrograde*. Circle enclosing cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Cross.
8. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet. Fig. 11.
9. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EODVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
10. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EADOD+VVLFF. Cross. Fig. 12.
11. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AB. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EODVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
12. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD ARE. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 13.
13. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD. Circle enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle enclosing pellet.
14. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
15. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AB. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EODVVLFF. Circle of dots enclosing cross.
16. *Obverse*.—+EBAIALD AEP. *retrograde*. Circle enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EADVVLFF. Circle enclosing cross.

17. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EVNVLF. Cross of five pellets.
18. *Obverse*.—+ENBALD AEP. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EVNVLF. Cross of five pellets.
19. *Obverse*.—·ENALD AER. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EVNVLF. Cross of five pellets.
20. *Obverse*.—+FNBALD APER (AP in monogram). Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EVANVLF. Cross pattée.
21. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVEARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 14.
22. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AR. Double circle enclosing cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVARDI. Circle of dots enclosing cross.
23. *Obverse*.—+EANBALD AR. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVARD. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 15.
24. *Obverse*.—+EANBAJD ARC. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+EDIEVARD. Circle of dots enclosing cross.
25. *Obverse*.—+EANBVALD V. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVARD. Cross.
26. *Obverse*.—+EVNBVLD VB. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 16.
27. *Obverse*.—+EVIIBVLO VU. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVARD. Cross pattée. AR. Fig. 17.
28. *Obverse*.—·EVA·NBV·GD. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDIEAVGD. Circle of dots enclosing cross.

Varieties of the Archbishop's name and title :—

EANBALD AEP.  
EANBALD AEP.  
EANBALB AEP.  
EANBALD AEP.  
EANBALD AEP.  
EANBALD AEP.  
EANBALD AEP.  
EBAIALD AEP.  
ENBALD AEP.  
ENBALD AEP.  
EANALD AEP.  
EANBALD ARE.  
EANBALD ARE.  
EANBALD ARE.

EANBALD ARE.  
EANBALD ARE.  
EANBALD ARE.  
EBADJAN AEP.  
ENALD AER.  
ENALB AER.  
ENBALD APER (AP in monogram).  
FNBALD APER (AP in monogram).  
EBANALD AEP.  
EBAIALD AEP.  
ENALD AEP.  
EANBALD ARE.  
EANBAJD ARE.  
EANBALD ARE.



## WULFSIGE

succeeded Eanbald II., A.D. 808, and died A.D. 837.

No coins are known of this Archbishop.

## VIGMUND

was consecrated A.D. 837, receiving the pallium in the same year, and died A.D. 854.

The coins of Vigmund are stycas and are very numerous, although some of the varieties are scarce. The following are varieties of the types:—

1. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND · IREP. Cross pommée; dot in each angle.  
*Reverse*.—+COENRED. Cross pattée. Fig. 18.
2. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND · IREP. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—COENREDI. Cross pattée. Fig. 19.
3. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND · IREP. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+COENRED. Cross. Fig. 20.
4. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+COENED. Cross.
5. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND · IPEP. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+COENRED. Rough outline of a full face.<sup>1</sup> Fig. 21.
6. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND · IPEP. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+COENRED. Very rough outline of a full face.<sup>2</sup> Fig. 22.
7. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND IREP. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EOENRED. Cross of five pellets.
8. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND IREP. Cross; dot in each angle.  
*Reverse*.—+EOENREO. *retrograde*. Cross.
9. *Obverse*.—+F6MVND. *retrograde*. Pellet within circle of five dots.  
*Reverse*.—+EARDVVL. *retrograde*. Cross pattée; dot in each angle.  
Fig. 23.
10. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDE NHEΓM. Cross.
11. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDE NHEΓM. Pellet within circle of six dots. Fig. 24.
12. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDEΓHEΓM. Cross.
13. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDE NHEΓM. Cross; dot in each angle.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the letter T between two pellets and surrounded by a circle of dots.

<sup>2</sup> Similar, but without the circle of dots.

14. *Obverse*.—+EI6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDEFHEΓM. Cross. Fig. 25.
15. *Obverse*.—+V6MVND. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDEFHEΓM. Cross.
16. *Obverse*.—+VI9MVND ΛIAP. *retrograde*. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVEΛRD. *retrograde*. Cross. Fig. 26.
17. *Obverse*.—+VI6IVND ΛREP. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVEARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 27.
18. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND IREP. Cross ; dot in second angle.  
*Reverse*.—EDILVEIRD. Cross. Fig. 28.
19. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND I'RER. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVENID. *retrograde*. Cross pattée. Fig. 29.
20. *Obverse*.—+VCMVND IREP. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EILVHVRD. Cross.
21. *Obverse*.—+I6MVIP ΛPEP. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EDILVBVRD. Cross.
22. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND IREP. Cross ; dot in each angle.  
*Reverse*.—+HVNΛAF. Cross pattée.
23. *Obverse*.—+VIΘMVND IR. Pellet within circle of six dots.  
*Reverse*.—+HVNΓAF. Pellet within circle of six dots. Fig. 30.
24. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVD IPER. Cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+HVNΛAF. Cross pattée. Fig. 31.
25. *Obverse*.—+ΛI9WΛND ∇V. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.  
*Reverse*.—+HΛNΓAF. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
26. *Obverse*.—+VI6MVND. Pellet within circle of eight dots.  
*Reverse*.—+HVNΛAF. Cross pattée. Fig. 32.
27. *Obverse*.—+VIΘMVND Rx : Pellet within circle of six dots.  
*Reverse*.—+HVΛF. Pellet within circle of six dots.
28. *Obverse*.—+ΛI6MVD E. Cross of five pellets.  
*Reverse*.—+VNENRED [= EANRED ?]. Cross pattée.
29. *Obverse*.—+VID'WVND. *retrograde*. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+VILHEAH. *retrograde*. (AH in monogram : formed by drawing a horizontal line across the top of the H.) Cross of five pellets. Fig. 33. *Carlyon-Britton*.

Varieties of the Archbishop's name and title :—

VI6MVND ΛREP.	VIΘIVND ΛREP.
VI6MVND ΛREP.	VIΘIVND ΛREP.
VI6MVND ΛREP.	VI9MVND ΛREP.
VI6IVND ΛREP.	VI9MVND ΛREP.
VI9MVND ΛREP.	VI9MVND ΛREP.
VI9MVND ΛREP.	VI6MVIP ΛREP.

VI6MVID EREP.	ΛIPWΛND ⅆV.
VI6MVND IIREP.	ΛIPWΛND ⅆI.
VI6MVND VREP.	ΛICWΛND ⅆV.
VI6MVID ΛPER.	ΛI9WΛND ⅆV.
VI6IIVND ΛPER.	ΛI9WΛND ⅆV.
VI6HVID ΛPER.	ΛI9WΛND V.
VI6MVIP ΛPER.	ΛI6MVD E.
VOMVIP ΛPER.	VI6MVID I.
V6MVIP ΛPER.	ΛI6WΛND IP.
VCMYIP ΛPER.	VI6MVID IR.
VI6IIVIP ΛPFP.	VI6MVND IR.
VI9MVID ΛI99.	VI6MVID IR.
VI9MVID ΛI9P.	VI6MVID IR.
I6MVIP ΛPER.	VI6MVND IR.
VI6MYND IPER.	VI6MVND IR.
VI6MVID IPER.	VI6MVND IRx.
V6MVND IPER.	VI6MVID.
V6MVND IPFP.	VI6MVID.
VI6MVND IPER.	VICMVND.
VI6MVND IPER.	VI6MVHD.
VI6MVD IPER.	VI6MVND.
VICMVIP IPER.	VI6MVHD.
VI6IIVIP ΛPER.	VI6MΛND.
VI6IIVND ΛPER.	VI6IIVND.
VI6MVID IRER.	VI6NVND.
VI6MVND IRER.	VI6MVID [Runic M = M].
VI6MVND IREP.	VICIIVID.
VI6MVID IREP.	VI6MΛND.
VIGMVND IREP.	VI6 MVHD.
VI6NVND IREP.	VI6WVND.
VI6IIVND IREP.	V6MVID.
VI9MVID I99P.	ΛI9WΛND.
VI6MVID IRE9.	ΛI6+MVND.
VI6MVHD IREP.	F6MVND.
VI6MVID AΛ.	F6MVID.
VI6MVID AΛ.	EI6MVND.
ΛI9WΛND ⅆV.	EI6MVID.

## Varieties of the Moneyers' names:—

COENRED.	COENREÞ [Runic Þ = TH].
COEINRED.	COENED.
COENRED [OE in monogram].	COENREDI.

COINRED.	EDILVEIIED.
CONERED.	EDILVEIID.
COIERED.	EILVEARD.
EOENRED.	EILVBVAD.
EOENREO.	EPLVEARP.
EOFNRED.	ЭPIIIEARD.
EARDVVC [= EARDVVLF ?].	ERPINNE [P = W].
EDELHELM.	HVNLAƿ.
EDEГHEГМ.	HVILAƿ.
EDEHHEГМ [Runic H = L].	HVNLAƿ.
EÐEГHEГМ [Ð = TH].	HVILAƿ.
EDFГHEГМ.	HVIГAƿ.
EDILVEARD.	HVILAƿ [VIL in monogram].
EDILVEARD.	HVIГAƿ.
EDIГVEARD.	HΛILVƿ.
EDILVEAЯD.	HΛIГVƿ.
EDILVEARD.	HΛIГVƿ.
ЭDILVEARD.	HΛIГVƿ.
EDILVEARD.	HVIИAƿ.
EDILVEAЯD.	HVIΛLAƿ.
EDILVEVARD.	HVILAƿXX.
EDILVEAD.	HIΛLAƿ.
EDILVEИARD.	HIΛLAƿ.
EDILVAERD.	HNVLAƿ.
EDILVEVRD.	HNVГVƿ.
EDILVEБRD.	HVILAƿ.
EDILVEIARD.	HVIГAƿ.
EDIVLFИARD.	HΛIГAƿ.
EDILVBVRD.	HVILA.
EDILVHARD.	HVAƿ.
EDILVHVRD.	HΛVVVƿ.
EDILVBVAD.	HDIRXF.
EDILHARD.	HXИГF.
EÐELVEARD.	VILHEAH [AH in monogram :
EDILVEARP.	formed by drawing a horizontal
EDILVENID.	line across the top of the H].
EDILVEIID.	VNENRED [= EANRED ?].

# ULFHERR

succeeded Vigmund, A.D. 854. On kings Osbercht and Ælla being defeated and slain by the Danes at York, A.D. 867, he abandoned his



See and fled to Addingham in Wharfedale, West Riding of Yorkshire. He was expelled from Northumbria, with king Ecgberht I., A.D. 872, but restored the following year. He died A.D. 900.

All Ulfhere's coins are stycas and are somewhat rare. The following are varieties of the types :—

1. *Obverse*.—VVLFHED ▽BEP. *retrograde*. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+EARDVVV. *retrograde*. Cross. Fig. 34. *Carlyon-Britton*.
2. *Obverse*.—VVLFHED ▽BEP. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFRED. Cross pattée. Fig. 35.
3. *Obverse*.—+VLFHERE ABD. Cross ; dot in each angle.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFRED. *retrograde*. Cross.
4. *Obverse*.—VVLFHED ▽BEB. *retrograde*. Cross.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFRED. *retrograde*. Cross.
5. *Obverse*.—VLFHERE ▽BED. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFRED. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 36.
6. *Obverse*.—VVLFHED ▽BEP. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing cross pattée.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFBED. *retrograde*. Cross pattée. *Æ*.
7. *Obverse*.—VVIFHERE—PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée, with dot in each angle upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+VVL:FBED. *retrograde*. Cross pattée.
8. *Obverse*.—VVIFHERE—PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFBED. *retrograde*. Quatrefoil enclosing pellet. Fig. 37.
9. *Obverse*.—VVLFHED—PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+EDVVIFR. *retrograde*. Four crescents, horns outwards, enclosing pellet. Fig. 38.
10. *Obverse*.—VVIFHERE PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+P3VVIFR. Cross of five pellets.
11. *Obverse*.—VVIFHERE—PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+EDVVIFR. Cross.
12. *Obverse*.—VVIFHEDE PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+VVLFBEP. *retrograde*. Cross pattée. Fig. 39.
13. *Obverse*.—VVIFHERE—PFB. *retrograde*. Cross pommée upon a circle.  
*Reverse*.—+EDVVIFR. Cross pommée.

Varieties of the Archbishop's name and title :—

VVLFHED ▽BEP.  
VVLFHER ▽BEP.  
VVIFHED ▽BEP.

VVLFHED ▽BEP.  
VVLFHED ▽BEP.  
VVLFHED ▽BEB.

VVLFHED ABEP.

VVLFHIERE AR̄EP.

VLFHIERE ABD.

VLFHIERE ABED.

VIFHERE ABED.

VVIFHERE P̄Pfb.

VVIFHEDE P̄Pfb.

Varieties of the Moneyer's names :—

EARDEVVF [= EARDVVLF].

EARDEVV̄.

VVLFR̄ED.

VVLFR̄ED.

VVLFR̄ED.

VVLFR̄ED.

VVLFR̄ED.

VVLFR̄Ē.

VVLFR̄+.

DEVVLFR.

EDVVLF̄R.

EDVV̄FR.

EDVVLF̄R.

P̄EVVLFR.

# ÆTHELBALD

succeeded Ulfhere, A.D. 900, and died, A.D. 904. At present no coins are known of this Archbishop, but a styca<sup>1</sup> of his was discovered in the Hexham find, A.D. 1832, which read as follows :—

*Obverse*.—EDELB AP. Pellet.

*Reverse*.—X EANRED. Pellet.

This unique coin does not appear to have been noticed by any of our numismatic writers, and its present whereabouts is unknown.

The statement in the *British Museum Catalogue*,<sup>2</sup> that without doubt from A.D. 867 (the date of the death of Osbert) stycas ceased to be coined in Northumbria, is negatived, as regards archiepiscopal stycas, by the above-described coin; but it may be accepted as regards regal stycas, for the Danes would hardly allow the puppet kings whom they set up over certain parts of Northumbria, from A.D. 867 to 876, to issue a coinage bearing their own names and title. In the case of the archbishops, however, there would be no such objection, and it is evident that the Danes did not interfere with the privilege hitherto enjoyed by them of coining stycas. The Danish kings of Northumbria subsequently introduced a silver coinage, and it is highly probable

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv, 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. i, pp. 188 and 199.

that stycas continued to be issued contemporaneously from the archiepiscopal mint till the dawn of the tenth century. It must not be overlooked that the Northumbrian standard coinage had been of copper only, so that after the Danes had introduced a silver currency, some years would necessarily elapse before it superseded the stycas and rendered the further coinage of them unnecessary.

My thanks are due to Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., President of the Society, and to Mr. Nathan Heywood, for kindly allowing me to examine their extensive collections of coins of the early Archbishops of York, and to take descriptions and casts of specimens required; and also to Lord Grantley, F.S.A., and to the Honorary Curator of the York Museum for casts of several very rare sceattas in their collections.




THE OXFORD MINT IN THE REIGN OF ALFRED.

IX. CENTURY.



## THE OXFORD MINT IN THE REIGN OF ALFRED.

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.—*President.*

 HE exclusion of the coins of Alfred the Great bearing the mint-name "Orsnaforda" from Mr. C. L. Stainer's monograph on the early Oxford coinage entitled "Oxford Silver Pennies," printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press, 1904, leads me to think that a note on this subject may not be unwelcome at this season. The author remarks that the only argument hitherto used for their attribution to Oxford appears to be that they *must* be Oxford pennies until the contrary is proved. He then gives some reasons against this attribution of the coins, which may be summarized as follows:—

1. That there is a praiseworthy prejudice in favour of assigning an Alfred coinage to Oxford.
2. That the "Orsnaforda" coins have been found in Lancashire only.
3. That the Cuerdale find contained a large number of St. Eadmund pennies, bearing moneyers' names which are seldom English, a few of the "Ælfred Rex Doro" type, some of the "London," and a number of the "pall" types (*British Museum Catalogue*, Types XIV and XV).
4. That the "pall" type is distinctively Norse or Danish, and should never have been included, as it has been, in the West Saxon series.
5. That the "London" type is also Danish.
6. That the Canterbury pennies have the same Danish character, as can be seen by comparing them with those of the Northumbrian Kings, Cnut *or* Siefred.

7. That the "Orsnaforda" pennies are mostly of the same type as those of Earl Sihtric, whilst some bear the long cross on the reverse which is frequent on those northern issues.

In reference to these seven formidable counts of indictment against the Oxford coinage of Alfred it may be remarked that to establish his point Mr. Stainer would, with one fell stroke of his pen, transfer not only the Canterbury and London coins of Alfred to Northumbria, but also the more general types bearing on the obverse the small cross pattée and on the reverse the name of the moneyer in two lines, divided by crosses or other ornaments, and which he refers to as the "pall" types. As a logical sequence the great bulk of the coins of Edward the Elder and of many subsequent kings would follow suit and also depart to Northumbria.

In fairness to Mr. Stainer and also to Mr. James Parker, the author of "The Early History of Oxford (727 to 1100)," attention is drawn to the circumstance that Mr. Stainer's reasons are, with certain grotesque additions of his own, adopted by him from an appendix to Mr. Parker's book, also published by the Oxford Historical Society.

In answer to the specific heads above set out, I make the following replies :—

1. That, apart from prejudice, there are circumstances in favour of an Oxford coinage of Alfred being a likely fact.
- 2 and 3. That the circumstances in which the Cuerdale hoard was collected and lost are fully recounted in Mr. Andrew's "Buried Treasure,"<sup>1</sup> and that these warrant the supposition that Oxford coins would naturally be included in the hoard.
4. That the "pall" types have nothing of a Northumbrian character about them and were certainly issued by a Christian monarch. The names of the moneyers clearly show them *not* to be of Northumbrian origin. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, 9.

Stainer's reference to the coins with the obverse legend arranged in *four* divisions so as to leave spaces forming a *cross*, as well as to those having *three* spaces to form a *pall* (indicative of Canterbury) as "the pall types," is merely an incidental indication of the want of care and thought bestowed by him in dealing with this branch of his subject.

5. That the London type is obviously *not* Danish. The majority of such coins have been found in London with pennies of Edward the Elder of undoubtedly English manufacture. That the absurd attempt to make the coin of Halfdan bearing the London monogram the prototype of Alfred's London coins, and which has evidently led Mr. Stainer astray, has already been sufficiently exploded and ridiculed by Mr. Andrew in "Buried Treasure."
6. That the ordinary Canterbury or "Doro" coins are not of Danish character, but are similar to those of Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the time of their issue.
7. That the "Orsnaforda" pennies are quite as much like the Exeter and Winchester coins of Alfred and the similar Bath coin of Edward the Elder, as the unique coin of Earl Sihtric is like the Orsnaforda or other coins of Alfred and Edward just alluded to.

That there are Danish imitations of Alfred's coins of London and Canterbury and also of his more general types, no one will deny, but that is very different from saying that all the coins of Alfred of London and Canterbury were struck in Northumbria.

Mr. Stainer, after specifying his objections as above, further remarks that, looking at the Orsnaforda pennies described in the British Museum catalogue, it seems as though some species of corruption had been gone through *before* a passable reading such as ORSNÆFORDÆ was evolved. He then instances some cases where the second letter especially is in doubt. An examination of the coins themselves will convince anyone accustomed to Saxon coins that the best executed



coins are those reading *ORSNÆFORDA*, *OHSNÆFORDA*, and *OVSNÆFORDA*, and many of the blundered examples are obviously incorrect copies from these.

Mr. Stainer deduces from his arguments the proposition that "the more grammatical" forms *ON SNEODRA*, *ON SHAFORDA*, or *ON SNAFORDA* are the correct readings. But to arrive at this conclusion he has to separate the first two letters from the entire word and makes two words, the first being *ON*, for *in* or *of*, an absolutely unknown idiom on coins of this date and never at any time used without the name of a moneyer preceding it.

He then alludes to the Sihtric penny bearing the name *SEELDFOR* with that of the moneyer Gundibert and suggests that the Lancashire town of Salford might have strong claims, but whether to the *SEELDFOR* piece or to the *ORSNÆFORDA* pieces or to both is left uncertain by the text.

The Sihtric coin is doubtless copied from its Alfred prototype, just as many other types were copied in Northumbria and elsewhere from those of Alfred and the succeeding Kings of Wessex, no doubt with the intention that they should pass current in Saxon England.

All the *ORSNÆFORDA* pennies bear the name of the moneyer *BERNVÆLD*, and this name appears as *one* of those who coined at Canterbury for Alfred and Plegmund.

The name, as *BIÆRNVÆLD*, occurs on other coins of Alfred, *e.g.*, *British Museum Catalogue*, Type I, var. *a*, and as *BERNVÆLD* on Type XIV of those of his son and successor Edward the Elder. A moneyer of similar name coined for Athelstan at Wallingford.

The idea of a Northumbrian attribution for the "Orsnaforda" coins seems therefore to be absolutely unsupported by the facts. The historical evidence raises no question on the fact that Alfred was in a position to coin at Oxford, and the sole difficulty is occasioned by the graphical circumstance that the second letter in Orsnaforda is an *R* instead of a *ƿ*, on the supposition that the reading was intended to have been *OESNÆFORDA* for *OXNÆFORDA*. In this connection it may be noted that *kaunsama* = *K*, or *C* (hard), of the Gothic Alphabet of Ulfilas is practically the same as the letter *raitha* = *R*, of the same

alphabet; both letters are nearly closed where the top adjoins the upright initial stroke, and the only difference is that this initial stroke is slightly prolonged below the level of the tail of the letter in the case of *raitha*.

On the other hand, if *OVSNÆFORDÆ*, which appears on some of the coins, was the intended name of the mint, it will meet the case exactly. It may be noted that the forms *BRISTOW* and *BRISTOLL* for Bristol (anciently *Brigstow*) both occur on the groats of as late a date as Edward IV. Such variations, due possibly to dialect or to inaccurate copying from written instructions to the die sinker, are not infrequent, and we have only to look at the coins of Alfred's first type (of the same type as those of his brother Æthelred I. and Burgred, King of Mercia) to find his name most frequently rendered *ÆELBRED*, and this not by one moneyer only, but by many.

We may therefore, I think, safely conclude that the *ORSNÆFORDÆ* coins were struck at Oxford in the last part of Alfred's reign, and that they are of the same issue as those minted at Exeter and Winchester; that the name is intended for *OVSNÆFORDA* = the ford over the Ouse, the old Anglo-Saxon name for the Isis, and a form that is still preserved in the name Ouseney or Osney, the island in the Ouse, where the celebrated Abbey of that name was erected; and that the name *OXNÆFORDA* or *OXENÆFORDA* is another and later form of the same name.

So far I have been content to show that upon the general probabilities of the case there can be no doubt at all, that the coins of Alfred bearing the legend *OVSNÆFORDA* and *ORSNÆFORDA* and any variation of the word, were issued at Oxford, or, as it was then called, the Ouse-ford. But now I will carry the point a long step forward and endeavour to prove from the coins themselves, that during the reign of Alfred the Great the actual neological changes occurred by which the river Ouse became the Isis and Ousnaford, first Isisford and then Oxford. If I succeed, as I trust to do, in this, it will be but another instance of how, as yet, the evidence of our coins has been a neglected chapter in our British history.

The reader need scarcely be reminded that numismatic inscriptions in those days were, as they are now, almost invariably in Latin, but

that Latin, as in the early chronicles, was far from classical. As we have seen, the legends on the coins under discussion are usually on the obverse—*ELFRED ORSNAFORDA* or *OVSNAFORDA*,—*REX* of course being understood. Turning to the coins of Athelstan of some forty or fifty years later, we find a series of coins bearing on the obverse *ÆDELSTAN REX* and on the reverse legends such as *SIGELAND MO OX VRBIS* for *Sigeland Monetarius Oxonis Urbis*, and in this not only do Mr. Stainer and every one else agree, but the example is taken from his book. Hence, if my contention is right, the changes from *OVSNAFORDA* to *OXONIS VRBIS* occurred between about 870 or 880 and 940.

Camden tells us that "Leland with some show of probability derives the name (of Oxford) from the River Ouse, in Latin Isis; and he believes it to have been heretofore called Ousford, since the little islands which the river here makes are called Ousney." Hence, as previously explained, we have *OVSNI[A FORDA]* or *OVSNE FORDA* on the coins. Up to the time those coins were struck the river was evidently known as the Ouse. But when it became commonly known as the Isis, what would Oxford be called? Classically it ought to be *ISIDIS VADUM*, and that is the name given to it in the "List of Latin names of places in Great Britain and Ireland," in Mr. Charles Trice Martin's "Record Interpreter," just as Ousney or Oseney near Oxford is termed *Isidis Insula*. But the Saxon engraver whose version of the Classical *OUSÆ VADUM* became *OVSNAFORDA* would anglicize it also to *ISIS FORDA* or, as Isis is from the Greek and therefore irregular and as *fyrð* is also the Anglo-Saxon for a ford, we might equally well expect *ISIRIS FIRDA*. I now refer you to the coins of this particular type, and you will find two or three actually reading *ELFRID ISIRI FIRIA* for *ELFRED ISIRIS FIRDA*. Thus within a period of fifty years we have upon the coinage of the same town contracted forms of, first *OUSNÆ FORDA*, second *ISIDIS FIRDA* and third *OXONIS VRBIS*. Therefore the first change from Ouseford to Isisford occurred in the reign of Alfred and the second from Isisford to Oxford in that of his successor Edward the Elder or of Athelstan. Other Latinised forms for Oxford are *ISIACUM*, *OSSONIA* and *OXONIA*, while (in addition to Isis) *OUSA*, *OZA*, *USA*, and *VUSA* all signify the Ouse.

But why were these curious changes made? This is a more difficult problem to answer because we have to descend from fact to theory. There are several rivers of the name Ouse in England, particularly the Yorkshire Ouse, the Lincolnshire and Buckinghamshire Ouse, for the word was probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *a-s, wòs*, *i.e.*, water running slowly. So long as these were in the separate kingdoms into which England was divided no confusion arose, but when Alfred annexed Mercia there were two rivers of this name within eighteen miles of each other, both bounding the County of Oxford. Thus another name was almost necessary for one, and so Alfred, when he chose Oxford for his place of mintage, probably changed the name of its river to the Isis, the "Goddess of the River." It may be, however, that another inducement influenced him. Mr. Andrew has shown that when the Normans settled in England they found that the Saxon name of Lincoln was pronounced LINCEUL, which meant in their own tongue "the shroud of death," and as Huntingdon tells us, although he does not give the reason, their Kings refused to visit the city. As this was a serious loss to the citizens, the name was promptly changed to NICOL, though it gradually drifted back to its old form.<sup>1</sup> Surely it is more than a coincidence that Roger of Wendover should tell us of Oxford, that in consequence of the legend of St. Frideswide (which dated from about 727) "the Kings of England have always been afraid to enter that city, for it is said to be fatal to them, and they are unwilling to test the truth of it at their own peril." This alone, in the superstitious days of King Alfred, would be reason enough to induce him to alter its old name of OUSEFORD, and thus break the letter, if not the spirit, of the fatal tradition.

The change to Isisford is therefore reasonable; but within fifty years it became Oxford. The name Isisford would be quite foreign to the Saxon tongue, and in all probability it was shortened to the word FORD, or, as it is on the coins, FORDA, which, by the way, is the only portion of OVSNAFORDA which is rarely blundered. Every genealogist knows how in later times Norman names became translated into the

<sup>1</sup> *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, p. 267.

vulgar tongue, how Le Blanc became White; Faber—Smith; De Ariete—Ram; Le Lorimer—Sadler; De Fonte—Spring; De Quercu—Oak, and so on. It may be that something of the same sort occurred in the name of Oxford, for FORDA when translated becomes the “cow with a calf.” On the other hand, it is curious that wherever runs a river Ouse we constantly find words beginning with OTT or OT such as Otmoor, near Islip, six miles north of Oxford, and more rarely OX, as for example, Oxton, at the junction of the Wharf and the Yorkshire Ouse. The explanation is that the root of the words Ouse, otter, and water is the same, and hence our verb to ooze. From Ottford to Oxford is but an inflexion.

Looking backward, it is curious that no one should have associated these coins with Leyland’s old name for Oxford; it is surprising that no one should have translated the meaning of ISIRI FIRIA; and it is astounding that anyone should venture to remove the whole series, to say nothing of the sister coins of London and Canterbury, into some unknown and imaginary mint in Northumbria, when the whole story and much of the early history of Oxford itself lies written on the coins before us so that “he may run that readeth it.”

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

1. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{OISII}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{ELFRID}+ \\ \text{F}\cdot\dot{\text{O}}\cdot\text{RD}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERHV} \\ \text{ALDNO} \end{array}$  Weight, 22.5 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 142.

2. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{OUSN}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{ELFRED} \\ \text{FORD}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERNV} \\ +++ \\ \text{ALDNO} \end{array}$  Weight, 22.5 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 129.

3. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{OH}\bar{\Lambda}\text{N}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{ELFRED} \\ \text{FORD}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERNV} \\ +++ \\ \text{ALDMO} \end{array}$  Weight, 25.6 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 127.

4. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{OHSN}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{—ELFRED} \\ \text{FORD}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{BERNV} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\text{LD}\bar{\text{M}}\text{O} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 19 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 128.

5. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{OHSII}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{—VE}\bar{\text{F}}\text{ERID} \\ \text{EORD}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{BERIIV} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\text{LD}\bar{\text{M}}\text{O} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 17·3 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 137.

6. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{OIIDI} \\ \text{—VE}\bar{\text{E}}\text{IFP} \\ \text{EIII}\bar{\text{F}}\text{I} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{ONSII} \\ + + + \\ \text{EOD}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  (A halfpenny.) Weight, 9·7 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 153.

7. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \bar{\text{O}}\cdot\bar{\text{P}}\infty\text{II}\bar{\Lambda} \\ + \\ \text{—VE}\bar{\text{F}}\text{RED} \\ \text{F}\bar{\text{O}}\cdot\text{RD}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERNV} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{O} \end{array}$  Weight, 20·2 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 138.

8. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \bar{\text{O}}\cdot\bar{\Lambda}\infty\text{II}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \text{—VE}\bar{\text{F}}\text{RED} \\ \text{FOII}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{OIID}\bar{\text{J}}\bar{\Lambda} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\text{IK}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{B}} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 20·5 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 139.

9. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} + \\ \bar{\text{O}}\cdot\bar{\text{I}}\cdot\text{II}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \times \\ \text{—VE}\bar{\text{L}}\text{IRED} \\ \text{F}\bar{\text{O}}\cdot\bar{\text{R}}\text{I}\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\Lambda} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERIIV} \\ + \cdot + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\text{DII}\text{O} \end{array}$  Weight, 24·3 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 124.

10. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{I}\infty\text{I}\bar{\Lambda}\text{I} \\ \text{—DI}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{E}} \\ \text{FI}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \\ \text{BERNV} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\Lambda}\text{LD}\bar{\text{N}}\text{O} \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 21·2 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 148.

11. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{I}\infty\text{I}\bar{\Lambda}\text{I} \\ \text{—DI}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{E}} \\ \text{FI}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\Lambda} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{ERIEI} \\ + + + \\ \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{S}} \end{array}$  Weight, 22·2 grains.

Same obverse die as No. 10.

*British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 151.

12. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \cdot\text{OR}\cdot\text{VI}\cdot\text{A} \\ \cdot\text{ELFRED}\cdot \\ \cdot\text{F}\cdot\text{O}\cdot\text{RDI} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \text{BERIV} \\ +\cdot+\cdot+ \\ \text{ALDH}\cdot\text{O} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 22·5 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, No. 119.*

13. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} + \\ \cdot\text{ORSNA} \\ \cdot\text{ELFRED} \\ \text{FORDA} \\ + \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} + \\ \text{BERIIA} \\ +\cdot+\cdot+ \\ \text{ALDII}\cdot\text{O} \\ + \end{array}$  Weight, 17·7 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, No. 121.*

14. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \text{OR}\cdot\text{NA} \\ \cdot\text{ELFRED} \\ \text{F}\cdot\text{O}\cdot\text{RDA} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{BERHV} \\ +\cdot+\cdot+ \\ \text{ALDHO} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$

*Messrs. Spink and Son.*

15. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \cdot\text{OR}\cdot\text{II}\cdot\text{A} \\ \cdot\text{ELFRED} \\ \text{FORDA} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{AIIAEB} \\ +\cdot+\cdot+ \\ \text{OIIIDIE} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$

*Messrs. Spink and Son.*

16. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \cdot\text{ORSNA} \\ \cdot\text{ELFRED} \\ \text{FORDA} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \text{BERNV} \\ \text{H}\cdot\text{—}\cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \text{ALDNO} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot \end{array}$  Weight, 21 grains.

*British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, No. 154.*

17. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{I—IAI} \\ \cdot\text{EH}\cdot\text{H} \\ \text{IAI} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{IICI} \\ + \\ \text{IIE} \end{array}$  (A halfpenny.)

*Messrs. Spink and Son.*

18. Obverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{ERIE} \\ \cdot\text{IA}\cdot\text{CI}\cdot\text{CI} \\ \text{IIAI} \end{array}$  Reverse.— $\begin{array}{c} \text{EICI} \\ \cdot\cdot\cdot+\cdot\cdot\cdot \\ \text{I}\cdot\text{—}\cdot\text{II} \end{array}$

*Messrs. Spink and Son.*





THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES (WITH FOUR ANGLO-SAXON PENNIES.)

X.—XIII. CENTURIES.






# THE SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINAGE OF WALES.

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President*.

## COINAGE OF HOWEL DDA, 913-948.

 AN account of the coin, the obverse of which figured so prominently at the head of the various editions of the Prospectus of this Society, has probably been awaited with some interest. This silver penny, with two others of the Saxon King Eadmund, formed Lot 1 at the sale of a collection of coins and medals, "The Property of a Nobleman," by Messrs. Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge on the 29th June, 1903, just after the foundation of this Society. The following are the descriptions from the catalogue of the three coins:—

Lot I. Penny of Eadmund—*Obverse*.—+ EADMUND REX. Small cross pattée—*Reverse*.—MELPOMNE in two lines, divided by crosses; above and below, rosette (Ruding, XVIII, 4). Another similar, King's name retrograde, moneyer AFRANDER. Another of Eadgar (?), same type, King's name blundered, moneyer GIL + SVL +, letters in field (Ruding, Plate XXI, 10), well preserved.

The late owner of the coins, the pleasure of whose friendship the writer has had for a number of years, relates that the coins were taken by him to the British Museum, and that one of the officials in the Coin and Medal Department undertook the cataloguing of the collection. To the want of perception on the part of this official, and of the numerous other persons who had the opportunity of seeing the lot, the author is indebted for the acquisition, at a nominal figure, of three very interesting coins.

As the catalogue description is in material respects inaccurate, the correct descriptions of the three coins constituting Lot 1 will now be given, although it is only with the last of them that this paper is immediately concerned.

1. *Obverse*.—EADMYND REX, between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—MÆLD, in the upper line, OMENĒ (the ME in monogram) in the lower line, divided by three crosses; above and below, ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 2.

2. *Obverse*.—+FΛdβdΛNDKE+ (retrograde and reading outwards) between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—AFRA, in the upper line, II<sup>o</sup>DER, in the lower line; above, ornament composed of seven pellets around central pellet; and below, ornament composed of eight pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 3.

3. *Obverse*.—+HOƿ/EL REX.∴ between two circles; in centre, small cross pattée.

*Reverse*.—GIL+∴ in the upper line, ∞ZVL+ in the lower line divided by three crosses; above and below ornament composed of six pellets around a central pellet. Plate, Fig. 1.

As regards (1), the almost classical MELPOMNE (MELPOMENE!) of the cataloguer is really the well-known moneyer of Chester MÆLDOMEN followed by what is probably intended for the monogram LĒ of the mint name LEIGECEASTER (Chester). This specimen has additional interest in that it is over-struck on a coin bearing a bust, or portrait, but whether of Eadmund or of his immediate predecessor, Æthelstan, is uncertain.

Concerning (2), instead of the moneyer AFRANDER we have the moneyer AFRA followed by an abbreviation II<sup>o</sup> for monetarius or moneta, and the mint name DER for Derby. This is the only coin hitherto noted of Eadmund bearing the name of Derby as its minting place.

As regards (3), one of the most important coins which has come to light in recent years, the obverse reads with absolute clearness +HOPÆL REX: Æ for Howel Rex, the last letter is probably Ʒ with a mark of contraction through the upright stroke, for the mark cuts right through the upright, and is intended for Cymrionum, or whatever the Latin equivalent for Cymri in the genitive plural then was.

The reverse discloses the name of the moneyer GILLYZ, *viz.*—GIL (forward) and LYZ (retrograde) the ∞ (= S) above the Z signifying the possessive case, MOT for MONETA being understood.

The three coins, when they came into the possession of the writer, were coated with the green deposit so usual in the case of coins of the period, and, in addition, No. 1 had some rusty spots and a dark tone, but looking to their general appearance they may well have been discovered together. After cleaning, Nos. 2 and 3 disclosed white silver, but No. 1 still retains a slightly darker tone. These indications, coupled with the fact that the three coins are of the not far distant mints of Chester and Derby, raise the inference that they were probably found together in north-west Mercia. The coin reading HOPÆL REX is the first coin found or identified bearing the name of a King of Cymru (the land of brothers), or, as the country is called by those not inhabiting it, Wales (the land of strangers). The name Howel is one frequently occurring in the annals of Cambria, and it is now proposed to consider to which of the kings of this name the piece in question may be reasonably attributed.

The types of the obverse and reverse of the coin are common to the Saxon Kings Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Eadgar, and, like certain types of the Northumbrian Kings Anlaf and Eric, were imitated from those of the neighbouring Kings of Wessex and Mercia. A moneyer Ingelgar, for example, coined for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred at York, as did the moneyer Hunred at the same place for Eric and Eadred.

In like manner the moneyer GILLYS coined for Eadred (no mint specified) and for Eadgar at Chester, and also for Eadgar, in his last type, at Hereford. The following are descriptions of coins by this moneyer.

1. EADRED 946-955. — *Obverse*. — EADRED REX. Small cross pattée. — *Reverse*. — GILLE, 3 MOT, 0++ in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Plate, Fig. 4. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.
2. EADGAR 957-975. — *Obverse*. — EADGAR REX. Small cross in centre. — *Reverse*. — GILLVS MO.OL+EO for GILLVS MO LE in three lines; above and below, rosette of pellets. Struck at Chester, Montagu Sale Catalogue Lot 713.
3. *Obverse*. — Same. — *Reverse*. — GILLYS MÖL+EO, same type. Struck at Chester. Plate, Fig. 5. *P. Carlyon-Britton*.
4. *Obverse*. — +EADGAR RE+. — *Reverse*. — GILLV3 ÖL+EO, same type. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 28.
5. *Obverse*. — +EADGARE. — *Reverse*. — GILLYS O+O, same type. Weight, 22.9 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 157.
6. *Obverse*. — +EADGAR RE+. — *Reverse*. — GILYZ MÖ O+O, same type. Weight, 23.5 grains. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. II, No. 158.
7. EADGAR. — *Obverse*. — +EADGAR REX ANGLÖW. Filleted bust to left. — *Reverse*. — +GYLLIS M+O HEREFO. Small cross pattée. Struck at Hereford, *Hildebrand*, No. 16.

The coin of Howel bears a nearer resemblance in workmanship to the pennies of Eadmund, 939-946, than to those of the other Saxon kings of about the period when it was presumably struck, the triangle of pellets on both the obverse and reverse, and the extra cross in the upper line of the reverse, being characteristic features of some of Eadmund's coins.

The most celebrated Howel was Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, son of Cadell, son of Rodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great. From the *Annales Cambriæ* we learn that King Cadell (Catell, Catel), the son of Rodri, died in A.D. 909, and that Anaraud (Anaraut), King of the Britons, (Welsh), died in A.D. 915. The date of Howel's death is given in the

*Annales Cambriæ* as occurring in A.D. 950, but in the *Brut-y-Tywysogion* the entry is

“948. And Howel the Good, son of King Cadell, chief and glory of all the Britons, died.”

The years of the *Annales Cambriæ* appear to be always two in advance of those of the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, so that the date of the death of King Cadell would, according to the latter reckoning, be A.D. 907, and the death of King Anaraud, A.D. 913. It is presumed, therefore, that the reign of Howel Dda extended from A.D. 913 to 948 or from A.D. 915 to 950, a period of thirty-five years.

During some of these years Eadweard, the son of Ælfred the Great, was King of Wessex, while Æthelflæd, daughter of Ælfred, was Lady of the Mercians until her death in 922, when Eadweard became King of Wessex and Mercia until his death in 925. He was succeeded by his son Æthelstan, who ruled until the 27th of October, 939, when he was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who reigned until assassinated by Leofa, at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, on the 26th of May, 946. Eadmund was followed by his brother Eadred, who in his turn died on the 23rd of November, 955.

The reign of Eadweard was one of constant strife with the Danes; and in subduing them he was most ably assisted by his equally warlike sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. They adopted the system of raising burhs, or fortifications, over against the strongholds of their enemies. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* abounds with accounts of the erection of burhs and with stories of the submission, and rebellion anew, of the Danes and their allies, the Irish-Danes, Scots and Welsh. The Welsh, or Cymri, conscientiously believing in their ancient rights, were always willing to assist a new invader in harassing the older Angle and Saxon usurpers. Under the year 907 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, we learn that Chester was then renovated, a place, which, in 894, had been described as a desolated city called Legaceaster in Wirrall. In June, 916, Æthelflæd sent a force into Wales and took Brecknock by storm, and there captured the King's wife with four-and-thirty persons; that she was the wife of Howel Dda is usually accepted, and,

in any case, this discloses a state of unfriendly feeling between the Mercians and their more anciently established neighbours in Cymru. In 922 all the people in the Mercians' land, who had before been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to King Eadweard, and the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel* and *Cledauc* and *Jeothwel*, and all the North Welsh race sought him for lord. This submissive attitude seems to have been chiefly dependent on the warlike king's near presence, as in the year 924, when King Eadweard had nearly completed his victorious career, the *Chronicle* again recounts that he was chosen for father and for lord by the King of the Scots and King *Ragnald* (who had won York in the previous year), and the sons of Eadulf, and all those who dwelt in Northumbria, as well English as Danish and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

In this connexion *William of Malmesbury* tells us that King Eadweard, after many noble exploits, both in war and peace, a few days before his death *subdued the contumacy of the City of Chester, which was rebelling in confederacy with the Britons*, and placing a garrison there, he fell sick and died shortly afterwards at *Fearndun*.<sup>1</sup>

The "subduing" was not, however, very lasting, as in the next year we read that the new king, Æthelstan, subjugated all the kings that were in this island, *Howel*, King of the West Welsh, and *Constantine*, King of the Scots, and *Owen*, King of *Gwent*, and *Ealdred*, son of Eadulf, of *Bamborough*; and with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace in the place which is named *Eâmôt* on the twelfth day of July, 926, and renounced every kind of idolatry, and after that departed in peace.

In the year 926 (924) we find from the *Annales Cambriæ* that *Howel Dda*, the son of *Cadelh*, went to Rome, and *Elen*, his mother, died. He seems to have taken the opportunity afforded by the conclusion of peace with King Æthelstan to have gone to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the celebrated code of laws, more fully referred to hereafter, in respect of which his reputation has been chiefly preserved to this day. In 937 he is believed to have been one of the kings defeated by *Athelstan* at the great battle of *Bremesburgh*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Farndon* in Cheshire.



The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, during the reigns of Æthelstan, Eadmund and Eadred, contains no further direct reference to Wales, though, under the year 944, it is recorded that King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, a province then still claimed by the Welsh, and gave it up to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land. Eadmund and his brother Eadred seem to have been chiefly occupied in wars with Northumbria and its Hiberno-Danish rulers. The *Chronicle* records the history of successive battles, peaces and renewals of strife, ultimately terminating in Eadred's possession of the Northumbrian realm.

Let us now consider when the coin of Howel Dda is likely to have been minted.

In the preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841 (*Aneurin Owen*), it is stated that "about the commencement of the tenth century we find Howel Dda, or Howel the Good, a conspicuous king in South Wales, in the government of which he succeeded his father Cadell. He inherited from his mother Elen possessions in Powys, and his influence appears to have been powerful throughout North Wales." As we have seen above, Howel went to Rome in 926, and in the same year his mother Elen died.

The reign of Æthelstan seems to have been one when the strength of the King of Wessex was fully felt, but, on his death in 940, when his brother Eadmund, a lad of 18 years, succeeded, it may well be that Howel Dda, then in the height of his power, tried to put into execution the Cymric ideal of a ruler of all the Britons, the wearer of Arthur's crown. For this purpose Chester was the best available capital, uniting as it did the land of Cymru and the territories of the Strathclyde Welsh, situate in the fairest vale of the land and commanding the seas leading to and from Ireland, the land of the foes to English rule and the constant invaders of Northumbria.

No coin of Eadweard, Æthelstan, or Eadmund bearing the name of Howel's moneyer, Gillys, has yet been recorded, but as we have seen, the name occurs on those of Eadred and Eadgar, and in the case of the earlier coins of the latter king, in conjunction with the mint of Chester. It is therefore suggested that the coin of Howel Dda is of



Eadmund's reign, soon after his accession, and that Gillys continued to coin at Chester for Eadred and Eadgar, just as Ingelgar coined at York for Anlaf, Eric and Eadred.

In the laws of Howel Dda he is styled "Prince of Cymru" and "King of all Cymru." There are three versions of the code, one for Venedotia, or North Wales, a copy being deposited at the King's Court at Aberffraw; one for Demetia, or South Wales, a copy being deposited at Dynevor; and the third for Gwent, or South-east Wales. The laws show that the king had a proper conception of his dignity. In his great hall at Aberffraw, in Gwynedd, the King was inviolable; the violation of his protection, or violence in his presence, could only be atoned for by a great fine—a hundred cows and a white bull with red ears for each cantrev, or hundred, he possessed, a rod of gold as long as himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as a ploughman's nail.

His sons, nephews and any relatives he chose to summon, surrounded him, and could make free progress amongst his subjects. Of the great officers, the chief of the household came next to the King: he was the executive officer of the Court. The chief judge occupied at night the seat occupied by the king during the day, so that justice should always be obtainable. The duties and privileges of all the members of the king's retinue are minutely described. (*Wales*, by Owen M. Edwards, 1903.)

But, like all other men, whether good or bad, Howel the Good departed this life, and his dreams of British unity and one king for all Cymru were dissipated by the quarrels of his sons. Thus we learn that in the year 973 Eadgar brought all his naval force to Chester and there came to meet him eight kings, viz. (according to *William of Malmesbury* and others), Kinad, King of the Scots, Malcolm of the Cambrians, that prince of pirates, Maccus, and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufual, Giferth, Huval (Howel ab Howel Dda), Jacob and Judethal. These, being summoned to his Court, were bound to him by one, and that a lasting oath. He exhibited them on the river Dee in triumphal ceremony; for, putting them on board the same vessel, he compelled

them to row him as he sat at the prow,<sup>1</sup> thus displaying his regal magnificence, who held so many kings in subjection; indeed, he is reported to have said that his successors might truly boast of being kings of England, since they could enjoy so singular an honour.

The selection of Chester for this ceremony of homage is significant when we now know that it had been chosen by Howel Dda for the exercise of his royal prerogative in the issue of a regal coinage.

NOTES AS TO HOWEL FROM DR. BIRCH'S  
*CARTULARIUM SAXONICUM.*

No. 663. Witenagemot at Exeter. Grant by King Athelstan to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, of land at Stoke, co. Hants. 16th April, A.D. 928.

Witnesses. Next after Athelstanus.

"Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi."

No. 675. Witenagemot at Worthy, co. Hants. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfric of land at Wæclesford, or Watchfield, co. Berks. 21st June, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York).

✠ Ego Hupal subregulus consensi 7 subscripsi.

No. 677. Witenagemot at Luton. Grant by King Athelstan to the thegn Wulfgar of land "at Hamme," or Ham, co. Wilts. 12th November, A.D. 931.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 689. Witenagemot at Middeltun. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ædelgeard of land at Meon, co. Hants. 30th August, A.D. 932.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

Ego Hopel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 697. Grant of privileges by King Æthelstan to Chertsey Abbey. 16th of December, A.D. 933.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King).

Ego Hupol subregulus subscripsi ✠

<sup>1</sup> According to *Florence of Worcester* he took the helm.

No. 702. Witenagemot at Winchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to the thegn Ælfwald of land at Derantune, near Canterbury, co. Kent. 28th May, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Hopæl subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 703. Witenagemot at Nottingham. Grant by King Ædelstan to St. Peter's Church, York, of land at Agemundernes, Amounderness Hundred, co. Lancaster. 7th June, A.D. 930 for 934 (?).

Witnesses. Fourth (after the King and two Archbishops).

✠ Ego Howael subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 1344 (703B) is another form of No. 703.

No. 705. Grant by King Æthelstan to Winchester Cathedral of land at Enedford, or Enford, co. Wilts. 16th December, A.D. 934.

Witnesses. Second (next to the King and before the two Archbishops).

Ego Hupal subregulus.

No. 706. Anglo-Saxon form of No. 705.

Witnesses. Second.

Hupal Vnder cyning.

No. 716. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Broemel, or Bremhill, co. Wilts. 21st December, A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fifth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 718. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Grant by King Æthelstan to Malmesbury Abbey of land at Wdetun, or Wootton, co. Wilts. 21st December, A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Fourth.

Ego Howel subregulus consensi et subscripsi.

No. 719. Witenagemot at Dorchester. Compound Charter of King Ethelstan, embracing the grants in Nos. 671, 672, 716 and 717, etc. 21st December, A.D. 937.

No. 721. Grant by King Æthelstan to St. Peter's Church, Exeter, of land at Topsham, co. Devon. A.D. 937.

Witnesses. Sixth.

✠ Ego Hopæl regulus.

No. 815. Poetical grant by King Eadred to Wulfric the "Pedisequus" of land at Workingtone, co. Cumberland (?) A.D. 946.

Witnesses. (After the King, Archbishops, Bishops, and "*pontifices*.")

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 882. Grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, "*miles*" of land at Burgtune, on the River Wenris, or Bourton-on-the-Water, on the River Windrush, co. Gloucester. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Sixth in the first column (or seventh including Eadred). Hopæl rex.

No. 883. Grant by King Eadred to Æpelmær, "*præses*" of land at Cetwuda and Hildesdun, or Chetwood and Hillesden, co. Buckingham. A.D. 949.

Witnesses. Twelfth in first column.

✠ Hopæl regulus.

No. 1350 (1044C). Record of the dispute between Huwel Da<sup>1</sup> and Morgan Hen as to the descent of the Cantreds of Glamorgan, settled by King Edgar in Council. About A.D. 959 (*sic*).

#### COINAGE OF WILLIAM I., RICHARD I. AND JOHN AT RHUDDLAN.

We must now pass to the consideration of the Norman coinage of Wales, or rather *for* Wales. This consists of very few pieces, the only coins hitherto described being two, from the same dies, of the last issue (the Paxs type) of William the Conqueror of the Rhuddlan mint. These appeared in the great Beaworth hoard, and were originally attributed by the late Mr. Hawkins to Huntingdon, but are now included in the British Museum cabinet as to one specimen under *Huntingdon* and as to the other under *Romney*.

The two coins are read in Mr. Hawkins's list, ELFPINE ON HVDIN, and the following footnote is given :—

"This letter as much resembles R as H, and the coin may read RVDIN for Rhuddlan, but the name of the moneyer makes H the more probable reading."

What is said as to the moneyer has reference to the coins of the same type reading IELFPINE ON HVT (Huntingdon).

The Rhuddlan coins, however, really read ✠**ÆELFPINE ON RVDILI** Plate, Figs. 6 and 7, and there can be no reasonable doubt of the Welsh mint being the correct attribution, indeed it was so appropriated by Mr. Brumell as long ago as in 1838. The name IELFPINE occurs

<sup>1</sup> Probably Howel the son of Howel Dda.

on coins of many mints of the paxs-type issue, amongst them, of Hereford, a city on the Welsh border.

From *Domesday Book*, Vol. I, folio 269, we learn that Rotbert de Roelent or Rodelend (Rhuddlan) held North Wales of the King at farm for forty pounds. The following entries concerning Rhuddlan also occur in Vol. I, folio 269 :—

“CHESHIRE.

“IN ATISCROS HUNDRED.

“Earl Hugh (of Chester) holds of the King ROELEND (Rhuddlan).

“There in the time of King Edward ENGLEFELD lay, and all was waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was in like manner waste. Now he has in demesne the half of the castle which is called ROELENT, and is the *caput* of this land. There he has eight burgesses, and the half of the church and of the *minting rights*, and a half of the iron ore that may anywhere be found in this Manor and a half of the water of Cloit (the river Clwyd) and of the Mills and fisheries that may be there, that is to say, in that part of the river which belongs to the fee of the Earl, and a half of the forests which pertain to any vill of this Manor, and a half of the toll, and a half of the vill which is called Bren &c. &c. . . . .”

“ROTBERTVS de ROELENT holds of Earl Hugh a half of the same castle and borough, in which Rotbert himself has ten burgesses, and a half of the church and of the *minting rights* and iron minerals there found, and a half of the water of Cloith and of the fisheries and mills there made and being made, and a half of the toll and forests which belong to any vill of the above-said Manor, and a half of the vill which is called BREN &c.

“The lands of this Manor, Roelend and Englefeld, or of the other bailiwicks pertaining to it were never gelded or hided.

"In this Manor of Roelend there is made a new castle likewise called Roelent.

"There is a new borough and in it 18 burgesses between the Earl and Robert as above said, and the burgesses themselves have the laws and customs which are in Hereford and in Breuill, that is to say, that for the whole year for any forfeitures they owe nothing except XII pence for homicide and theft and premeditated Heinfar.

"In the very year of this description toll is given to the farm of this burgh for three shillings.

"The rent of Earl Hugh out of Roelent and Englefeld is worth 6 pounds and 10 shillings. Robert's part is 17 pounds and three shillings."

Turning to Hereford, therefore, we find that, according to the survey, the moneyers paid eighteen shillings for their dies and twenty shillings within a month after receiving them; that when the King came into the city they had to mint as much money as he required, and upon their death the King received a heriot of twenty shillings, or if they died intestate a forfeiture of all their goods. It would seem, however, at Rhuddlan, that the Earl and Robert de Rhuddlan stood in the place of the King.

The Rhuddlan mint was again in operation in the reigns of Richard I. and John, when short-cross pennies still bearing, as was usual, the name of Henry II., were issued.

These are of Class II, (1189-1205).<sup>1</sup>

❖ **hALLI ON RVLΛ**, *retrograde, British Museum.*

❖ **hALLI • ON • RVLΛ**, *retrograde, Plate, Fig. 8. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✱ **hALLI ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

✱ **hALLI • ON • RVTΛN**, *Plate, Fig. 9. W. Talbot Ready.*

✱ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum.*

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 365.

- ❖ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**, *British Museum.*
- ❖ **TOMAS ON RVLΛ**, Plate, Fig. 10. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ❖ **TOMAS • ON RVLΛH**, Plate, Fig. 11. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

Class III, (1205-1216).

- ✱ **HENRICVS ON RVLΛ**.
- ✱ **HENRICVS • ON • RVTN**, Plate, Fig. 12. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ✱ **HENRICVS • ON RVLTN**, Plate, Fig. 13. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*
- ❖ **SIMOD ON RVLΛ**, *retrograde.*
- ❖ **SIMOND ON RVLΛ**. *P. Carlyon-Britton.*

The reading of the mint names RVLAN and RVTLAN, in Class II are fuller than those usually found, and the latter reading has not hitherto been published. In Class III the readings RVTN and RVLTN are also unpublished. After the fresh light these coins throw upon their attribution, the mint need no longer be followed by the query we so often see after it, for the readings can leave no reasonable doubt as to Rhuddlan being indicated.

Rhuddlan was a borough and formerly a seaport in the present county of Flint, its name being supposed to be derived from the red colour of the soil of the banks of the river Clwyd, on which it is situate. The adjoining marsh, called Englefield or "Morfa Rhuddlan," was the scene of a great battle in 795 between the Mercians under Offa and the Welsh under Caradoc, King of North Wales, who was there defeated and slain. In 1015 Llewelyn ab Sytsyllt, King of North Wales, erected (or restored) a fortress and palace here, which, after his assassination in 1021, continued to be the principal residence of his son and successor, Gruffydd ab Llewelyn. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the castle was captured by Harold. According to the *Domesday* entries, the castle at the close of Edward's reign was possessed by Edwin, Earl of Chester. A new castle was erected, as we have also seen, by Robert Fitz Umfrid, surnamed from this place "de Roelent," who was a cousin of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester. In 1109 Gruffydd ab Cynan attacked the castle, burnt the outer ward and killed many of the garrison.

Henry II. in 1157 advanced to Rhuddlan, repaired the castle, and



garrisoned it with a strong force. This King was again here in 1165, but for a few days only. In 1167 the castle of Rhuddlan, after a gallant defence of two months, was taken by Owain Gwynedd, and later we find it given by Henry II. to Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd on his marriage with Emma, natural sister of that King.

Towards the close of the reign of Richard I. Ranulph, Earl of Chester, was besieged in this castle by the Welsh under Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, King of North Wales in succession to Davydd, but after a long siege he was ultimately relieved by Roger de Lacy, the Earl's Lieutenant. King John, in 1211, advanced through Rhuddlan into Carnarvonshire. In the following year the castle was unsuccessfully attacked by Llewelyn, but was captured by him in 1214.

The short-cross coins of Rhuddlan correspond with the events recorded in the reigns of Richard I. and John, on occasions when the privilege and duty of minting the king's coins, existing in the Conqueror's reign, would be revived and enforced. The reference previously given to the custom at Hereford, and therefore also at Rhuddlan, of a special coinage whilst the king was there upon an expedition, may account for these particular issues at Rhuddlan. These pennies are, as is apparent to anyone who examines them, of rougher workmanship than those of other mints issued at the same periods, so that at a glance and without reading the inscriptions, those having experience can allocate them to Rhuddlan, just as one can in like manner detect the coins of Edward I. and II. struck at Berwick-on-Tweed.

It is probable, therefore, that in each case the dies were of local manufacture, the reason in the case of Rhuddlan being the special circumstances attendant on the issue of the coins, and in the case of Berwick the remoteness of the place from the die-issuing centre, at that time London. These remarks will equally apply to the next section of the coinage of Wales described—namely, the coinage of St. David's.

The period assigned to the issue of the various classes of short-cross coins are those suggested by Mr. H. A. Grueber in his account of



the Colchester find<sup>1</sup> being, with a slight modification, the classification arrived at by Sir John Evans many years before. The date 1208, however, is corrected to 1205.

In his account of the Rhuddlan mint contained in the same paper,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Grueber remarks that "The absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck." He seems, therefore, to have been unaware of, or to have forgotten, the important entries in *Domesday Book* relating to the "moneta" of Rhuddlan and its ownership, which may also account for the allocation of the Rhuddlan coins of William I. to the mints of Huntingdon and Romney, in the trays of our National collection.

The short-cross coins of Henry II., and his immediate successors reading **ĽAR** and **ĽARD**, formerly attributed to Cardiff, have been rightly corrected to Carlisle (Carduil) and Wales was thus left mintless until a short time since.

#### NOTES ON RUDDLAN FROM THE PIPE ROLL,

14 HEN. II. p. 199. A.D. 1167-1168.

*Windlesores.* (Richard de Luci renders the account.)

Gaufrido de Ver. c. 11. ad custodiendā March Walie.

\* \* \*

Et Comiti Cestř .xx. m̃ ad muniēd Castell de Ruelent.

\* \* \*

Et Gaufr̃ de Ver .iiii. 11 \* \* s̃ ad pficiendā libat̃ seruētū ī Discessu eŕcitu<sup>9</sup> de Ruelēt.

#### *Anglicized.*

To Geoffrey de Ver £100 for the guarding of the Marches of Wales.

\* \* \*

And to the Earl of Chester 20 marks for the strengthening of the defences of the Castle of Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

\* \* \*

And to Geoffrey de Ver £4 in the furnishing of payments to servants in the marching off (? retreat or withdrawal) of the army from Ruelent [Rhuddlan].

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

COINAGE AT ST. DAVID'S, IN THE TIME OF  
WILLIAM I.

Among the coins of William I., discovered at Beaworth in 1833, there are enumerated, in the account by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins of that find printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, and reprinted in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, five specimens bearing on the reverse the inscription :

+ TVRRI ON DEVITVN.

These are placed under the head of "uncertain," in lieu of being assigned, as are the bulk of the coins, to some definite place of mintage.

By way of an explanation of the uncertainty, the following footnote is added.

These pieces are probably forgeries, and the names of the mint and moneyer factitious. See the account of some barbarous coins at the end of the catalogue.

Following the direction contained in the footnote we find, not quite at the end of the catalogue, but mixed up with the coins of York :

- 16.<sup>1</sup> The workmanship of which is exceedingly bad, and of a peculiar character ; on three only of them the King's name is intelligible, and none of the reverses are so, except perhaps one, viz., NVTIVED NO IIVT, *i.e.* TVRRI ON DEVITVN, written retrograde : and it is remarkable that the five coins inserted in the foregoing list, with this legend, are the only ones which resemble these barbarous pieces in workmanship.

To this description is appended another footnote, in the following words :

"It is difficult to ascribe a probable origin to these coins ; the workmanship is so bad and so different in style,

<sup>1</sup> The number 16 refers to the number of specimens discovered.

the inscriptions so entirely without probable interpretation, that they can scarcely be considered to have been struck under the royal authority ; and yet the weight and fineness of the metal, equalling that of the authentic coins, seem to take away the great temptations to forgery."

The inconsistency between the first and last footnotes is too obvious to render comment desirable or necessary. The uncertainty and want of logical thought, unhappily so usual in the case of the official numismatist, are here displayed, but fortunately clothed in language too honestly simple to disguise the facts. We are able to extract the following points :—

1. That twenty-one coins of this "uncertain" class were examined by Mr. Hawkins.
2. That they came from the great Beaworth hoard in company with thousands of undoubted coins of William I.
3. That six bore the inscription + TVRRI ON DEVITVN, which, in one case, was retrograde.
4. That the remaining fifteen "uncertain" specimens resembled the six "Devitun" coins in being of "bad," "exceedingly bad," "different" and "peculiar" workmanship, character and style.
5. That the weight and fineness of the metal of the whole twenty-one "uncertain" coins were equal to those of the undoubted and authentic examples.

The facts that the coins under consideration are of the weight and fineness of the last issue of the reign of William I., the Paxs type (Type VIII)<sup>1</sup> and were found with a great deposit of money chiefly of that issue, which presents none of the peculiarities alluded to by

<sup>1</sup> These numerals refer to the order of types in my *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.*, commenced in this *Journal*.

Mr. Hawkins, should have enabled him to finally dismiss the theory of these pieces being forgeries.

The circumstance of the "uncertain" coins having been found with many others of the same type of good workmanship, precludes the idea of their having been of later manufacture, and mere degraded reproductions through the faulty copying and recopying over a long period of a well executed original pattern.

It must therefore be concluded :

1. That the "uncertain" coins are genuine, and consequently not forgeries of their period of issue or of any subsequent time.
2. That they are of the same issue and period as the other coins of the Paxs-type.
3. That they were current coin, and, like the remainder of the Beaworth coins, had stood the test of, and had been deposited in, the Royal Treasury at Winchester.<sup>1</sup>

Having deduced these definite conclusions, it is now proposed to closely consider the coins and the inscriptions borne upon them.

The mint named Devitun was for a long time referred to Devizes, in Wiltshire, apparently because of the similarity of the first two syllables. There seems to have been no substantial ground for this attribution, because, as *Domesday* shows us, at the time of its compilation, which was immediately prior to the period of issue of the Paxs-type coins, Devizes was called "Theodulveshide." The present writer, early in 1901, suggested Downton, in Wiltshire, as the place of mintage of the Devitun coins, but was chiefly influenced in that view by the attribution to Shaftesbury of a remarkable penny of the moneyer Godesbrand, more particularly referred to hereafter.

At the time of the attribution of the Devitun coins to Downton it must be remembered that the subject of a Welsh coinage had not received any consideration, or to be more correct, it was then thought that there was no Welsh coinage to be considered.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 27.

The Devitun coins consist of several groups, all intimately connected.

1. *Obverse*.—**\*PILLEIM REI\***; similar to the ordinary design of Type VIII—the Paxs-type—but a large annulet intersecting the arches of the crown and a cross pommée on the king's right shoulder.  
*Reverse*.—**\*GODESBRAND ON SI\***; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship. Plate, Fig. 14.
2. *Obverse*.—From the *same* die as No. 1.  
*Reverse*.—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN\***; similar to No. 1. Plate, Fig. 15.
3. *Obverse*.—**\*PILLELM REI\***; ordinary design of Type VIII, but of rougher workmanship.  
*Reverse*.—**\*TVRRI ON DEVITVN\***; from the *same* die as No. 2. Plate, Fig. 16.
4. *Obverse*.—Blundered inscription, three pellets on the King's right shoulder (as is usual).  
*Reverse*.—Blundered inscription. Ordinary type but of rough workmanship. Plate, Fig. 17.
5. *Obverse*.—Similar, but cross pommée on the King's right shoulder.  
*Reverse*.—Similar to No. 4. Plate, Fig. 18.

It will be noted that Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same obverse die, and that Nos. 2 and 3 are from the same reverse die, so the three pieces are indissolubly connected.

The large annulet which cuts the arches of the crown on Nos. 1 and 2, and the cross pommée forming the ornament on the right shoulder of the King on Nos. 1, 2 and 5, are unmistakable signs of the ecclesiastical origin of the pieces bearing them, although the cross pommée has not hitherto been noticed in this significance on coins earlier than some of the short-cross series of the reigns of Henry II. to Henry III.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 38.

The conditions require, therefore, the attribution of the Devitun pieces to an ecclesiastical mint situate in a remote district where the coins emanated from dies of local manufacture, and did not possess the good work and neat design existent in the case of coins issued from mints to which dies were supplied from the great centre of London.

St. David's, in the remote west of Wales, the site of an ancient episcopal, if not an archiepiscopal See, the resting place of the Patron Saint of Wales, a celebrated shrine of pilgrimage visited by William the Conqueror himself, seems to fulfil all the conditions required by the money under consideration. *Dewi* is the Welsh for David, and one of the four townships or "cylchs" (= circles, or courses), into which the parish is divided, is even now called Dewiston, just as the peninsula on which St. David's is situate is known as Dewisland. Dewiston and Oppidum Sancti Davidis are the recognised equivalents to St. David's.

To a Norman moneyer DEVITVN was the obvious rendering of Dewiston.

Having now dealt with the mint, let us see what light is thrown upon the matter by the name of the moneyer, Godesbrand, which occurs on No. 3.

The earliest coin known to the writer bearing this name, and having sufficient of that of the mint to definitely determine the place, is one of Type VII<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1055-1057) of Edward the Confessor which reads on the reverse, +GODESBROD ON SER=Shrewsbury.

It is therefore probable that the coins of Type VI (A.D. 1053-1055) and Type IX (A.D. 1059-1061), Nos. 1164 and 1173 in Vol. II of the *British Museum Catalogue*, must be removed from Shaftesbury to Shrewsbury, together with the writer's coin of Type X, reading +GODESBRAND only, and the remarkable "mule" reading +GODESBRAND ON 2, which is No. 1175 of the *British Museum Catalogue*.

The problem is, however, to some extent complicated by reason of the facts that the name Godesbrand, or Godsbrand, occurs at Shaftesbury on coins of Types VI (Hks. 243), VII (Hks. 239), and

<sup>1</sup> These numerals, when they refer to coins of Edward the Confessor, are the order of his types in the writer's "Eadward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903.

VIII (Hks. 241) of William I.; on an Exeter coin of Type VII (reading not authenticated); at Malmesbury on the Mule VII-VIII (Hks. 240) and Type VIII (Hks. 241); also on coins of Type VIII of **BA** (probably Barnstaple) and **E** (Cricklade?); and on coins of Type VIII reading **SRI** and **SI** hitherto attributed to Shaftesbury, but which probably ought to be removed to Shrewsbury.

There seem, therefore, to have been more than one moneyer of the name of Godesbrand, but it is at least worthy of note that the name does not appear again after the issue of the last type of the Conqueror's coins.

The Godesbrand who struck at Malmesbury probably exchanged towns with Seword, of Barnstaple, during the issue of Type VIII of William I., as both names occur at each town on coins of that issue, and the last named continued to strike at Malmesbury during the issue of Types 1 and 2 of William II.

Godesbrand of Shrewsbury seems to have gone to St. David's probably by the direction of Roger de Montgomery as lord of both Shrewsbury and Pembroke, taking with him, at any rate, his movable upper or reverse die.

His mission there was, we may infer, to instruct Turri, the moneyer of Sulien, Bishop of St. David's, in the art of coinage.

His first act would therefore be to engrave an obverse die and to use it in conjunction with his imported Shrewsbury die. Then came the engraving and use of the die which produced the reverses of Nos. 2 and 3, first with the obverse die of No. 1, and then with a new obverse die, or, it may be, with the obverse die properly belonging to the reverse of No. 1, as it bears no distinctive ecclesiastical mark and may well have been brought by Godesbrand from Shrewsbury.

Godesbrand seems soon to have left his pupil Turri to do his own work, and coins Nos. 4 and 5 and some variants are attributed to this stage of the proceedings.

Turri would appear to be a form of name derived from Thurgrim, other forms of which are Turgrim, Thurrim, and Thurrin, just as Terri came from Tierri, Thidric, and Theoderic.

We have now shown that there is nothing suspicious about the name of mint or moneyer. The issue of coins at St. David's arose, it



is confidently suggested, out of the visit of William I. to St. David's, an event which is generally assigned to the year 1081.

The English chroniclers attribute a military motive to the expedition, while those of Wales assign to it a religious character. The actual truth seems to be that William went into Wales to inspect, and, if need be, conquer the land by the sword, but, finding no opposition, he went peacefully to St. David's and gave his action a politic turn in gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants by an act of devotion to their patron saint.

Tribute had been exacted from Wales by Harold on behalf of Edward the Confessor, then his king, and the observance of this financial duty, touching as it did both the pocket and dignity of William I., was one that he doubtless provided should be renewed or continued as a condition of his peaceful withdrawal from the land of Cymru. In this connection it must be remembered that, when in England, the Conqueror's custom was to keep his Christmas at Gloucester, and there he kept his last in the year 1086. Gloucester was conveniently situate as regards South Wales, and thence any neglect to render tribute could have been speedily punished.

It is possible that coins of Type VI (Hks. 243) and Type VII (Hks. 239) may yet be found of the St. David's mint. Type VI was current at the date of the Conqueror's visit to St. David's in 1081. It is, however, probable that the issue of coins began and ceased with those of the Paxs-type (Michaelmas, 1086, to September, 1087).

The death of William I. occurred on the 10th of September, 1087, and Bishop Sulien died in the following year, whilst in that year also St. David's seems to have been utterly destroyed by a foreign foe, probably Danes or Hiberno-Danes.

The following entry is taken from Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, II, p. 649.

"Anno MLXXXVIII. Sulgenus Episcopus lxxv. ætatis suæ anno moritur, Menevia frangitur et destruitur a Gentilibus."

Before concluding these remarks on the mint of St. David's, it is the writer's pleasant duty to acknowledge the co-operation of his colleague, Mr. W. J. Andrew, in the search for a satisfactory attribution



of the Devitun coins. Although the likelihood of *Devi* and *Dewi* being identical had occurred to the writer during the preparation of the other sections of this paper, the actual crystallization of the idea took place in the course of a discussion with Mr. Andrew on this and other subjects. In making this acknowledgment it is not the writer's wish to burden his friend's shoulders with the arguments adduced in support of the main proposition that the hitherto mysterious Devitun is really no other than the far-famed St. David's of Wales.

It must be remembered that at this period the Bishops of St. David's still exercised independent archiepiscopal powers, but, under Norman influence, these were waning, and Bishop Bernard, who was elected to the see in 1115, submitted his diocese to the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Upon this event it seems not improbable that the minting rights of St. David's were transferred to the *caput* of the district—Pembroke Castle, the Norman stronghold of south-west Wales.

#### COINAGE OF HENRY I. AT PEMBROKE.

The remaining discovery to be recorded is that of coins minted at Pembroke in the reign of Henry I.

Pembroke (in Cymric, "*Penvro*," signifying a headland or promontory) is situate in the south-westernmost part of Wales, but a few miles from St. David's and near to Milford Haven, where a find of coins of Henry I. occurred. Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, entrusted the original fortress, or mound with stake palisade, to Gerald of Windsor, who made it an almost impregnable stronghold. During the reign of William Rufus and the revolts of Gruffydd and Cadogan, Pembroke, under Gerald, was the only castle in the west that held out against them. Early in the reign of Henry I., on the fall of Robert de Belesme, his brother Arnulf de Montgomery and Pembroke also fell, and he was sent into exile. *Orderic* twice styles him an Earl, evidently assuming that he was Earl of Pembroke, but he was probably mistaken, although Arnulf's position in South Wales, as Lord of Pembroke, was but secondary in name to that dignity.

Gerald of Windsor, who married Nest, daughter of Rhys ab Tewdwr, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan (a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis) rebuilt the castle of Pembroke in the year 1105 on a stronger site, called Congarth Vechan. The marriage of Gerald of Windsor with Nest, constituting as it did a tie with the princes of Wales, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry I., who used all means of reducing his authority and influence.

We find, therefore, that in 1138 Gilbert de Clare was created, by Stephen, Earl of Pembroke, and thus became possessed of the castle and extensive territories, and that the Earldom received the privilege of *jura regalia*, so that Pembrokeshire became a County Palatine.

The only three known coins of Pembroke are of Mr. Andrew's Type XIV<sup>1</sup> (Hawkins 262), and are in the cabinet of the writer of this paper. This type was current from 1128 to 1131. They may be described as follows :

*Obverse.*—✠ **HENRICVS RE.** Crowned bust facing ; sceptre fleury (held in the King's right hand) to the left, and a star to the right of the head ; suspended from either side of the crown three pellets. All within a circle springing from the shoulders.

*Reverse.*—✠ **GILLEPATRI : ON : PEI.** A large quatrefoil enclosing a star upon a cross of pellets, each foil surmounted by three annulets conjoined ; opposite each spandrel, a fleur-de-lys inwards springing from an inner circle. Plate, Figs. 19, 20, 21.

The Pipe Roll of 1129-1130 records that Hait, the Sheriff, rendered an account of the firma of Pembroke, and that he had paid into the treasury £58 18s. 9d. and owed £1 1s. 3d., thus showing that Pembroke paid a firma of £60. A little lower down is another entry bearing directly on the Pembroke coins just described.


"Gillopatric *the moneyer* renders an account of £4 for a forfeiture in respect of the last year's money. He pays £2 into the treasury and owes £2."

<sup>1</sup> *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*

This entry on the Pipe Roll of the very period of the issue of the coins described, containing, as it does, the name of the moneyer, whose name also appears on the coins, is conclusive evidence of their being of Pembroke, and is only one more instance of the value of Numismatic science as a handmaid to historical research.

## CONCERNING THE EVOLUTION OF SOME REVERSE TYPES OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN COINAGE.

BY WILLIAM SHARP OGDEN.

HE object of this paper is to draw attention to the patterns or devices displayed on the reverse faces of a number of the early post-Conquest pennies, and, by remarking their distinctive features, to show how in some instances designs apparently quite distinct from each other are merely variants traceable to a remote but evident prototype. Again, others will be shown to have arisen from the adoption and multiplication of religious symbols or emblems, grouped around or attached to a special central figure. Some of these display considerable ingenuity and variety of fancy in the elaboration of designs constructed from purely symbolic detail.

These symbols, although limited in number, are in their own proper forms treated with great elasticity and boldness. Location of mint, lapse of time, and local method of expression are, however, all factors in producing really surprising varieties of an originally simple form ; so that it is easy to see that when these multiple divergencies are used as decorative and intentionally symbolic detail, we may expect an artistic, if somewhat intricate, result ; and certainly nowhere in the wide field of Numismatics can there be found such infinite license and variety of pattern, produced by simple forms enriching a dominant central figure, at once the most conservative and austere.

It is worthy of note that in the infancy of Numismatic art, when it first adventured on its most interesting career, the little ungainly dumps of metal were impressed on one side only with the seal or badge of the sovereign, as the sole charge ; thus the newly invented coin

possessed an obverse but no reverse, unless the rude punch mark of the standard die may be considered as such.

The Lydian coins of Gyges, 700 B.C., bear the king's seal only, without other image or superscription, and it is very interesting to observe that from that remote period some similar feature, as a national emblem or heraldic figure, has constantly been presented, in many varying forms, on the coins of empires, states and cities, even to the present time, including our own land where the seal of the sovereign appears as the arms of the state. An important addition, however, was soon effected when the coin was enriched by a double charge, and by the introduction of a figure or head of some deity or of the sovereign. This, of course, took the place of honour, and the original charge became the reverse—the modern reverse being the survival of the actual obverse of the most ancient money.

As there is no rule without an exception, it may be remarked that of many pieces of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, owing to the absence of a head or other leading figure, it is almost impossible to determine obverse from reverse; but as there is frequently a similarity in both, it is perhaps not a matter of much moment.

The principal, if not sole, coin for centuries before and after the period of the Norman Conquest of England was the penny or *denier*. This coin was common to all Christian countries. Although generally devoid of the graces of artistic design and frequently barbarous in fabric, the coinage of this era is especially interesting from its vast variety of pattern and frequent change of detail. Much variety is due to the great number of independent mints that sprang up after the death of Charlemagne, and we may regard this period as an epoch in the history of Christendom. The Frankish empire was at an end, and powerful states were arising and contending for mastery; the legend of the Millennium, with all that it meant, flourished and faded; and the growing power of the Church was more and more controlling all affairs of state and the functions of government. So that it is not surprising to find the especial sign or emblem of that Church appearing prominently on the coinage—the sole medium of universal circulation—as a mutual pledge of the unity of Church and State, of the

ENGLISH TYPES.



FIG. 1.—WILLIAM I.



FIG. 2.—HENRY II.

EVOLUTION.



FIG. 3.

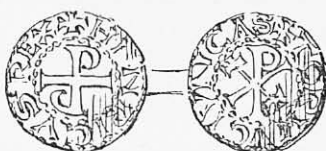


FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

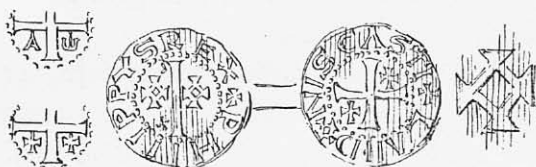


FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.



FIG. 16.



FIG. 17.



FIG. 18.

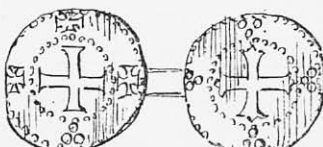


FIG. 19.



FIG. 20.

W. S. O.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.

PL. I.

indebtedness and reliance of one to the other ; the Crown deriving sanctity from the Church and rendering back the strength and force of the Law ; a state of things mutually advantageous to both parties.

It is reasonable to expect that the coins of separate countries should have characteristic peculiarities, and in fact this is so ; but the frequent overlapping of boundaries, by conquest or heirship, helped greatly to blend the types of adjacent states, especially in those more or less closely connected by racial or family ties. For example, by comparing the coins of Normandy, Brittany and Aquitaine with each other, or the Frankish with those of Flanders, and all these again with the Danish and later Saxon types of England, we may at once perceive that certain primal types, varying in detail only, are common to each and all.

It is not our purpose to enquire or discuss why this or that type was adopted at the time, nor the reason for its issue. For these are more questions of historical research. Our object is to show the origin and progressive stages by which the ultimate forms of the early Anglo-Norman coinage were obtained, and give them "a local habitation and a name."

Although there is great variety of pattern, or type as it is termed, and these types are continually varying without obvious reason other than that of rendering each issue distinct from that it displaced, yet on comparison many of the designs resolve themselves into variants of the same idea—merely translated into other forms.

Many, as we have already said, are traceable and akin to the great feudal provinces of France, Normandy, Aquitaine, Brittany, etc., and some through these to Frankish and even Roman Imperial prototypes.

Amidst all the turmoil and conflict of the time, when dynasties were ending and states the mere creatures of a day, the dominant feature of the coinage of Christendom was the cross, with its attendant symbols. This prevailing feature was undoubtedly due to the unity and influence of the Church, and was displayed for a double purpose—primarily and generally as the Emblem of the Faith, but to serve also as a useful guide for dividing and quartering the coins.



It has been surmised that the "*Regis Aurifex*," or King's goldsmith, as cuneator or Master of the Mint, was generally responsible for the continual change of type, and that the patterns or devices were left to the fertility of his fancy ; but this is an inexcusable supposition, offering a fatal facility for shelving the question ; and when we consider how largely the Church controlled all matters of art and learning and all teaching in whatever form, we may reasonably conclude that the motive of the design was delivered by its authority, and from a standpoint above mere artistic caprice ; especially as this was an age when symbolism was universal, permeating all society from the highest to the humblest, and that, in turn, ruled and governed by a rigid obedience to the Church.

It is, however, very probable that the variety exhibited by the succession of types was due, to a considerable extent, to a very reasonable desire to make each fresh issue of coin as distinct in appearance as possible from that it replaced, for the convenience and safety of a rude and ignorant public. It was also very natural in such an important matter as the coinage, the universal circulatory medium passing from hand to hand with all, valued as a possession and reluctantly parted with, that each piece should clearly and unmistakably exhibit the emblem most dear to all peoples of Christendom, and to which no exception could be taken. Thus we find that even upon the early and ruder coins, the cross in its simplest form is generally present and ever the central feature.

But other figures, letters and symbols were soon introduced, and afterwards used also as ornamental additions. These, also, were those most closely identified with the Christian religion, and of frequent and familiar use in its teachings and ceremonies. Foremost amongst these additions we may remark the Greek letters  $\Lambda$ ,  $\Omega$ , *Alpha* and *Omega*, prefiguring Christ as the beginning and end of all things ; and of these letters it may be noted that their form and position, even when used as letters, were altered and adapted without ceremony when circumstances so required.

The Temple, or Heavenly Jerusalem, was also a favourite figure. It first appears as a temple of the classic type, such as is displayed on



the later *denarii* of the Roman Empire; but the degeneracy of this type on the early coins of Normandy is astounding. Other coins gave the same idea as a diagram or plan, or bird's-eye view, or an attempt at both plan and view, the resulting effect of these variations being something very remote from the original idea.

A careful examination of a very large number of contemporary coins of all countries has led me to the conclusion that these three figures, *i.e.*, the cross, the Greek letters A, Ω, and the Temple, together or separately, and disguised by conventional treatment and elaboration into a surprising number of patterns or designs, are the source of, and responsible for, most of the constantly varying types of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.


To illustrate my meaning and render it as clear as possible, I propose selecting a number of the English coins of the period from William the Conqueror to Henry II., as leading or representative types. Then by grouping those which I think are akin to each other, although apparently distinct, and tracing the intermediate changes through which they have passed—which changes have been affected by the produce of other mints or by local influences—to show their evolution from a presumed original prototype.

For the English coins the reference numbers to the types are taken from *The Silver Coinage of England*, but for the Continental examples the references are given from the works of Poey D'Avant, Hoffman, Messrs. Engel and Serrure, Dannenburg and Thomsen, which very fully illustrate the vast variety, not only of contemporary, but of much earlier examples. In their pages the student may exercise his ingenuity in tracing from the earlier coins how, by scores of changes, a crowned head, in course of time, became a temple, or a temple was transformed into a four-pointed star. The illustrations I have prepared will, to some extent, show the process; but the subject is worthy of close enquiry, and will richly repay a patient and unprejudiced investigation. I may add that as this paper is concerned with the device, or figure only, and not with the inscription or lettering, no reference will be made to moneyer or place of mintage.

Selecting the **PAXS** type (Fig. 1) as the last and best known coin

of William I., Hawkins, No. 241, we find that the reverse pattern is that of a large cross pattée covering the inner field of the coin and enriched with four large annulets, one in each quarter. This is a persistent and evidently favourite type, as it was re-issued severally by his successors William II., Henry I. and Stephen, and in general appearance it resembles many earlier Continental coins.

Now, taking this as a typical example and comparing it with an equally well known coin, that of the first issue of Henry II., Hawkins, No. 285, we perceive little or nothing in common beyond a certain formality of pattern—the one having an annulet, whilst the other has a cross pattée in each quarter, with the addition of a small saltire, or four-pointed star, impaled upon the large divisional cross. Yet here we have a curiously interesting illustration in which two distinct types may be traced to an original unlike either, yet possessing the germs of both.

I submit that the germ may be found in the Roman coins of Constantine the Great and of some of the later Christian emperors, on which the imperial standard is shown bearing the Labarum, which carried the monogram of Christ,  the Greek X, P, embroidered in gold on a purple ground, Fig. 101. This continued to be a favourite emblem for many centuries, although often degenerated in form and obscured by various and sometimes curious additions.

Thus the Frankish *deniers* of Eudes in the ninth century display variations of this figure, and the coins of Otho the First and Second, Emperors of Germany in the tenth century, with many of the issues of the feudal and semi-independent mints of this period, show the same idea in different forms, which at length resulted in the main portion of the design being freed from all adornment, and appearing as a large central cross pattée with the letters OTTO introduced, one letter in each quarter. Otho II. approximated the **PAXS** type still closer by spelling his name ODDO and introducing it on the coin in the same manner, Fig. 9. The change from this to the complete annulets so placed is slight indeed; the convenience and symmetry of this pattern were soon appreciated, and it became a great favourite with feudal mints, and is

much in evidence on coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries (see Figs. 5-10). Odo, or Eudes in its French form, as a Christian name was also popular and much in vogue, especially in Northern and Central France.

This annulet type practically came into England after the Norman Conquest, and the annulets were utilised to enclose the letters **PAXS**, or perhaps more correctly **S. PAX**, as commemorating the holy peace. It is true that we have something resembling this type on coins of Canute, Hawkins 213, but probably this was a passing Anglo-Danish variation of the early Frankish or German pattern, as it was not repeated, and varies considerably from the Cross and annulet form.

I suggest that we owe the introduction of the **PAXS** type into England to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half-brother of the Conqueror and for many years his Chancellor. The Eudes or Odo type was in general Continental use, and he, as an overbearing and ambitious man, with almost absolute power as Chancellor, may have regarded it as a safe method of indirectly introducing the symbol of his name on the coinage without arousing the jealousy of his equally self-willed but more powerful Sovereign.

Assuming that we have here a fairly reasonable explanation of the origin of the **PAXS** type, let us now turn to the one we have bracketed with it as practically a variation of the same type, viz., the first issue of Henry II. (Fig. 2). This has a large divisional cross pattée confined within the inner circle of the reverse, and a small cross pattée in each quarter; there is also the addition of a small saltire or star in the centre of the large cross on the majority of the coins.

The connecting link which enables us to trace the common origin of both types, and a curious factor in their creation, is to be found in the dual form of the same letter. Thus, previous to the eleventh century, the German O was round, whilst the Frankish O was a kind of mascle or lozenge pattée, the angles being boldly spread instead of terminating squarely. This gives the letter somewhat the appearance of a cross, with an open lozenge in the centre, and consequently on the coins of Aquitaine, Ponthieu, and other great feudatories of France, the Angevin version of the Otto type appears as shown in the

illustrations (Figs. 11, 13, 15, etc.). In course of time the inner lozenge altogether disappears and becomes a simple cross pattée. To these we have only to add the large divisional cross, and the type is identical with Henry II.'s first coinage, the form of the letter thus creating the only difference.

The second issue of Henry II. also is merely a variety of this type, the alteration being of comparatively slight importance, and this, with some very trifling modification, was continued by Richard I., John, and Henry III., in which last-mentioned reign it finally ceased.

A curious and very interesting instance of the survival and transportation of type is afforded by the coins of Alfonso III. of Portugal, who was of the Angevin family, and, as Count of Boulogne, succeeded in 1248 to the throne of Portugal. During his reign, which lasted for thirty-one years, he issued coins of the *denier* type that are complete facsimiles in everything but inscription of those of Henry II.'s first issue.

As Henry II. was master not only of Aquitaine, but of a great part of France as well as King of England—an Angevin by birth and married to Eleanor of Poitou—it would seem to be a good and sufficient reason why a type belonging to his native land was adopted and retained with little change for four successive reigns; perhaps, also, something was due to an attractiveness of design and to its conveniently allowing the halving or quartering for halfpence or farthings, with one or two complete crosses to each piece (see Figs. 1 to 20).

Further, sacerdotal influence was very great during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John and Henry III. The five crosses symbolised the five wounds of Christ, which being adopted during the Crusades for the arms of Jerusalem (Fig. 90), were, from this time forward, in general use, and engraved upon the stone slabs of all church altars. In the Guildhall Museum, London, there is a broken altar slab of early date, which was recovered from the foundations of one of the London churches during demolition, and bears a variant of this arrangement (Fig. 91).

Another series of reverses of William I. to Stephen shows varieties of a figure resembling a hollow square with concave or curved sides, the angles being foliated or finished with pellets.

Sometimes the sides of the square have two facets, and form a kind of four-pointed star; the large divisional cross is not always present.

Similar patterns are also to be found on the early Norman denier, and on Danish and Anglo-Saxon coins of the eleventh century. I submit that all these figures may be traced to one primal type, that though debased and conventionalized by double, triple and quadruple arrangements of the leading portion of the type, gradually built up a design traceable to, but quite unlike its prototype, the figure of a temple front.

The representation of the Temple is undoubtedly symbolic of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Millennium; the cult of which, now religiously foremost in the minds of all classes, was shortly to fade before the more tangible and evident glories offered by the Crusades.

The reverse types derived from this primal or Temple type, I take to be those of William I., Hawkins, Nos. 234, 235, 236, 238; Henry I., Hawkins, Nos. 255, 260, 261, 265; and Stephen, Hawkins, Nos. 273, 284, with all others that show a similar figure. (See Figs. 21, 22, 23.)

The Temple type in its earliest Christian form on the deniers represents a building of classic design; pillars resting on a base carry a cross-surmounted pediment, and the figure of the god between the columns of the Roman original is here replaced by a large cross pattée; whilst the design and execution is very rude, the motive is clear enough. Later, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the original motive of the design is almost lost, the pediment grows more acute, whilst the pillars are reduced to mere short lines; then the pediment appears in duplicate and reversed, sometimes separated by lettering. Other variants show a triple arrangement, the pediments being placed in a triangular form, or in something that looks like an attempt to show plan and elevation together; then four pediments appear in pairs, the lower pair reversed. Ultimately, however, we obtain a better and quite symmetrical arrangement of four pediments enclosing a central square, enriched by a cross pattée with pellets in the quarters. This design allows of considerable variety without disturbing its general character, and seems about the close of the tenth century to have

## ENGLISH TYPES.



FIG. 21.—WILLIAM I.



FIG. 22.—WILLIAM I.



FIG. 23.—WILLIAM I.

## EVOLUTION.

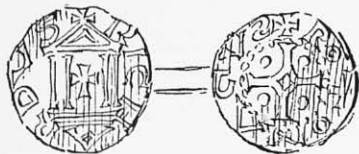


FIG. 24.



FIG. 25.

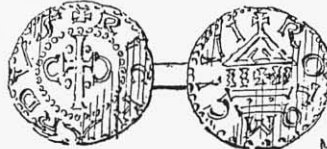


FIG. 26.



FIG. 27.



FIG. 28.



FIG. 29.



FIG. 30.



FIG. 31.



FIG. 32.



FIG. 33.



FIG. 34.



FIG. 35.



FIG. 36.



FIG. 37.



FIG. 38.



FIG. 39.



FIG. 40.



FIG. 41.



FIG. 42.



FIG. 43.



FIG. 44.



FIG. 45.

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PL. II.

F 2



become an accepted and representative figure : it is the latest and best combination that gives us the motive for Hawkins, Nos. 234 and 238 of William I. The derivation is the more likely, as nearly all the rude and early versions are of Norman fabric of the tenth century. The accompanying illustrations (Figs. 21 to 39) will show the "fearsome" character of some of the intermediate varieties which lead up to Figs. 37 and 38, the general idea of which, by a little alteration in the size and shape of the central cross, is very like Hawkins No. 234, where we have the four pediments appearing as a four-pointed star, divided by the large central cross. Comparison of the English with the Norman coins (such as Figs. 34 to 38) shows that the idea is the same in both, the pediments being elongated and the cross altered a little in size and position. Figs. 35 and 36 also show a similar suggestive resemblance to the English coin.

Several Danish and Scandinavian coins of the eleventh century also show varieties of this four and eight-faced figure ; some are without the cross, but generally it is present, either large or small, and always dividing the figure into four sections (Fig. 39).

Another curious series of varieties of this type shows a branching off into a figure that may also be described as a plan or diagram, perhaps, in a sense more graphically showing or symbolising the Holy City as such. French and Scandinavian coins of the eleventh century show this figure as a double square with circular towers at the angles ; and a comparison of these coins, which are very numerous and varied, will disclose that they are undoubtedly intended to represent a large building or city, for the later pieces show the plan improved into an isometrical or bird's-eye view, with walls, turrets and gates (Figs. 40 to 45), on which the cuneator, waxing artistic, develops the idea in unmistakable form. The figure was evidently attractive, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was adopted by many episcopal mints and elaborated into really beautiful and expressive designs representative of abbeys and cities that had no connection with the original idea.

An interesting example of the way that repetition of design will slowly effect an entire change of type is to be found in the remarkable series of Touraine coins issued during the eleventh, twelfth and

AN EVOLUTION.



FIG. 46.



FIG. 47.



FIG. 48.



FIG. 49.

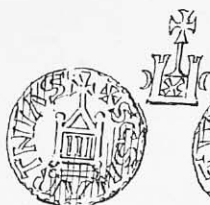


FIG. 50.



FIG. 51.



FIG. 52.



FIG. 53.



FIG. 54.



FIG. 55.



FIG. 56.

CHARLEMAGNE.

TYPES OF CROWNS.

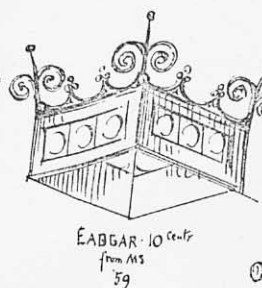
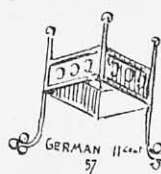


FIG. 62.



FIG. 63.

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PL. III.

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thirteenth centuries, their unusual character being seen in Figs. 47 to 53. There are a very large number of intermediate varieties, but though closely resembling each other, the gradual change is evident; they were issued from the mints of Tours, Chartres, Vendome, etc., all of which are adjacent to Normandy and Anjou.

The earlier coins of this series show a rudely designed and executed but clearly human face in profile, coroneted and with a figure in front resembling the sceptre on the first issue of Henry II.'s English coins, but without inscription. This portrait or head, with many variations, slowly changes into a figure forming three sides of a square, in the centre of which is a large cross pattée; the tassels of the coronet are altered into a pyramidal form, and after attachment to the cross are reversed in position, and then they become the pediment or apex of the square and produce a figure clearly intended to represent or express a building. This is the well-known "Touraine type," that was adopted for the regal coins of France, of St. Louis and Philip III. and IV., etc., and also by the Crusaders as Dukes of Athens, and for Thebes and Antioch as a figure or type of the Temple.

The value of this series of examples of complete transformation of type is very great, especially as during the change it was confined to mints in the immediate neighbourhood of Tours, and the ultimate form adopted is not by any means of a decorative or even attractive character. Its motive is obscure, and certainly not due to ignorance or other debasement of type, as the later coins, and especially the regal issues, are of excellent work. Altogether we may regard this series as showing the remarkable power the sacred type of the Temple possessed over the popular mind at the period of the Crusades. The coincidence of general resemblance and points of detail between the earlier forms of this type and Fig. 53, which is of uncertain Eastern fabric and of early date, should also be remarked.

Another illustration of deviation is to be found in some coins of early but uncertain date and belonging to various German mints. They show a design derived from four large circles conjoined; the centre of this group of circles produces a figure of a concave square in shape, somewhat resembling the central figure on Anglo-Saxon

and Danish coins, and the reverse types of William I., Henry I., and Stephen. Casual observation might give them a similar origin, but, as we have shown, these late Saxon and Norman types are variants of the Temple plan figure, whilst the German coins are due to a totally different origin.

Some of these coins are struck from dies much larger than the flans, and consequently we get only the centre of the device, hence the superficial resemblance. As, however, they were of limited output and confined to a local area, it is impossible to regard them as really akin to the Temple plan type, although stray pieces of these figures may have suggested the extension of the curved centre into complete circles; they may indicate a curious variation branching off towards a new type.

The coins of Charlemagne and many varieties based on his types (Figs. 54, 55, 56), show the monogram KARLOS as a cruciform figure with a lozenge mascle as a central O; and Angevin and other French coins, as previously mentioned, also give the letter O in a square form with the angles pattée; but as both of these types slowly disappear instead of developing, we may reject them as not influencing the Temple type to any serious extent, if at all.

With this phase of the type we may note that strange and curiously uncomfortable variety of regal crown, the square or four-sided example (see Figs. 57 to 63).

We have it represented as actually worn by the King on the Conqueror's coins, Hawkins, No. 242, a variety of the **PAXS** type. Hawkins, No. 263, also shows Henry I. wearing this pattern of crown. Earlier than either of these sovereigns we notice Henry III. of Germany wearing a similar crown, and his coins show it both full and side-faced; it also appears on the coins of Louis VII. of France.

Further, we have in the Cotton MS., Tib. A, iii., a very rich and interesting illumination representing the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar, enthroned and crowned. He is shown, wearing a similarly square crown, but of course, as a drawing, the work is more elaborate and fuller of detail than was possible on a small coin such as the silver penny or denier (see Figs. 57 to 61). There is also a MS. illustration

of Harold II. wearing "a square crown, of which extremely inconvenient shape many examples are to be met with in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries" (Planché).

I submit that whether this form of crown had a real existence or no, it was intended as a representative and especially sacred form, being symbolic of the Holy City, and it was certainly no trivial variety, for we find it adopted and represented as in use in England, France and Germany, and continuing in use during a period of several centuries.

It is interesting to compare these square crowns with the four-sided building of the coins; the resemblance is frequently very close, especially with those showing the cross-surmounted corners, and as many sovereigns are recorded as possessing several of these regal adornments, perhaps this kind may have been that specially worn at Easter or other sacred festivals. The *Saxon Chronicle* records William the Conqueror as wearing a regal helm thrice a year when in England, viz., for Easter at Winchester, for Whitsun at Westminster, and for Christmas at Gloucester. *William of Malmesbury* says that King John was first crowned Duke of Normandy at Rouen with a golden circle adorned with roses, which was clearly not the English crown.

Crowns were also frequent royal offerings at shrines of great repute, but these may have been merely pledged for redemption, or in some cases miniature or specially prepared circlets.

Some coins show a close affinity in motive on both obverse and reverse (Fig. 62): of Canute, Hawkins, No. 212; Henry I., Hawkins, No. 259; and Stephen (Fig. 63), Hawkins Nos. 270, 271, 272. All these show the king's head bearing a crown evidently of a pattern repeated on the reverse, as a plan or diagram; the coincidence is interesting, and they may possibly have been intended as coronation types.

Many of the reverses from William I. to Stephen, and including those already referred to, exhibit a variety of curious figures or ornaments, generally attached as terminals to the cross. Considered by themselves, their meaning is difficult to understand, and some of them would seem to owe their presence more to caprice on the

## ENGLISH TYPES.



FIG. 64.  
WILLIAM II.



FIG. 65.  
HENRY I.



FIG. 66.  
STEPHEN.



FIG. 67.  
EDWARD CONFESSOR.

## EVOLUTION.



FIG. 68.



FIG. 69.



FIG. 70.



FIG. 71.



FIG. 72.



FIG. 73.



FIG. 74.



FIG. 75.



FIG. 76.



FIG. 77.



FIG. 78.



FIG. 79.



FIG. 80.



FIG. 81.



FIG. 82.



FIG. 83.



FIG. 84.



FIG. 85.



FIG. 86.



FIG. 87.



FIG. 88.



FIG. 89.

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PL. IV.

cuneator's part than to anything else—such, for example, as the pair of little crescents, or others resembling a trefoil, that are so frequently found terminating the arms of the large divisional cross (Fig. 67).

Again, on the coins of William II., Hawkins, No. 245, 246, we have a reverse showing a small cross pattée in the centre of a quatrefoil panel (Fig. 64), and for this new and peculiar form we may ask a reason, especially as we have a somewhat similar feature on the coins of Henry I., Hawkins, No. 252 (Fig. 65). Another novelty of figure is also found on the latter king's coins, Hawkins, No. 259, and we have the same figure slightly varied on Stephen's coins, Hawkins, No. 270, etc. (Fig. 66).

These figures are quite distinct in character from any previous types; the design is very effective and tasteful, resembling what is architecturally termed a Catherine-wheel window; the four arms of the cross being connected by eight bows. Some of the above figures, such as the quatrefoil panel-types of William II. and Henry I. have close prototypes on our Anglo-Saxon coins as well as on those of Normandy and Brittany. Others, such as the little trefoil ornaments of the Cross, frequently appear on Anglo-Danish and Saxon coins, even as early as the time of Alfred.

The connection or derivation of all these distant and widely differing figures with one original seems remote and improbable, but an examination of Frankish, German, Scandinavian and Saxon types from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, places it beyond doubt that they are merely variants of the same primal and sacred figure, viz., the Greek letter  $\Omega$ , *omega*, the emblem of Christ.

This, as a sign, first appears inscribed on the Christian ensigns and coins of certain Roman Emperors (Fig. 101), but with its many variations until the seventh century we need not concern ourselves, beyond remarking its constant use in one form or another during that period.

Now as to the letter  $\Omega$ , *omega*, itself, the changes it underwent in course of time were very great, partly owing to ignorance of its real form, or to the local cuneator's method of interpretation, and perhaps also to a desire to give an inner meaning to the sign.

Thus the small square feet of the original become pellets, then crescents; these increase in size, the bow disappears and the two much-rounded feet form a double letter; later in some mints the original bow is added upon these, and thus creates a triple form of the letter, or trefoil-like figure. In French hands we find that the double form of the letter soon attained a more graceful outline, growing longer in the stem and leaf-like in the curves until, in the eleventh century, it blossomed into a flower-like figure, and finally a little later became a fully developed fleur-de-lys. As such it was adopted as the national emblem and chief ornament of the regal crown of France. In addition to this permitted elasticity of actual form, we find that it was placed in all possible positions: reversed, sideways or diagonally and back to back, was displayed detached, or attached singly or in a dual form, but generally to the central cross, first alone and upon the head, then in a dual form head and foot, and afterwards to all the four arms; hence it becomes evident that such a figure ornamentally treated and so employed, was capable of almost endless combination. The excessive use of this letter *omega* as a symbol by a newly converted nation is shown on the Danish coins of Sweyn II. (Fig. 89), where it is actually reproduced no less than thirty-two times without reckoning the four dual figures attached to the large cross.

The coins of William II., Hawkins, Nos. 245, 246 (Fig. 64), show novel and neat reverses, and of Henry I., Hawkins, 252 (Fig. 65), is very similar. Those of William II. give a complete quatrefoil with a pellet at the intersection of the bows, and enclose a large cross pattée. The reverse of Henry I.'s coin has a figure composed of a quatrefoil with angular intersections, enclosing an annulet and pellet. Let us now trace the evolution of this species of type.

The coins of Dagobert, King of France A.D. 622-38 (Figs. 71, 72), show a plain Latin cross, the top limb of which is encircled by the *omega* as a symbol; beneath the base line this sign again appears in its dual form surmounting the *alpha*, and from this period onward this symbol in many varying forms and positions was generally adopted.

At the close of the eighth century the coins of Offa, King of Mercia (Fig. 75), show the figure as a symbol, repeated four times, each



encircling one of the four arms of the central cross, but not united. The letter is represented as three-fourths of a circle, the ends terminating in single pellets. The Anglo-Saxon coins of Æthelwlf, ninth century, supply interesting varieties, such as the circular *omega* to the horizontal arms of a cross only, or the double omega attached to all four arms but not touching each other, thus giving the effect of a cross fourchée.

Later, in the tenth century, the coins of Canute, Hawkins, No. 212 (Fig. 76), show a further evolution in the form of a complete quatrefoil. To effect this the letters are expanded into semi-circles, which touch one another at the pellet terminals. This completed quatrefoil is used for both reverse and obverse, the latter enclosing the king's bust.

Here we have the evolution of the quatrefoil types of William II. and Henry I., Hawkins, Nos. 245, 246 and 252 (Fig. 64), fully illustrated, and in addition, from coins of the seventh to the eleventh centuries, we may find numerous examples showing the application of the symbol in many various ways : First as encircling the top member of the cross, then top and bottom, or either side, or slung from the arms, or encircling all the four arms and finally linked together and so producing the perfect quatrefoil, a figure doubly interesting as cruciform in itself.

As already stated, great latitude was allowed when the Greek letter *omega* was treated as a symbol. In its original Greek form it is shown as three-quarters of a circle resting on short, straight feet, thus :  $\Omega$ , but on the Anglo-Saxon and contemporary coins the straight feet are changed into pellets, and when, for symbolic use, four of this form of letter are united in a cruciform figure, we at once obtain the quatrefoil type of Canute and William II., but when the Greek form is preserved we get the correct and still more ornamental figure of Henry I.'s coin, Hawkins, No. 252 (Fig. 65).

From the same prototype, and by similar methods, we may also trace the evolution of the Catherine-wheel type of Henry I., Hawkins, No. 259, and Stephen, Hawkins, Nos. 270 to 272 (Fig. 66). This type gives a foliated cross of eight bows, known later,

heraldically, as a cross moline with the cusps finished as fleurs-de-lys.

This type, probably owing to its ornamental character, was frequently re-issued during these reigns. The figure is produced by a fourfold repetition of the dual form of the letter *omega*, and its evolution may be traced in a similar manner to that of the quatrefoil, this being an octofoil with additional detail. *En passant* we may remark that this pattern suggested and branched off into the figure of the tressure of eight foils as displayed on the groats, half-groats and pence of the coinage from Edward III. to Henry VII. The tressure encircling the royal bust is merely the *omega* portion of the coins of Henry I. and Stephen, the bust replacing the cross, and all the cusps are finished with fleurs-de-lys.

The coins of Dagobert of France and of many contemporary mints of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, supply abundant evidence of the use and application of both forms of this symbol, varieties of which are shown in Figs. 64 to 89. The Anglo-Saxon coins of Eanred, Coenwlf, Æthelwlf, etc., show its appreciation at English mints, but its identity as the Christian symbol may be questioned unless attached to the cross, as on many coins a similar letter is intended as the initial of Mercia or Moneta.

Early Anglo-Saxon and Frankish coins not infrequently display a crescent, either singly or in pairs, or as assisting crucial ornamentation (Fig. 88). It is a question whether this figure may not be a variation of the *omega* in both a single and dual form, especially as it first appears centuries before the Crusades.

Prior to the era of Charlemagne, King of the Franks, the currency was of a very miscellaneous character. The Frankish and German mints furnished a limited contribution, but the bulk of the coins in circulation consisted chiefly of the worn-out relics of Roman origin, including those of Colonial and Byzantine mints. Hence, when the Christian world became consolidated and to a great extent under one head, the Rex and Imperator being accepted and consecrated by the Church, there seems to have been a real attempt to give a distinct and uniform character to the imperial coinage.



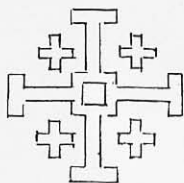
The coins of Charlemagne and those of his immediate successors and of other contemporary mints (Figs. 54, 55, 56) appear for a very long period to have exercised great influence over many of the mints of Christendom. We may trace it on our Anglo-Saxon coins, and still more in the vast number of varieties issued from the feudal mints of the great provinces of France.

Figures based on the monogram KARLOS continually reappear on coins issued as late as the eleventh century, and probably the final form of many symbolic types was influenced by the striking and prominently Christian character of those of Charlemagne.

The sign or figure of the cross on the coinage of Christendom had always been in use from late Roman times, but we must regard Charlemagne as the first sovereign to issue a circulation of good fabric and high standard, distinctly Christian in character, and ingeniously displaying the letters of his name surrounding and partly composed of the emblem of salvation; thus identifying himself with and creating a Christian monogram.

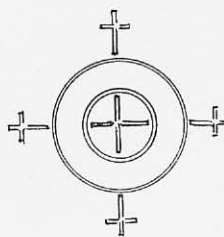
As an epoch-making sovereign, the favourite son and the support of the Church, engaged in conquering, converting, and blending alien peoples into a universal empire, possessing enormous revenues, and the consecrated master of a great part of Europe, we find him, as we should expect to find so sagacious and powerful a ruler, regarding a well-filled exchequer as the essence of wealth and power, and a uniform and expressive coinage would be the natural result. Hence the *denarius*, or silver penny, prominently bearing a monogram uniting the figure of the cross with his own name, was issued in vast quantities; and this type and fabric, with many changes, were generally adopted, and, continuing for centuries, have left enduring traces on the coins of all Christendom.

The cross as the chief Christian emblem has been subjected to many remarkable alterations and additions, without destroying its innate simplicity of form, either upright or diagonal, namely, that of St. George or St. Andrew. The former, known as the Latin cross, is certainly the primal form, and came originally from Egypt and Chaldea. The Phœnician or Hebrew letter *tau* is from this figure: that of an upright



ARMS OF JERUSALEM

FIG. 90.



ALTAR SLAB  
LONDON

FIG. 91.

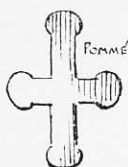


FIG. 92.

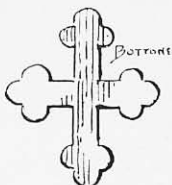


FIG. 93.



FIG. 94.

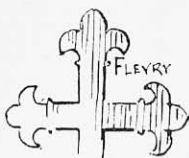


FIG. 95.



FIG. 96.



FIG. 97.

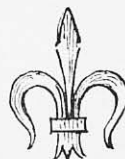


FIG. 98.

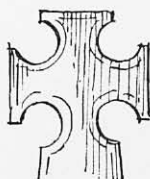


FIG. 99.

FIG. 100.

FIG. 101.

EVOLUTION OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES.

W. S. O.

PL. V.

post with cross-beam, from which is derived the Greek *stavpòs*, a stake. No doubt this was the form of cross or standard upon which was fixed the brazen serpent by Moses in the desert, the serpent being displayed in a circular form, with the tail entering the mouth as an emblem of eternity.

The British Druids are said to have used a somewhat kindred figure, which they produced by selecting a tall straight tree, lopping off all the branches, and then attaching two of them to the trunk as horizontal arms. Names of various divinities were inscribed on the bark, and before this emblem sacred rites were performed.

The Crusaders naturally chose the cross as the proper figure for their banners and ensigns; and a compound and typical figure of this kind was selected for the sign and arms of Jerusalem. It much resembles, and was probably derived from, the contemporary coins of Aquitaine. Many of the chief leaders of the movement sprang from that part of France, and when Henry Plantagenet of Anjou succeeded to the throne of England he introduced the Angevin type on our coins. The arms of Jerusalem represent the cross as a compound symbol; the central figure consists of a large cross potent with a small cross in each quarter; the central cross is composed of four *tau*-crosses, as the emblem of life, springing from a square centre, which was probably intended to represent the Holy City; altogether, the entire figure is symbolical of the five wounds of Christ, and is striking from its comprehensive simplicity (Fig. 90).

It is, however, to the Greek letter *omega* as the especial symbol of Christ that we must look for explanation of almost if not all of the other and more ornamental forms the cross assumed: first as figured on the coinage, and later in heraldic display (Figs. 91 to 97), which show five leading varieties, viz., the cross-pommée, bottonée, fourchée, moline, and fleury, all based on and derived from the Greek letter.

The pommée form is obtained by simply attaching this letter to the end of each limb; the bottonée, a later variety, is derived from the more complicated form of the same letter, where it resembles a trefoil; the fourchée and moline forms are from the Angevin and other French varieties of this letter in a dual form; whilst the cross fleury is the

ultimate and most beautiful of all. Figs. 92 to 99 show the various renderings of this letter and its application to the cross as a symbolic ornament.

The coins of all Christendom from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, but principally those of the great feudatories of France, supply a really wonderful number of varieties, from which it would be possible to arrange and tabulate the successive changes by which the complete fleur-de-lys was evolved from the simple Greek letter.

We may also note a similar origin for the well-known form of the Saxon and Runic crosses familiar in our churchyards, and also the pectoral form of the same type. The primal type is Frankish, and is obtained by arranging four Greek *omegas* back to back in a crucial form, the straight feet touching (Figs. 98 and 99). Here we have the veritable *Crux Christi*, on which His Name composes the emblem of salvation.

The other types and their varieties and even small details are full of suggestive study, such as the star rosettes on either side of the bust, William I. and II., Hawkins, Nos. 238 and 250, which probably refer to the claim on Brittany, as the coins of that duchy exhibit a large cross pattée with a star in each of the two upper quarters.

The coins of Anjou and also of a Count of Flanders of that family, give the type formed of the Greek and saltire crosses, such as we see on the coins of Henry I. and Stephen, which are based on the Greek  $\chi\rho$ . May not this Angevin type be the earlier form of the escarbuncle, which later became the badge of Navarre? It certainly suggested a Papal type issued at Avignon, which has the large cross pattée with the crossed keys, instead of crosslets in the corners. Again, when Henry III., in his long-cross type, dropped the small crosses and introduced the triple pellets in their place—the type which, with the cross as altered by Edward I. into a cross pattée, continued unaltered on our coins until the reign of Henry VIII.—he merely adopted the type of Richard I. of Normandy, A.D. 943, of which it was an absolute facsimile. This coin, we may also note, has the Temple figure for its obverse (Fig. 100). In short, the early coinage of Normandy, Brittany and Anjou seems to

be the source whence nearly all the post-Conquest types have arisen, and it is safe to assume that the appearance of certain patterns or details are intended as mute evidence and chronicles of contemporary events.

Racial affinity is also an undeniable cause of the introduction, perpetuation or revival of type; and Norman, Angevin, Danish, late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins show the successive stages of our history at the chief era of its making.

It is true that as a class the coins of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries form a difficult subject of study, partly because they are not locally successive, but also because the workmanship in most cases leaves much to be desired, whilst careless striking and indifferent preservation also contribute their quota of uncertainty. But, on the other hand, the numerous mints, with their constantly varying patterns, offer an almost boundless field for enquiry to the skilled and, needless to say, to the patient investigator.

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*Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Âge*, Engel and Serrure, 3 vols., 1891-1905.

*Die Deutschen Munzen*, H. Dannenberg, 3 vols., 1876-94.

*Monnaies du Moyen Âge*, C. J. Thomsen, 3 vols., 1873-8.

The above authorities are thus referred to in the following list:—  
E. Hawkins = Hawkins; Hoffman = H; Poey D'Avant = P.D'A.; Engel and Serrure = E. and S.; Dannenberg = D.; Thomsen = T.

#### PLATE I.

- Fig. 1.—England, William I., Hawkins, No. 241.  
 „ 2.—England, Henry II., Hawkins, No. 285.  
 „ 3.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 9.  
 „ 4.—France, Henry I., H., Plate III, Figs. 5, 13.  
 „ 5.—Aquitaine, P.D'A., Plate LIX, Fig. 6.  
 „ 6.—Burgundy, P.D'A., Plate CXXVIII, Fig. 5.

- Fig. 7.—Varieties of Feodales, P.D'A.  
" 8.—Ponthieu, E. and S., Fig. 880.  
" 9.—Germany, E. and S., Fig. 1,154.  
" 10.—D., Plate I, Figs. 11, 13; Plate XCIII, Fig. 1,166D, etc.  
" 11.—Duchy de France, P.D'A., Plate II, Fig. 10.  
" 12.—Aquitaine, P.D'A., Plate LVIII, Fig. 19.  
" 13.—Limoges, P.D'A., Plate L, Fig. 13.  
" 14.—Limoges, P.D'A., Plate L, Fig. 14.  
" 15.—Angoulême, E. and S., Fig. 778.  
" 16.—Cahors, E. and S., Fig. 826.  
" 17.—Aquitaine and Picardy varieties, P.D'A., Plate LIX, Fig. 1;  
Plate CLI, Fig. 17.  
" 18.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 15, etc.  
" 19.—Champagne, P.D'A., Plate CXXXVI, Figs. 7, 10.  
" 20.—Burgundy, E. and S., Fig. 831.

PLATE II.

- " 21.—England, William I., Hawkins, No. 234.  
" 22.—England, William I., Hawkins, No. 236.  
" 23.—England, William I., Hawkins, No. 238.  
" 24.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 19.  
" 25.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 13.  
" 26.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 21.  
" 27.—Lorraine, E. and S., Fig. 1,006.  
" 28.—D., Plate LVIII, Fig. 1,314.  
" 29.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 17.  
" 30.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 15.  
" 31.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate VI, Fig. 11.  
" 32.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate VI, Fig. 19.  
" 33.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 13.  
" 34.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 7.  
" 35.—Normandy, P.D'A., Plate V, Fig. 8.  
" 36.—Maine, P.D'A., Plate XXIX, Fig. 12.  
" 37.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 18.  
" 38.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate IV, Fig. 9.  
" 39.—Denmark, Magnus, E. and S., Fig. 1,318.  
" 40.—France, Henry I., H., Plate III, Fig. 9.  
" 41.—Denmark, Canute, E. and S., Fig. 1,316.  
" 42.—Germany, D., Plate XXXI, Fig. 713.  
" 43.—Germany, D., Plate XXXV, Fig. 816.  
" 44.—Wurzberg, D., Plate XXXVII, Fig. 858.  
" 45.—Hersfeld, D., Plate LXXXII, Fig. 1,658.

## PLATE III.

- Fig. 46.—Touraine, P.D'A., Plate XXXII, Fig. 6.  
 „ 47.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXV, Fig. 7.  
 „ 48.—Blois, P.D'A., Plate XXXIII, Fig. 3.  
 „ 49.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXVI, Fig. 12.  
 „ 50.—Ordinary Touraine type.  
 „ 51.—Ordinary Touraine type.  
 „ 52.—Vendôme, P.D'A., Plate XXXVI, Fig. 7.  
 „ 53.—Oriental, T., Plate II, Fig. 960.  
 „ 54.—Charlemagne, E. and S., Fig. 392.  
 „ 55.—Charlemagne, E. and S., Fig. 390.  
 „ 56.—Languedoc, P.D'A., Plate LXXXVI, Fig. 6.  
 Figs. 57-61.—Illustrations of the square crown taken from MS. illuminations  
 and contemporary coins, principally French and German.  
 „ 62, 63.—Analogy of crown pattern as displayed on obverse and  
 reverse of the same coins.

## PLATE IV.

- Fig. 64.—England, William II., Hawkins, No. 245.  
 „ 65.—England, Henry I., Hawkins, No. 252.  
 „ 66.—England, Stephen, Hawkins, No. 271.  
 „ 67.—England, Edward Confessor, Hawkins, No. 227.  
 Figs. 68, 69.—Shows progressive pattern of the *omega* cross terminal,  
 Fig. 67, etc.  
 Fig. 70.—Anglo-Saxon, Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, Hawkins,  
 No. 149.  
 „ 71.—Dagobert, E. and S., Fig. 188.  
 „ 72.—Dagobert, E. and S., Fig. 191.  
 „ 73.—Cloves II., E. and S., Fig. 232.  
 „ 74.—Anglo-Saxon, Coenwlf of Mercia, Hawkins, No. 73.  
 „ 75.—Anglo-Saxon, Offa of Mercia, Hawkins, No. 565.  
 „ 76.—Anglo-Saxon, Canute, Hawkins, No. 212.  
 „ 77.—Poland, E. and S., Fig. 1,351.  
 „ 78.—Anglo-Saxon, Edmund of East Anglia, Hawkins, No. 95.  
 „ 79.—Northumberland, Eanred, Hawkins, No. 116.  
 „ 80.—Comte de Flanders, E. and S., Fig. 901.  
 „ 81.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 14.  
 „ 82.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 21.  
 „ 83.—Brittany, P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 17.  
 „ 84.—Berri, P.D'A., Plate XLV, Fig. 5.  
 „ 85.—Brittany, P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 18.  
 „ 86.—Picardy, P.D'A., Plate CXLIX, Fig. 15.

*Types of the Anglo-Norman Coinage.*

Fig. 87.—Cambray, E. and S., Fig. 1,061.

„ 88.—Brittany, Alan III., P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 14.

„ 89.—Scandinavia, Sven II., E. and S., Fig. 1,321.

## PLATE V.

Figs. 90, 91.—Arms of Jerusalem adopted at the Crusades, primarily derived from earlier coin type. See Plate I.

„ 92-99.—Ornamental forms of the cross arising from application of varieties of the *omega* to that figure.

Fig. 100.—Normandy, Richard I., P.D'A., Plate III, Fig. 20, showing source of the cross with triple pellets in each quarter, Henry III. and Edward I., Hawkins, Nos. 287, 292, the familiar English type.

„ 101 —Primal or Roman form of the  $\chi \rho$ , also so displayed on coins of the Visigoths and early kings of France.

[We are also indebted to Mr. Ogden for the sketches which illustrate this paper, for his pencil seems to be as facile as his pen.—  
ED.]



Fig. 87.—Cambray, E. and S., Fig. 1,061.

„ 88.—Brittany, Alan III., P.D'A., Plate IX, Fig. 14.

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PLATE V.

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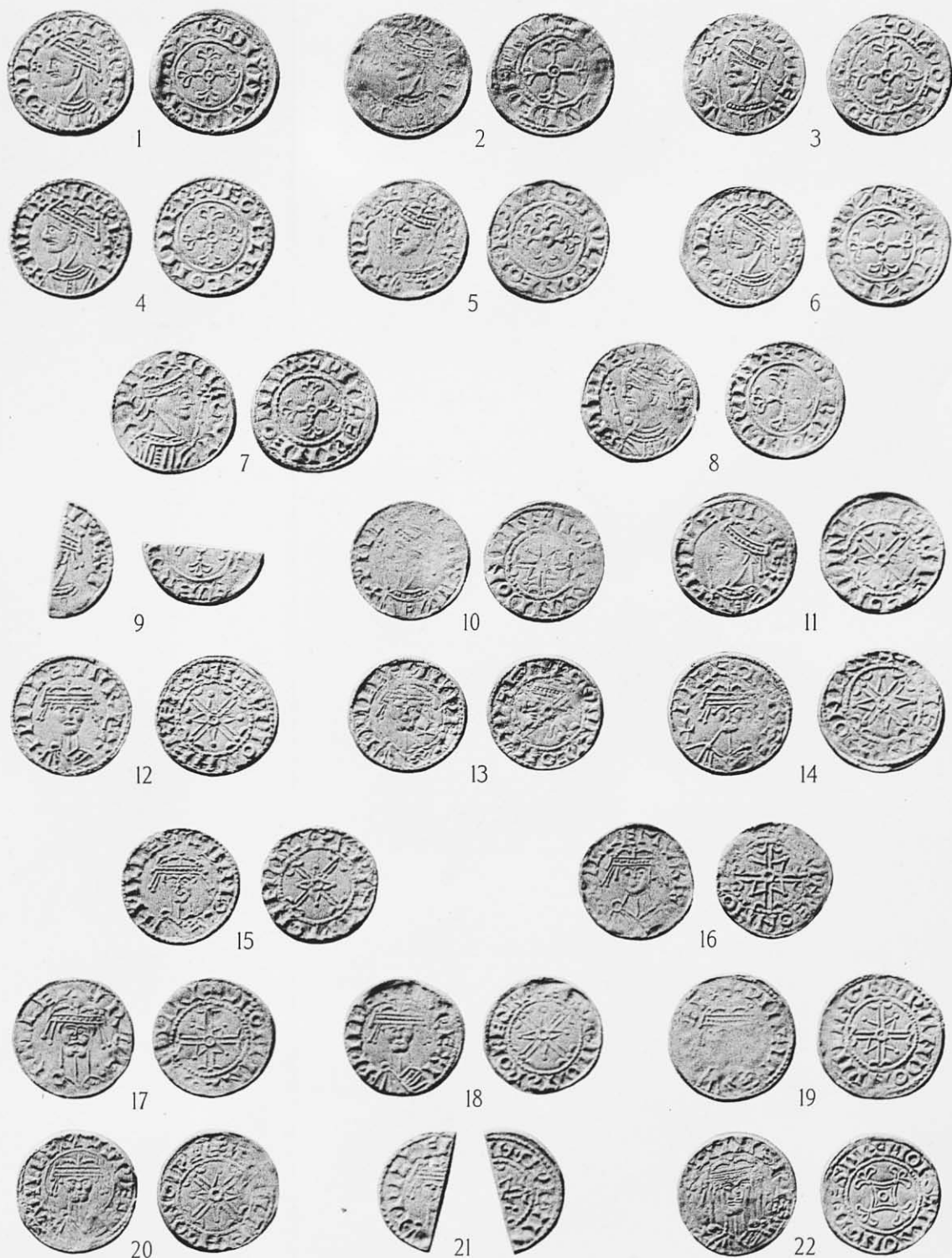
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ED.]





THE TYPES OF WILLIAM I.  
XI. CENTURY.




A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF  
WILLIAM I. AND II. (1066-1100).

FIRST PART.

By P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.—*President.*

INTRODUCTION.

N the ensuing work it is the object of the writer to present to his readers as complete a view as opportunity affords of the coinages of our first two Norman sovereigns.

He has read the various articles bearing upon the subject in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the standard numismatic works and elsewhere, and gives an equally grateful acknowledgment to those writers whose views have warned him against the repetition of similar errors as to those whose opinions, in the light of present knowledge, are capable of acceptance.

The writer also desires to thank all those, whether private individuals or persons having the care of coins in public institutions, for the ready access afforded him to specimens in their possession or custody for the purpose of taking readings of the names of mints and moneyers.

In particular, a hope is expressed that the publication of this work in sections may be the means of inducing owners of coins of William I. and II. differing from those described herein, to communicate accurate descriptions of them to the writer for incorporation in the *Histories of the Mints*, intended to form Part II. of this treatise, or at least in a supplement thereto.

Where all have been so kind, it is hoped that it will not be deemed invidious to tender especial thanks to Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., for his willing assent to the adoption of the general plan and arrangement of his *Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I.* as a

model for the present work, and equally to Mr. L. A. Lawrence for his kindly aid in furnishing a large number of catalogue readings, and for ready help always cheerfully afforded.

## CHAPTER I.

### NORMAN MONEY.

To arrive at a decision as to what constituted the Norman money, it is requisite to examine the state of the case in Saxon times.

In the short reign of Harold II., in that of Edward the Confessor, and for a long time prior to that period, in fact, since the time of Edward the Elder, the only coin of the realm was the silver penny. The other denominations mentioned in Domesday Book and elsewhere were moneys of account only, or as regards the halfpenny and farthing, a half and a fourth of a penny made by the actual division of the piece.

In the Conqueror's reign, as in those of Harold II. and Edward the Confessor, and in some earlier reigns, it was the custom to issue from the mints portions of pennies, representing literally *halfpence* and *farthings* (viz., *fourthings*). These were produced by the actual cutting of a perfect penny into halves or quarters. Of such cut coins of the reign of William I. specimens of the halfpenny of Types I, II and III are in the cabinet of the writer, and it is recorded that a single example of Type V was present in the large hoard of Henry I. and Stephen's coins found at Watford, and that eighteen halfpennies of this order of Type VIII were found in the Beaworth hoard.

With the exception of a cut halfpenny of Type 3 of William II. (Hks. 247), the writer is not aware of the existence of cut coins of the remaining types of the two reigns, and no specimen of the farthing has come under his notice, though it is probable that specimens are preserved. The cutting was effected with a sharp-edged instrument which left a portion of the edge bevelled and did not cause the coin to in any way curl or bend. From experiments recently made by Mr. W. T. Ready and the writer, it is conjectured that the instrument used was similar to an ordinary pair of modern shears or strong scissors.

This practice of cutting the silver penny into halves and fourths was in existence from the time of Alfred the Great till the reign of Henry III., although at different times it was suppressed by royal order. The old standard of England required the silver of which the pennies were made to be 11 ounces 2 pennyweights fine and 18 pennyweights of alloy. The proper weight of the penny was 24 grains.

The pound Tower, so called from the Tower of London, for so long the chief mint of the realm, was lighter than the pound Troy by three-quarters of an ounce, so 24 grains Tower were equal to only  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains Troy.

In Norman times the relative proportional value of the standard silver ounce as compared with fine gold was as 1 is to 9; *i.e.*, an ounce of fine gold was worth 9 ounces of standard silver. As regards the relative value of a Norman penny as compared with a coin of the same denomination of the present day it is somewhat difficult to arrive at a just and true determination. Perhaps the most convincing comparison is that afforded by their relative power of purchase. At page 95 of Vol. I of *The Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, by the Rev. Rogers Ruding (third edition, 1840) is a table of prices of various articles at different times, compiled from the "respectable authorities" specified in a note thereto.

The following are the entries relating to, approximately, the Norman period:—

Year.	Wheat per bushel.	Horse.	Ox.	Sheep.	Hog.	Husbandman's wage per day.
	<i>d.</i>	£ <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1050	$2\frac{1}{4}$	1 17 6	7 6	1 3	2 0	2
1150	$4\frac{1}{2}$	12 5	4 $8\frac{1}{4}$	1 8	3 0	—

It will be seen that all the prices of 1050 differ very materially from those of 1150.



In the year 1795 the prices of the same articles are given as under :—

Wheat per bushel.	Horse.	Ox.	Sheep.	Hog.	Husbandman's wage per day.
<i>s. d.</i>	£ <i>s. d.</i>	£ <i>s. d.</i>	£ <i>s. d.</i>	£ <i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
7 10	19 0 0	16 8 0	1 18 0	5 8 0	1 5¼

Here again the variations of price are very considerable and by no means proportionate. Perhaps the best method is to follow Mr. W. J. Andrew's course and to take the daily wage of the Norman agricultural labourer, as compared with that of his twentieth-century successor, as the standard of comparison.

						Per diem.
Norman...	...	...	...	...	...	2 <i>d.</i>
XXth Century ...	...	...	...	...	2 <i>s.</i> to 2 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>

From this it will be seen that the relative value of a Norman penny as compared with a penny of to-day was from twelve to fifteen times greater.

As the wealth of the country, the manner of living, the requirements of the age, the standard of articles considered necessary, the methods and sources of supply of necessities and luxuries, the tastes of the people and their means of livelihood, all greatly differ from the conditions existing in Norman times, the writer must leave those members of the Society who are housekeepers and housewives to work out a solution of this fiscal question according to their tastes, requirements and politics.

The method of producing the coins may now usefully be considered. In Saxon and Norman times this was identical. The silver was beaten into a sheet of the required thickness, from which circular discs of the requisite diameter were punched, or cut with a pair of shears or strong scissors. The dies, or coining irons, consisted of two parts, the lower or standard die, and the upper or trussell die. The upper die was also

called a puncheon. Both were of iron, and the engraved surfaces of both appear in existing specimens to have been hardened into steel; but the polished appearance may have been produced by the pressure exerted in the operation of coining. The standard die terminated at the lower end in a long sharp point that was firmly driven into the wooden block, used by the moneyer as a smith uses an anvil.

The trussell was a separate instrument, having its lower surface engraved with the *reverse* design to be impressed upon the disc or flan. The flan was placed upon the lower die, engraved with the *obverse* design; the trussell was then held in position above it.

To prevent splitting, it is probable that a metal clip or collar was fastened around the point of juncture, and that the upper die was firmly held with a thong or a pair of tongs or long pincers by the operator while striking the head with a heavy hammer to impart the impressions of the dies to the metal placed between them.

The trussells or puncheons, therefore, as is well exemplified by existing specimens, received the direct blows of the operating moneyer or coiner, and their durability was only about half that of the lower or standard and fixed dies. That they were actually issued in this proportion is shown by the records quoted hereafter.

The obverse and reverse designs of a coinage throughout the realm were, with such slight variations as are always present in work effected by hand as distinguished from work done by means of machinery, the same, except as regards the names of the moneyers and the places of issue. It is therefore evident that the dies were issued from a common centre, probably Winchester and London in succession, and were prepared under the supervision of an official called the cuneator.

As regards the names of moneyers and the towns of issue, it must be presumed that written particulars were furnished to this official.

In spacing out the dies, marks seem to have been made with a pair of hard metal compasses, as on many specimens of Saxon and Norman coins a small central pellet is noticeable and, on those coins not having a true inner circle, a slightly raised hair-like circle just within the lettering is sometimes discernible, these being produced in

relief from the corresponding depressions in the dies. These and other marks of a similar use served to aid the engraver in the execution of his work.

The spacing of the lettering of the reverse legend is generally well thought out. Where the name of the moneyer is lengthy, that of the mint is much abbreviated; on the other hand, where the name of the moneyer is short, a full rendering of the mint-name is given. The names of moneyer and mint-place are connected by the word **ON**, the Saxon equivalent to "in" or "of." In some rare instances the Latin genitive and the Norman French "de" are made use of, showing that in Norman and Plantagenet times, "of" and "de" were equivalent to the Saxon "in."

It is worthy of note that our seventeenth-century tokens disclose the use of the word "in" in the same sense and connection. There are, however, examples of Saxon and Norman coins when, owing to the length of the moneyer's name, coupled with want of thought on the part of the engraver, the name of the mint-place is entirely omitted.

As regards the types of the coinages of William I. and II., the tax of "moneyage," or in the Latin of the period *monetagium*, has an important bearing. This is stated to have been introduced by William I. at the time of or soon after the Norman Conquest, but it is certain that it was abolished soon after the accession of Henry I., from whose "Laws" it also appears that it did not exist in the time of Edward the Confessor. The passage (I, 5) is as follows:—

"Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne amodo fiat omnino defendo."

In reference to *monetagium*, Du Cange says:—

"There was formerly a payment of twelve pence every three years, due from each hearth in Normandy for moneyage, and for feuage, or the privilege of cutting wood in the forests for firing. It seems to have been peculiar to that duchy, and was paid, or at least one part of it, that the money might not be changed; for in those times the seigniorage which was taken upon every alteration of the coins was highly oppressive, and it was therefore commuted for by this tax. It

was introduced into England either at the time of, or soon after, the Norman Conquest."

The duration of a type was thus fixed at a minimum of three years, and it may be regarded as certain that while this regulation was in force neither William I. nor William II. would allow a type to be of longer duration than three years. It therefore follows that each type, in the absence of the demise of the Crown, ran for a period of three years. The triennial periods were seemingly computed from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, that festival being the period at which, in later times, the Exchequer year began and closed. Although the Exchequer, *eo nomine*, originated in the reign of Henry I., its functions were prior to that time exercised by the Treasury or Financial Department necessarily existent in every well-governed community.

The customs and forms in vogue in Norman times appear to have been, to a large extent, adopted from the system built up in Saxon days.

A necessary consequence of a change of type, during the period when the *monetagium* law was in force, was that the issue of a new type effected also a change in the legal tender; or, in other words, put all prior types out of circulation. This circumstance accounts for the many specimens of over-struck coins even now existing. It is generally found that the new impressions, in the case of such over-struck coins, are of the issue *next* succeeding those originally, or last previously, borne by the coins so brought up to date.

In this connection it may be noted that in the *Domesday* account of Lewes the expression "*Cum moneta renovatur*" is used as equivalent to "*Quando moneta vertebatur*."

The hoards of coins discovered, in the main, support this view, as the coins of the issue current when the hoard was collected are always much the more numerous; and especially was this so in the case of the largest hoard of coins of the period yet discovered, viz., the Beaworth find.

Some period of latitude within which to change, or renew, the money was, however, probably allowed, and this period of perhaps

three months was, it is suggested, also the time during which the mule, or combination types, were permitted to be issued.

If reference be made to the Tamworth find, described hereafter, it will be seen that of a total of 294 specimens, 30 only were of the last issue of William I. (Type VIII), while 97 were of the first type of William II., 3 of the mule connecting Types 1 and 2, and the remaining 164 consisted of Type 2, viz., that which was current when the hoard was deposited.

When the type of the coinage was changed the moneyers had to pay certain fees at London on receiving the new dies.

The Domesday entry under Worcester (I, 172a, i,) is as follows :—

“Quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos ad Londoniam pro cuneis monetæ accipiendis.”

The like payments were made at Chester (I, 262b, 2) Lewes (I, 26a, 1) and Shrewsbury (I, 252a, 1). At the last-mentioned place the payment was not due until the fifteenth day after the receipt of the new dies. These instances are sufficient for our present purpose, as the actual Domesday references to the mints will be given hereafter in the specific account of each. The old and broken dies were claimed by the hereditary cuneator as his perquisite. This claim was allowed to Thomas Fitz Otho, in the forty-ninth year of Henry III. on his petition to the King in the Court of Exchequer, that they belonged to him of right and inheritance, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to have them. This upon examination was found to be true (Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, Vol. II, p. 11).

The following accounts of what was done at York in the reign of Henry VII., extracted from the archives of the Corporation of that city by Mr. Robert Davies and printed in an article by him dated 19th August, 1854, in Vol. I of the *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (pp. 268-9) are of considerable interest :—

“Delivere of the old coyneing yryns unto the Citie of London :

“Be it had in mynde that the xxviiij day of June in the secund yere of the reigne of King Henry the vijth Thomas Graa master of the

mynt within the palois yarth of the Citie of York delivered unto William Todde maier of the city of York a bagg of ledder contigneing xij old conyng Iryns, that is to say, iiij Standers and viij Trusselles, the which bagg the said William Todd maier sealed and delivered to ye handes of John White, coigner, to deliver unto ye Chequor at London and from thens to bring newe yravene Iryns agene from the said Eschequor unto the said citie of York."

And again :

"Delyvere of ye coigneyng Yryns of ye citie of York unto Thomas Gray :—

"M<sup>d</sup> that the xix<sup>th</sup> day of July in the secunde yere of the reigne of King Herry the sevent, Thomas Gray, Goldsmyth, Maister of the Mynt at the paloyes of the moost reverend Fader in God tharchbisshopp of York, personally appering bifore William Todde maier of the citie of York in ye chambre upon Ouse brig, presented unto hyme a bagg of leder sealed contigneing in ye same iiij Standers and viij Trussels beryng the peny coigne, sent unto hyme furth of the Kinges Eschequor as he shewed ; the which bagg my lord maire receyved at thandes of the said Thomas, and delyvered unto hyme the said iiij Standers and viij Trusselles, and reservyd the bagg whiche thei wer in unto hymeself for soo moche as yr was a holle in ye side of the said bagg at the which the said Iryns was taken furth."

The method of coining by the hammer arose in the earliest times, and was not wholly discontinued until the year 1662.

The writer has inspected original dies ranging in date from the reign of one of our Norman kings to that of James I., and, as a result, finds no material variation in form between the earliest and the latest made.

Much has been said in reference to the social status of the moneyers whose names appear upon the coins. By some they have been exalted to the rank of noblemen, by others degraded to that of serfs. The truth appears to be that they were neither the one nor the other. Their status varied, moreover, according to whether they were moneyers directly responsible to the kingly authority or were the men of the lord of a private mint. In the former case they were probably recruited from the ranks of the most wealthy and responsible citizens of the royal city or burgh where they exercised their office ; in the



latter case, as the expression "*qui in potestate viri erant*," in Eadmer's *Life of St. Dunstan*, seems to show, they were merely villeins.

The appearance of the name of the moneyer coupled with that of the place of issue on the coins was intended to fix responsibility for the issue of debased or light money, but notwithstanding this and the severity of the punishment following on conviction, the temptation to issue false coin seems in many instances to have been too great to be withstood.

One would suppose that a moneyer who was sufficiently dishonest to issue false coin would not be likely to place his *own* name and town upon base coins of his fabrication. The issue of the dies from the Exchequer seems to have been the only protection afforded to honest moneyers against the perpetration of such a fraud upon them, but it is difficult to suppose that a person engaged in the dangerous practice of false coining would be unable to manufacture *false* dies. When one considers the fact that the then method of establishing innocence was "the triple ordeal," the thought of the many miscarriages of justice in reference to the alleged malpractices of moneyers that must have occurred, is sufficient to make any modern citizen thankful that he has not to perform the duty of moneyer to king or lord !

## CHAPTER II.

### TREASURE TROVE DEDUCTIONS.

As important evidence as to the sequence of the types is derivable from the records of what types have from time to time been discovered in association, it is proposed, even at the risk of repeating what has been already written, to give an account of each recorded find of coins of the period under consideration. These, in the order of the time of discovery, are as follows :—

*York: 1704.*

In the year 1694 a destructive fire broke out on the north side of the street called High Ousegate, by which several houses standing on the site of those which in 1855 were the property of Mr. Thomas



Gregory, were so much damaged that in the year 1704 the owner began to rebuild them, and in excavating for the foundations, a small oak box was found deeply imbedded among piles of timbers which had supported much more ancient structures than those that were injured by the fire. The box contained about 250 silver coins, 50 or 60 of which were examined by Thoresby. From the slight information given by him, it would seem that Types I and II of William I. were the only varieties present. (See Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 350, and Vol. I of the *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 1855, p. 213.)

*Dymchurch, Kent, 1739.*

This find is incidentally referred to by the Rev. Dr. Griffith in his account of the St. Mary Hill Church find of 1774. He mentions (see *Archæologia*, Vol. IV, p. 358) that in June, 1739, there was found at Dymchurch, in Romney Marsh, an earthen vessel containing about 200 pennies of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William the Conqueror, and that there were many exact halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies.

*St. Mary Hill Church, London, 1774.*

In Vol. IV of *Archæologia* is contained an account by the Rev. Dr. Guyon Griffith, Rector of St. Mary Hill Church, of a find of coins and other objects which occurred on the 24th June, 1774. It appears that a number of labourers were employed in preparing a foundation for a large sugar warehouse, intended to be built upon the site of several old houses which had been pulled down for that purpose, near St. Mary Hill Church, on the east side of Love Lane. When they had cleared away the ground to the depth of 14 or 15 feet below the level of the street, they struck with their pick-axes an earthen vessel that stood upright in the ground, about 18 or 20 inches beneath the brick pavement of a cellar. There immediately fell out a considerable number of round pieces of metal, most of them very black, and many so much decayed as to crumble to pieces in handling;

but others were well preserved and solid, and readily changed to the colour of silver when rubbed.

Within the earthen vessel that was broken by the pick-axes was found a smaller one, lying with its mouth downwards, and covering a number of coins that were in the finest preservation, and many of them scarcely discoloured at all. Among them lay a fibula of fine gold, very neatly wrought in filigree, ornamented in the centre with a sapphire, and in the margin with three pearls, and the matrix for a fourth, which was missing. The larger of the two earthen vessels having been broken into several pieces, was not preserved with any care. It was of a bluish-coloured earth of a close texture, about a quarter of an inch thick, and was judged to be capable of containing nearly two quarts; its shape was like that of an urn. The smaller vessel, which remained entire, was of a brownish earth, inclining to red, of a stony granulated texture, about an eighth of an inch thick, and bore evident marks of having been used for the melting of metal. It was, however, of a different shape from modern crucibles. It was capable of holding  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ounces troy measure, was  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, and  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches at its greatest breadth, gradually contracting into a lip at one end.

In regard to the coins themselves, Dr. Griffith remarks that it was not easy to judge how many there were at first, nor what number of them was preserved, but that this much might be depended upon,—that between three and four hundred of them having been carefully examined they were found to consist entirely of coins of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William the Conqueror, there being, as in the case of the Dymchurch hoard, many exact halves and quarters intermixed with the whole pennies.

The pennies of Edward the Confessor proved to be considerably above half of the number examined. There were many fine specimens of six then known types corresponding to Nos. 1, 8 and 17 of Edward, in tab. vi and Nos. 25, 35 and 42 in tab. vii of Hickes's *Thesaurus*. These, after correcting the order of enumeration, correspond to Types VI, VII, VIII, IX, X and XI of the present writer's arrangement of the coins of Edward the Confessor. Besides, there

were two previously unknown varieties. These are shown by the illustrations of them to have been a coin of Type VII, variety bust to *left* (London mint) and a mule of VII = VIII (Cambridge mint).

The coins of Harold II. were generally *with* a sceptre, but sometimes *without*.

The pennies of William I. were of four then known types (Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 7 in Plate I published by the Society of Antiquaries). These correspond, after correcting the order of enumeration, with Types I, II, III and IV of the present writer's arrangement. The most numerous were those of Type III (Hks. 236). In addition there was found the unique mule of Type III = IV, fully described and illustrated on p. 146, the illustration being reproduced from that given in Dr. Griffith's plate.

The following readings of coins of Type III are reproduced, with some necessary corrections, from the account by Dr. Griffith.

- \* ÆGELPI ON O\*ENE
- \* ÆGELRIC ON LVND
- \* ÆLSIG ON LVND
- \* BRVNPINE ON STAI
- \* GODRIC ON ÆEOT
- \* GODPINE ON LVNDI
- \* LEOFRIC ON LVND
- \* LVFPINE ON EOFF
- \* MANN ON LANPAI
- \* OSBEARN ON ÆEOTE
- \* SIDEMAN ON PERHA
- \* SPOTTINC ON E\*L
- \* PILTVNE ON LANPA (? PVLFPINE)
- \* PINERAL ON LEPEIS (? PINRIED)
- \* PINTED ON LVND (? VHTRED)
- \* PVLFPINE ON LANPA

Lists of reverse readings of coins of the Sovereign Type (Type VIII) of Edward the Confessor and of those of Harold II. are given, but, unfortunately, not of the other types comprised in the hoard.

*Bermondsey, Surrey, 1820.*

From a note contributed by Mr. Edward Hawkins to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII (April, 1845, to January, 1846) p. 170, we learn that in or about the year 1820 thirteen silver pennies were found by some workmen whilst sinking the foundations for a house. Eight of these were of William II.

Type 2 (Hks. 246)...	...	...	3
„ 4 ( „ 249)...	...	...	1
„ „ ( „ 250)...	...	...	4

The remaining five coins were of Henry I., viz., four of Hks. 251, “and one very similar, but without the annulets over the shoulders.”

*Malmesbury, Wilts, 1828.*

At page 189 of Vol. I of *Olla Podrida* (by Richard Sainthill, 1844) there is printed a letter dated 17 December, 1841, from Mr. C. W. Loscombe, of Clifton, Bristol, who records that on the removal in 1828 of the foundations of an ancient chapel, built by William I. on the site of Maildolph's cell, to make room for a poor-house, some silver pennies of William I. were discovered beneath the principal stone, which was said to be a ton in weight.

Of these, thirteen were in Mr. Loscombe's possession, and were, with *one exception* unfortunately not described, of Type IV (Hks. 237).

One coin only is described, viz., of Type IV.

✱ PILLELMVS RE✱ AN.

✱ PVLFPINE ON E✱EI. Weight, 20 grains.

The undescribed exception may have been the Exeter coin, Type II, described in the *Loscombe Sale Catalogue* of 1855 and reading—

✱ SIEPARD ON E✱EC

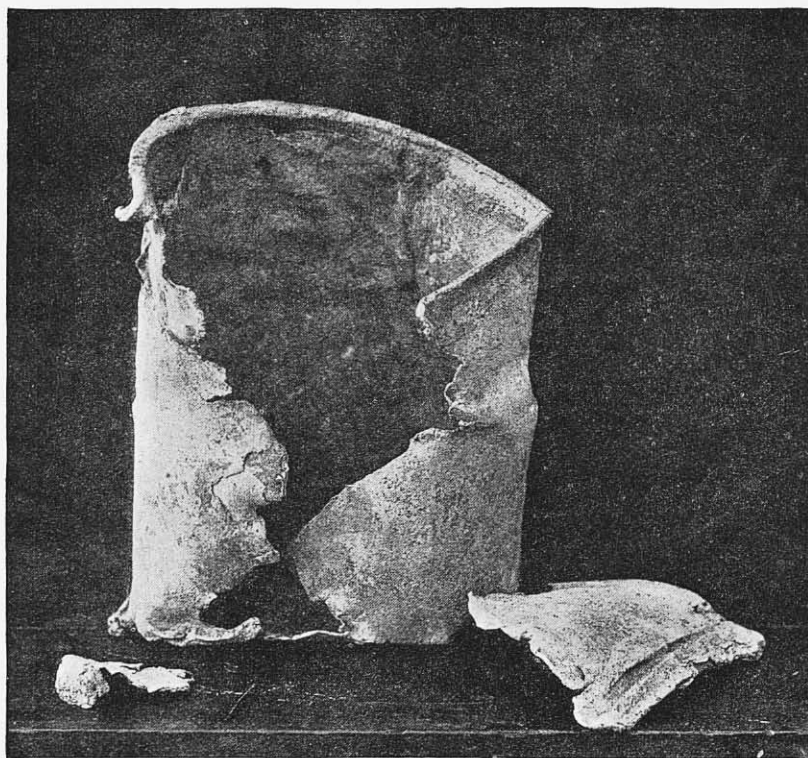
*Beaworth, Hants, 1833.*

A good account of this, the largest of the finds of coins of William I., by Mr. Edward Hawkins, is contained in *Archæologia*

Vol. XXVI, and Mr. W. J. Andrew has, in Vol. I of this *Journal*, given some most interesting particulars as to the probable occasion of the hiding of the treasure.

Mr. Hawkins states that the coins were deposited in an oblong box, 13 inches long, 11 inches deep, and 9 inches broad: but that it was so mutilated by the people in their eagerness to get at all its contents, that only one side and a part of the bottom remained entire; it had a small plain semi-circular iron handle, without any ornament or trace of inscription. The material of which the "box" was made is not stated, but earlier in the account it is noted that the attention of the boy finder was attracted by a piece of *lead* sticking up above the surface in the track of a wagon-wheel. The leaden vessel in which the coins were found is in fact preserved in a room, used as a museum, over the west gate of the City of Winchester. By the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Jacob, Hon. Curator of the West Gate Museum, we are enabled to give illustrations of this interesting relic of the Conqueror's days (see illustrations). The vessel is cylindrical in shape, nearly 13 inches in height and 8 inches in diameter. It is somewhat flattened by reason of vehicles having passed over the surface of the ground beneath which it was deposited. The vessel is a well executed example of lead casting totally devoid of ornament. It was opened from the top, where there is a wedge-shaped excrescence indicative of a fastening or hinge. The cover was not preserved. It is presumed, therefore, that the "box" alluded to by Mr. Hawkins was an outer case in which the still nearly complete leaden vessel was contained.

The great bulk of the coins consisted of specimens of the Conqueror's last type, Type VIII, generally referred to as the "Paxs type." Of these Mr. Hawkins examined 6,439, in addition to 18 cut halfpennies. The other types represented were Types V, VI and VII and the mule VII = VIII, represented by his figures 238, 243, 239 and 240 respectively. It is unfortunate that Mr. Hawkins did not record the number of specimens of the earlier types; but the following is a statement of the varieties of readings and mints that are recorded by him:—



*Photos by A. Gandy, Winchester.*

TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LEADEN VESSEL IN WHICH THE BEAWORTH  
HOARD WAS DISCOVERED.



Type	V ...	...	...	...	32
„	VI ...	...	...	...	32
„	VII ...	...	...	...	11
Mule VII = VIII	...	...	...	...	6
					—
					81
					—

making a grand total of 6,520 pennies and 18 halfpennies. These figures represent only those recorded by Mr. Hawkins, but it is well known that there were many other specimens dispersed in various ways, some being sold and others thrown away.

The following table, showing the number of specimens recorded of each type for each mint, may be of service in aiding the reader to form an opinion of the comparative rarity of the coins of any given mint. The names of the moneyers and the numbers of specimens of each variety of rendering of the names of moneyers and mints are reserved for the specific accounts of the coins of each mint given hereafter :—

	Type V.	Type VI.	Type VII.	Mule $\frac{VII}{VIII}$ .	Type VIII.
Barnstaple ...	—	—	—	—	8
Bath ...	—	—	—	—	22
Bedford ...	I	—	—	—	22
Bridport ...	—	—	—	—	11
Bristol ...	—	I	—	—	208
Cambridge ...	—	—	—	—	31
Canterbury ...	I	I	—	—	285
Chester ...	—	—	I	—	42
Chichester ...	2	—	—	—	242
Colchester ...	—	—	—	—	96
Cricklade... ..	I	—	—	—	16
Derby ...	—	—	—	—	20
“Deviton,” etc. ...	—	—	—	—	21
Dorchester ...	I	—	—	—	25
Dover ...	—	—	—	—	96
Durham ...	—	—	—	—	4
Exeter ...	—	—	—	—	180
Gloucester ...	—	—	—	—	68
Hastings ...	—	—	—	—	72
Hereford ...	—	—	—	—	59
Hertford ...	—	—	—	—	8



			Type V.	Type VI.	Type VII.	Mule $\frac{\text{VII}}{\text{VIII.}}$	Type VIII.
Huntingdon	...	...	—	—	—	—	5
Hythe	...	...	—	—	—	—	16
Ilchester	...	...	I	2	—	—	10
Ipswich	...	...	—	I	—	—	78
Launceston	...	...	—	—	—	—	6
Leicester	...	...	—	—	—	—	19
Lewes	...	...	I	I	—	—	77
Lincoln	...	...	2	I	—	—	171
London	...	...	8	6	I	—	792
Maldon	...	...	—	—	—	I	10
Malmesbury	...	...	—	—	—	I	8
Marlborough	...	...	—	I	—	—	5
Norwich	...	...	—	—	I	—	236
Nottingham	...	...	—	—	—	I	18
Oxford	...	...	—	I	I	—	145
Pevensey	...	...	—	—	—	—	7
Rhuddlan	...	...	—	—	—	—	I
Rochester	...	...	—	—	—	—	9
Romney	...	...	—	—	—	—	31
St. Edmundsbury	...	...	I	—	—	—	8
Salisbury	...	...	—	—	—	—	243
Sandwich	...	...	—	—	—	—	39
Shaftesbury	...	...	—	I	—	—	64
Shrewsbury	...	...	—	I	—	—	20
Southampton	...	...	—	—	—	—	36
Southwark	...	...	—	—	—	—	469
Stafford	...	...	—	—	—	—	2
Stamford	...	...	—	—	—	—	51
Steyning	...	...	—	—	—	—	46
Sudbury	...	...	—	I	—	—	29
Tamworth	...	...	—	—	—	—	5
Taunton	...	...	I	I	—	I	25
Thetford	...	...	3	—	—	—	123
Wallingford	...	...	—	2	—	—	237
Wareham	...	...	—	2	—	—	45
Warwick	...	...	—	—	—	—	26
Watchet	...	...	I	I	—	—	4
Wilton	...	...	—	—	I	—	72
Winchester	...	...	8	8	5	2	1587
Worcester	...	...	—	—	I	—	44
York	...	...	—	—	—	—	84
			32	32	11	6	6439

There are two Paxs-type coins of Rhuddlan, although only one is recorded in Mr. Hawkins's list, and is given to Huntingdon. This specimen remains in the National Collection assigned to the Huntingdon mint, and is placed with the undoubted coins of that mint.

The second specimen, possibly that formerly belonging to Mr. Brumell (Sotheby, April, 1850), is, although from the *same dies*, assigned by the official numismatists to Romney, and is so placed in the cabinet at the British Museum. As a fact, both attributions are equally erroneous.

This is readily to be understood when we find, on reference to a recent article by Mr. Grueber, who at present has the care of the English coins in our National Collection, that he confesses to not knowing of any Domesday reference to a mint at Rhuddlan.<sup>1</sup>

*York, 1845.*

In the early part of the year 1845 workmen employed in taking down some houses belonging to Mr. James Lancelot Foster, at the corner of Coney Street and Jubbergate, discovered below the cellar floor a hoard of about 500 or 600 silver pennies, which, as is usual, owing to the antiquated and ill-administered law relating to Treasure Trove, was speedily dispersed.

Mr. Edward Hawkins, with the assistance of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, of No. 8, Monkgate, York, obtained a sight of 167 of the coins, and contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1845 an unsigned article containing an account of these. All inspected by Mr. Hawkins were of Type II of William I., and it is mentioned that there was one coin with a profile bust, which he did not see, and one penny of Edward the Confessor, not described.

It may be of some service to our readers to have a list of the coins noted by Mr. Hawkins, many of which appear to have found their way into the British Museum, while some others were very properly

<sup>1</sup> See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903, p. 172. The words used are "*Rhuddlan.*—The attribution of coins to this mint has always been considered uncertain, *as there are no records on which to rely.*" The italics are ours.

deposited in the Museum at York. By inspection of the coins the writer has been enabled to make many corrections of Mr. Hawkins's readings of the reverse legends :—

TYPE II (HKS. 234).

Number of  
Specimens.

List.

- SIEG[OD] ON BEDEFO** (reading completed).  
**MANNA ON [E]AN** (corrected from . . . AM).  
 3. **ÆELFPEARD ON LEHI**  
 2. **ÆELFSI ON LEÆELI**  
**FRIDÆICT ON LEI** (corrected from **FRIDELICT**).  
 2. **COLBEIN ON DVRR** (corrected from **COLBRAN**).  
 2. **ORDRIC ON ÆLEPELEI**  
**ƆODRIC ON HAMTV**  
**ƆODRIC ON HAMTI**  
 2. **SPETMAN ON AMT**  
 2. **BRIHTRIC ON HERE :** (colon added).  
 2. **ƆODRIC ON HVNTI**  
**LIERIC ON LERECE** (corrected from **LIERI**).  
**ÆHEMVND ON LI** (corrected from **ÆNEMVND**).  
**E . . . PINE ON LI** (a London coin, misread).  
 2. **ƆIFEL ON LINCO**  
 3. **IELNER ON LINCO**  
 3. **OVÐƆRIM ON LINE**  
**SEFPARÐ ON LIN** (corrected from **SEFPARD**).  
 2. **PVLFI ON LINCO** (corrected from **PVLSI**).  
**IELFSI ON LVNDEN** (corrected from **ÆELFSI**).  
**IELEFSIE ON LVNDEN** (corrected from **ÆELEFSIE**).  
 2. **ÆELPINE ON LVNDEN** (corrected from **ÆELPINE**).  
**IEOLFSI ON LVNDEN** (corrected from **ÆEOLFSI**).  
 4. **ALDƆAR ON LVN**  
**ALDƆAR ON LVN** (corrected from **ALDOVR**).  
**ELDƆAR ON LVND** (corrected from **ELDOVR**).  
 2. **EADPINE ON LVNI**  
**EALDƆAR ON LVN**  
 4. **IDIFS ON LVNDENI** (corrected from **IDEN**).  
 3. **ƆODRIC ON LVNDE**  
 2. **ƆODRIC ON LVNDI**  
**ƆODRIIC ON LVNDNE**  
 2. **ƆODPINE ON LVNDI**  
**ƆODPINE ON LVNI**

Number of  
Specimens.

List.

- EADPINE ON NORÐ**  
**LIOFOLD ON NOR**  
**ELFSI ON SNOT**  
**FORN ON SNOTI[NGE]** (reading completed).  
 3. **ELFPI ON O\*EFORD :** (colon added).  
**PVLFPi ON O\*EN[EF]** (reading completed).  
**DERMON ON STIE** (corrected from **STA**).  
 3. **COLENIC ON TAMAN**  
**BRVN** (or **BRVNIL**) **ON TAMP** (corrected from **ERVN**).  
**LINRIC ON \*IEOTVF**, *i.e.*, Thetford (corrected from **\*IEOTNF**).  
 3. **GODPINE ON ÐEOT**  
**. . . . O . . . . ON ÐEOTFOR**  
**OZEARN ON ÐETOI** (corrected from **OLPVRN**).  
**GODRIC ON PILTVN**  
 2. **SEFAR ON PILTVI**  
**EASTMER ON PIHR** (corrected from **ERSTNER**).  
 2. **ALEIF ON EOFERP**  
 4. **AVÐOLF ON EO** (corrected from **ANÐOLF**).  
 26. **AVÐOLF ON EOFE** (corrected from **ANÐOLF**).  
 4. **ARCETEL ON EOF**  
 2. **HARÐVL ON EOF**  
 2. **LEIGZING ON EO**  
 7. **OVÐBEORN ON EO**  
 2. **OVÐGRIM ON EOFE**  
**ROSFETEL ON EO**  
**SPEARTLOL ON EO**  
**SPEATLOL ON EO**  
 19. **ÐORR ON EOFER**  
 9. **ÐORR ON EOFERP**  
 2. **VLFCETEL ON EO**

The above list comprises 166 coins. To this must be added the undescribed "penny of Edward the Confessor," in order to make the total of 167 inspected by Mr. Hawkins.

*Shillington, Beds, 1871.*

We learn from a note contributed by Mr. William Allen to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (see Vol. XI, N.S., p. 227) that on Thursday, 9th April, 1871, some workmen, who were engaged in searching for

coprolites, had thrown down a mass of earth and were proceeding to remove the same when one of them struck his pick-axe through a small jar, a little larger than a cocoanut, smashing it up and scattering its contents. The jar had a herring-bone ornamentation upon it. The vessel contained, it is estimated, some 250 silver pennies chiefly of William II. and Henry I.

Mr. Weston, the manager of the works where the find took place, obtained as many of the coins as he could from the finders, and some were presented to Trinity College, Cambridge, where, through the courtesy of the Librarian, the Rev. Robert Sinker, D.D., Mr. L. A. Lawrence and the writer recently inspected them for the purposes of this work.

Mr. Allen had the opportunity of inspecting about a third of the total number of coins found, and remarks that they were *much confined* to four types, viz., Hks. 244, 246, 250, and 252. The *most numerous* were those of Hks. 250, and there were *a few* of Hks. 252. He mentions, in addition, that he saw *one* coin of the Paxs type (presumably Hks. 241) and a coin of Henry I., *not* of 252, but unfortunately he omits to say of what type. Of this most instructive find of coins the only readings given are :—

- |    |           |                         |
|----|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Hks. 244. | ✱ PILLELM RE✱ I         |
|    | "         | ✱ IELFRIC ON LIEPIE     |
| 2. | "         | ✱ IELERIC ON LVN        |
| 3. | "         | ✱ DECLIR ON STEPNE      |
| 4. | "         | ✱ GODPINE . . [      ]. |

In reference to the third coin, Mr. Allen, speaking of the moneyer, says, "whose name I cannot properly decipher." The present writer suggests that the true reading is ✱ **IEGLIER ON STEFN**.<sup>1</sup>

Of the coins of Hks. 252, London and Southwark were the only mints deciphered by Mr. Allen. The 19 coins from this find, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, disclose the following types and readings :—

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Mr. Allen's Sale Catalogue (Sotheby, 1898) converts this surmise into a certainty, as Lot 337 (illustrated in Plate II) gives the reading exactly as suggested.

- 244. \* **EDRIC . . LVNDN** (London).
- 246. \* **[DE]ORMAN ON HE . .** (Hastings).
- ” \* **IELFPINE ON LVN** (London).
- ” \* **EDRIC ON LVNDI** (London).
- 247. \* **EDPINE ONTLE** (Canterbury).
- ” \* **HOPIO[RD O]NORÐ** (Norwich).
- ” \* **PVLFI ON SERV** (Shrewsbury).
- 249. \* **DILMAN ON HIEI** (?).
- 250. \* **SIMIER ON INTL** (Canterbury).
- ” \* **SIMIER ON INTLI** (Canterbury).
- ” \* **A[RN]CIL ON LINEN** (Lincoln).
- ” \* **FOLIERD ON LIN** (Lincoln).
- ” \* **BRVNI ON LVN** (London).
- ” \* **ORDGAR ON LVN** (London), 2 specimens.
- ” \* **HOPORD O NORÐI** (Norwich).
- ” Illegible.
- 252. \* **SG . . . . . PINE** (?)
- ” **SAIET : ON : PINCEST :**

From this list it will be seen that types 1, 2, 3, and 4 of William II. were present in the Shillington hoard, and as early coins of Henry I. also occurred, it is probable that some specimens of William II.'s fifth and last type (Hks. 248) were amongst the large number of unexamined specimens, as well as those types of Henry I. which preceded Hks. 252.

But against this supposition is the fact that no coin of Hks. 248, or of any type of Henry I. earlier than Hks. 252, appears in Mr. Allen's Sale Catalogue, whereas there are many of types 1 to 4 inclusive, of William II. and of Hks. 252.

*City of London, 1872.*

In 1872 a hoard of coins, probably exceeding 7,000 specimens, was found somewhere in the City of London, but, again owing to the fears inspired by the unfortunate administration of the law relating to Treasure Trove, no details are recorded of the place of discovery.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A., obtained a large number of these coins and deciphered 2,230 of them.

<sup>1</sup> The Allen Sale Catalogue discloses that the Mansion House, Walbrook, E.C., was the place of discovery.

In the account by him in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. XVI, p. 323, he mentions that there were coins of the following Kings :—

	Number.
Æthelred II. ... ..	4
Cnut ... ..	19
Edward the Confessor ... ..	2,798
Harold II. ... ..	1
William I. ... ..	5
Magnus of Denmark .. ...	1
	<hr/> 2,828 <hr/>

and, in addition, several pounds in weight of specimens broken and in bad condition which were refused by Mr. Willett. Many specimens were acquired by Sir John Evans, and others by Mr. Baily. In 1881 these latter were purchased on his decease for the Guildhall Museum, in the City of London. The coins of William I. described by Mr. Willett are as follows :—

Type II.	* PILLEMV RE*
	* IEGELBRIHT ON GIPEI (Ipswich).
„	* PILLEMV RE*
	* GODPINE ON ðEOT (Thetford).
Type IV.	* PI[. . . .] RE* ANGL
	[* ] ON LINE (Lincoln).
„	* PILLEM RE* ANGL
	* IELPINE ON LVND (London).
„	* PILLEM RE* ANGLOLV
	* GODPINE ON LVND (London).

The coins preserved in the Guildhall Museum are as follows :—

Type IV.	* PILLEM RE* ANI
	* ALDGAR ON [LV]ND (London).
	* P . . . . . RE* ANGLO
	* IELPINE ON LVNDE (London). <sup>1</sup>
	* . . . . . M RE* ANGLO
	* IELPINE ON [LVNDE] (London). <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These two coins appear to be from the same dies.



- \* PILLEM RE\* ANO
- \* BLAESVNII ON LVN<sup>1</sup> (London).
- \* PILLEM RE\* ANGLI
- \* GODRIC ON NORÐPI (Norwich).

Tamworth, 1877.

During the execution, in the year 1877, of the works in connection with the new Board Schools at Tamworth, a workman raised with his pick a small packet, somewhat triangular in shape, formed of lead, turned over (like a turn-over puff). It contained coins of which four or five were sold and dispersed. The remainder were sent to the Treasury and thence to the British Museum for examination, and were found to be 294 in number.

They comprised four varieties, viz., Hks. 241, 244, 245 (three coins only), and 246. The account by Mr. C. F. Keary is contained in *Num. Chron.*, N.S. Vol. XVIIp. 340.

# LIST.

## WILLIAM I. "PAXS" TYPE. TYPE VIII.

BRIHTPORD ON BRI (Bristol).	EDPOLD O NORÐP (Norwich).
ÆLSI ON LEHELE (Chester).	BRIHTRED ON O* N (Oxford).
EDPINE ON LILST (Chichester).	GODPINE ON SÆR (Salisbury).
GOLDPINE ON DOF (Dover).	ALDOINE ON SVÐE (Southwark).
SILALPINE ON GEP (Gloucester).	LIFPORD ON SVÐE "
DVNIC ON HÆSTI (Hastings).	LIFPORD ON SVÐEI "
ÆOLPINE ON HRE (?) (Hereford).	ÐVRBIGN ON STAI (Steyning).
LIESTIIII ON HRE (2) "	SPIRTIC ON PALN (Wallingford).
PINRED ON LIEPN (Lewes).	LIFRIC ON PERI (Warwick).
GODRIC ON LEHRE (Leicester).	SEFINE ON PILT (Wilton).
VLF ON LINCOLNE (Lincoln).	SPRIECLIN ONPIN (Winchester).
ÆLFRIE ON LNI (London).	ÆLFÆRD ON PIH (corrected
ÆPI ON LVNDEI "	from PIN) (Worcester).
BRVAVIC ON LVND "	GODPINE ON — ?
SEFORD ON MALM (Malmes-	Illegible (1).
bury).	

Total 30.

<sup>1</sup> The letters **VN** are in monogram.

## WILLIAM II. TYPE I.

**SIGOD ON BEDEFRD** (corrected from **BIGOD**) (Bedford).

**LIFPI ON BEDEFRI** (Bedford).

**BRIHTPORD ON BRIC** (Bristol).

**PIBERN** (corrected from **PIDERN**)

**ON GRANT** (Cambridge).

**BRIHT... ON CNT?** (Canterbury).

**IEGERIC ON CNTLI?** (Canterbury).

**LIFPINE ON LEILGI** (2) (Chester).

**LIFINC ON LELIEI** „

**SENOLF ON LE . ST** „

**BRVNNAN ON CIE** (Chichester).

**BRVNMAN ON CIE** „

**PVLFPIC ON COLEC** (Colchester).

**GODI... ON DERBI** (Derby).

**SEFINE ON Æ\*ELI** (Exeter).

**SE... PINE O/VV E\*ELI** „

**IELFPI ON HRFERI** (Hereford).

**IELPORD ON GILFL** (Ilchester).

**GODRIC ON LEHRE** (Leicester).

**VLF OMINCO** (corrected from **ALF**) (Lincoln).

**IELFRIED ON LVN** (London).

**IELFRIED ON LVND** (9) „

**BRIHTPI ON LVND** „

**EDRIC ON LVNDE** (2) „

**EDRIC ON LVNDNE** „

**EDRIC ON LVNDNE** „

**EDRIC ON LVNDNEI** (2) „

**EDRIC ON LVNDNEI** „

**EDRIC ON LVNDNI** „

**EDPI ON LVNDEI** „

**EDPIO/VV LVNDEI** „

**EDPI ON LVNDN** „

**EDPI ON LVNDNI** „

**LIFSVNE ON MIEL** (Maldon).

**SEFORD ON MALME** (Malmesbury).

**ÆGL... I ONORÐPI** (Norwich)

**PI... ON SNOTINE?** (Nottingham).

**GIFTRED ON ROFEL** (Rochester).

**GODPINE ON SAERI** (Salisbury).

**SEGRIM ON SEREBI** „

**IELFN... SAND** (Sandwich).

**SEFINE ON HMTII** (Southampton).

**LIFPORD ONN SVÐ** (Southwark).

**GODRIC ON STAFRE** (Stafford).

**GODRIC ON ST... D** „

**EDLEAERD ON STA** (Stamford?).

**BRVNIC ON TAMPR** (12) (Tamworth).

**COLIN ON TAMPR** (2) (Tamworth).

**COLINE ON TAMPR** (Tamworth).

**GODRIC ON ÐTFRD** (Thetford).

**ÆLPINE ON PALE** (Wallingford).

**GOLDINE ON PER** (Warwick).

**GOLDINE ON PERI** „

**LIFRIC ON PRPI** „

**ÐIDRED ON PRPICE** (2) (Warwick).

**IELFPINE ON PILTI** (2) (Wilton).

**EDRIC ON PINPE** (?)

**LIFPOLD ON PINCE** (Winchester).

**BALDRIC ON PIHR** (Worcester).

**ESTMÆR ON PIHR** „

**ALEIF ON EFRPIC** (corrected from **IILLIF**) (York).

**BALDINE ON PA** or **PV** (?)

**BRNNINC** (?) **ON**

**BRVNSTAIV ON**

**GODPINE ON** (?)

Illegible 8.

WILLIAM II. TYPE 2.

<b>GODRIC ON BEDFRD</b> (Bedford).	<b>ÐVRST . . . . ONLN</b> (Lincoln).
<b>LIFPINE ON BE . . .</b> "	<b>ÐVRSTHN LINCOL</b> (2) "
<b>BRIHTPOD ON BRIC</b> (Bristol).	<b>ÐV . . . IN LINCOL</b> "
<b>COLBLAC ON BRIC</b> (corrected from <b>COLININC</b> ) (Bristol).	<b>IELFPINE ON LVN</b> (London).
<b>IELFPINE ON LEIGL</b> (Chester).	<b>BRVNI ON LVND</b> "
<b>LIFIL ON LEIEI</b> "	<b>BVT ON LVNDN</b> (4) "
<b>LIFIL ON LEIECES</b> (2) "	<b>BVT ON LVNDNE</b> "
<b>LIFINC ON LEIEI</b> "	<b>EDPI ON LVNDE</b> "
<b>LIFINC ON LEIECES</b> "	<b>EDPI ON LVNDNE</b> (3) "
<b>LIFPINE ON LEICE</b> (Hks. 245) (Chester).	<b>EDPINE ON LVNDE</b> (2) "
<b>LIFPINE ON LEILI</b> (Chester).	<b>GODPINE ON LV</b> "
<b>SVNOVLV ON LEØ</b> "	<b>GODPINE ON LVND</b> (3) "
<b>SVNOVLV ON LEIL</b> "	<b>LIFSI ON LVNDE</b> "
<b>SVNOVLV ON LEIEI</b> (2) (Chester).	<b>LIFSI ON LVNDN</b> "
<b>BRVMAN ON IICE</b> (Chichester).	<b>LIFSIE ON LVNDI</b> "
<b>GDPINE ON DRBE</b> (corrected from <b>GODPINE ON DERE</b> ) (Derby).	<b>PVLFRIC ONLVND</b> "
<b>GVDNIC ON DRBE</b> (Derby).	<b>PVLGAR ON LVND</b> "
<b>LIFPINE ON DRBI</b> "	<b>PVLIPINE ON LVND</b> "
<b>IELFØIET ON DORC</b> (Dorchester).	<b>PVNRIC ON LVND</b> "
<b>IELFØIET ON DORI</b> "	<b>. . . . NEI ON LVND</b> "
<b>. . . . . ? ON DOREI</b> (Dor- chester).	<b>. . . . INIL ON LVN</b> "
<b>BRHTNOÐ ON GLE</b> (Hks. 245) (corrected from <b>GIF</b> ) (Gloucester).	<b>SEPOD ON MALM</b> (2) (Malmes- bury).
<b>[BRIH]TOÐ ON GLEP</b> "	<b>IEGLRIC ONORÐP</b> (Norwich).
<b>SEGRIM ON GLE</b> "	<b>EDPOLD ONOR</b> "
<b>DVNIC ON HSTIN</b> (Hastings).	<b>GODPINE ON NORÐP</b> "
<b>IEGLPINE ON HRI</b> (Hereford).	<b>IILERE ON SNOTINGE</b> (Not- tingham).
<b>LIFSVN ON HREF</b> "	<b>BRVNRÆD ON O*EI</b> (probably <b>BRIHTRIED</b> ) (Oxford).
<b>LIFPINE ON GIFEL</b> (Ilchester).	<b>SP . . . PINE ? ON O*</b> (Oxford).
<b>GODRIC ON LEHRE</b> (Hks. 245) (Leicester).	<b>PVLLPI ON O*NE</b> "
<b>GODRIC ON LEHRE</b> (2) (Leicester).	<b>. . . . PINE ON O*EI</b> "
<b>GODRIC ON LHRE</b> (Leicester).	<b>GVDRIED ON ROFI</b> (corrected from <b>GVDMAN</b> ) (Rochester).
<b>GODRIC ON LEH</b> (2) "	<b>IERNEPI ON SERV</b> (corrected from <b>SERV</b> ) (Shrewsbury).
	<b>IERNPI ON SERV</b> (corrected from <b>SERV</b> ) (Shrewsbury).
	<b>LIFPOD ON SIE . . .</b> (Salis- bury).

**SEGRIM ON SERBI** (Salisbury).  
**PVLFGIED ON SLE** (Shaftesbury).  
**SEPI ON HAMTV** (Southampton).  
**SEPINE ON HAMT** (2) „  
**SEPINE ON MTVN** „  
**PVLGAR ON SVÐ** (Southwark).  
**IELFNOD ON STF** (2) (Stafford).  
**ODRIC ON STFRDI** (2) „  
**BRVNIE ON TAMP** (9) (Tamworth).  
**EVLIN ON TAMP** (9) (Tamworth).  
**FOLCIERD ON ÐTFR** (Thetford).  
**COLBERN ON PALI** (3) (Wallingford).  
**COLERN ON PAL** (Wallingford).  
**GOLDIN ON PERE** (3) (Warwick).  
**GOLDIN ON PERP** (2) „  
**SPERHAFVI ON PRI** (2) „  
**SPERHAFVI ONPRI** (corrected from **SPERMANIC**) (Warwick).  
**ÐIDRIED ON PRIP** (5) „  
**IELFPINE ON PITV** (Wilton).  
**SEPINE ON PILTV** „  
**SEF . . . R ON . . . . N** (Wilton?).  
**IESTAN ON PINT** (corrected from **ÆSTVN**) (Winchester).  
**COLBRAC ON PINE** (? misreading of a Bristol coin).

**GODPINE ON PINE** (corrected from **PIHR**) (Winchester).  
**PIMVND ON PINE** (corrected from **DIMVND**) (Winchester).  
**IELFGIERD ON PIH** (corrected from **PIN**) (Worcester).  
**IELFGIERD ONPH** (corrected from **ON PN**) (Worcester).  
**IELFGORD ON PIHR** (corrected from **PIN**) (Worcester).  
**BALDRIC ON PIHR** (Worcester).  
**ESTMIER ON PIH** (2) „  
**ESTMIER ON PIHR** (5) „  
**SEPINE ON PHRI** „  
**ALEF ON EFRPIC** (York).  
**LIFPINE ON EOFP** „

*Uncertain.*

**IELG . . . . . IRT** (?)  
**BRIHT . . .**  
**BRVMINE ON** (Tamworth?).  
**EDPINE ON** (London?).  
**GODRIC ON**  
**SEPINE ON**  
**SPGEN ON . . . . . T** (Bristol).  
**PINRIED ON NTLE** (Canterbury).  
**PVLFPOLD ON** (London?).  
 Illegible 9.

Total 165.

*Summary.*

William I., Type VIII, (Hks. 241)	...	30
„ II., Type 1, ( „ 244)	...	97
„ „ Mule 1=2, ( „ 245)	...	3
„ „ Type 2, ( „ 246)	...	164
		—
		294
		—

York, 1882.

In 1882, a find, or finds of coins of Edward the Confessor and William I. took place in Bishophill.

As regards the coins of William I., these appear to have been of Type I, the mule I=II (Hks. 235) and Type II, the bulk being of the last mentioned type. Some were secured by the late Canon Raine and were presented to the York Museum, but Mr. C. Wakefield, Hon. Curator of Antiquities, is unable to say which specimens came from this source. The writer has, however, through the kindness of Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Oxley Grabham and, by no means least, through the interest displayed by our member Mr. J. F. Walker, taken a note of every coin of William I. and II. in the York collection, and has also been furnished with photographs of some of the most interesting specimens. The descriptions of all of them will be found hereafter under the headings of the several mints whence they emanated.

Judging from the appearance of the specimens in the York collection there seems to have been a find, probably also in York, of coins of Types V and VI of William I. (Hks. 238 and 243). The association together of these two types *only*, is of sufficient importance to render it desirable to describe all the specimens here, in addition to their description hereafter in connection with the coins of York.

Type V.	✱	<b>CINRIC ON ðETFR</b>	(Thetford).
"	✱	<b>ALðVR ON EFRPI</b>	(3) (York).
"	✱	<b>ALðVRVLF ON EFR</b>	"
"	✱	<b>HARðVLF ON IF</b>	"
Type VI.	✱	<b>HRðVL ON EFPR</b>	"
"	✱	<b>HRðVOLF ON EFR</b>	(2) "
"	✱	<b>ðOR ON EFRPILI</b>	"
"	✱	<b>ðOR ON EFRPIL . .</b>	"

Whitchurch, Oxfordshire.

In his former paper, "On the coins of William I. and II., and the sequence of the Types" (printed in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902), the writer referred to a find of coins mentioned to him by Mr. W. F. Lincoln, Senr., as having come into his hands many years ago. It is

there stated that these were exclusively of Types I, II, and III of William I., and that the two last named types greatly predominated.

Since that date Mr. W. Sharp Ogden very kindly sent for exhibition at a meeting of the Society<sup>1</sup> a small, circular cardboard box containing the coins specified below :—

1. Edward the Confessor, Type X (Hks. 225), reading ✱ **BRIHTMER  
ON PA** (Wallingford).
2. William I., Type II (fragment) [✱ . . . .] **TMER ON PA.**
3.       "       "       ✱ **BRAND ON PALINGI.**
4.       "       Type III ✱ **LEORL ON BRVESTOL.**
5.       "       "       ✱ **SIPEARÐ ON PINCE.**

This had, in very faded ink upon the cover, the inscription : " Found on Whitchurch Common."

Upon inspection the Wallingford coin of Type X of Edward the Confessor was found to be from the same dies as many specimens in Mr. Lincoln's possession, and he was then able to recall the fact that, in addition to the coins of William I. before referred to, there were many of Types X and XI of Edward the Confessor and, possibly, also some few of Harold II. This find, though practically unrecorded, produced the great majority of the coins of Type III of William I. (Hks. 236) now in our collections. The large number of Wallingford coins present in the hoard renders it probable that the Whitchurch Common referred to on Mr. Ogden's little box is that situate in Oxfordshire, opposite Pangbourne.

There is appended hereto, in tabular form, a summary of the information in regard to the sequence of the types, obtained from the evidence afforded by the various finds of coins before described.

While dealing with the subject of discoveries of hoards of coins it may be well to refer to a circumstance that should be obvious, viz., that the presence in our cabinets of to-day of a *large* or *small* number of specimens of a given type is a matter to a great extent dependent upon the mere accident of discovery and the time of the deposit of the coins found.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 416-17.

Although to-day the last type of the Conqueror, the Paxs type, is that of which we possess by far the largest number of specimens, the condition of affairs was distinctly different prior to the discovery of the Beaworth hoard in 1833. Mr. Hawkins, in his account of that find, remarks in reference to the reverse of the type that "Ruding, drawing a general conclusion from the single specimen figured in his plates, interprets the words 'Pax subditis,' and considers the coinage commemorative of the surrender of Exeter, where that one coin happened to be struck."

The discovery of fresh hoards may disclose equally numerous examples of any other type or types of the two reigns under consideration. In this connection it must be remembered that our knowledge of many types of a given mint depends upon the preservation of a single specimen, nay, sometimes of a mere fragment. The perusal of the lists of coins appended to the accounts of each mint given hereafter will make this proposition abundantly clear. Much depends upon the locality of a find for the presence or absence of a given type of a given mint in it. It is not wise, in the writer's judgment, to assume that the missing type or types may not one day come to light.

To point the moral intended to be impressed it may be mentioned that the writer is able from his own collection to add numerous mints to those hitherto recorded of the various types under discussion. For example, in his exhaustive treatise on the coins found at Beaworth, no coin from the Guildford mint of the Paxs type issue is recorded by Mr. Hawkins, and yet undoubted coins of Guildford of this issue exist, one being in the National Collection and another in that of the writer.

Although, as already stated, a cut halfpenny of Type V was present in the large find of pennies of Henry I. and Stephen, discovered at Watford in A.D. 1818, it has not been thought advisable to include a description of the hoard under these reigns, for this single halfpenny was the only piece, amongst 1,127, which was earlier in date than A.D. 1128.



Place and date.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	I.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Remarks.
York, 1704 ...	+	+												Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II.
Dymchurch, 1739 ...	+													
St. Mary Hill Church, 1774	+	+	+	+										ditto.
Bermondsey, 1820 ...										+		+		Mixed with coins of Henry I.
Malmesbury, 1828 ...		?		+										
Beaworth, 1833 ...					+		+	+						
York, 1845 ...	+	+												
Shillington, 1871 ...									+	+	+	+		Mixed with coins of Henry I.
City of London, 1872		+		+										Mixed with coins of all reigns from Æthelred II.
Tamworth, 1877 ...										+				
York, 1882 ...	+	+			+			+	+					Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor.
" (undated) ...														
Whitchurch, Oxon (undated)	+	+	+			+								Mixed with coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II. (?).

## CHAPTER III.

## THE TWO KINGS AND THEIR GREAT SEALS.

*William I.*

It is thought that a short sketch, culled from the writings of early authorities, of the appearance and character of the monarchs whose coins we are considering, may not be without interest.

William I. was born at Falaise in the year 1027 or 1028, being the son of Robert, Count of Hiesmois and afterwards Duke of Normandy, by Herleva, or Arletta, daughter of Fulbert the tanner. Duke Robert succeeded his brother Richard in 1028, and in 1034 or 1035 went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and died before the year 1035. Although Robert made no attempt to legitimize his son William by a marriage to Herleva, even subsequent to his birth, he formally made him his heir and nominated him as his successor. William was brought up in a hard school and, when others of his age were mere boys, he had already attained the hardihood and thinking capacities of a man. His struggles and victories in Normandy paved the way for his subsequent victories in England and abroad.

At the date of the battle of Hastings, 1066, William was an experienced statesman and hardy soldier of the age of 38 or thereabouts. He had in 1053, when about 25 years of age, married Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, and a descendant of Alfred the Great. For some reason the papal sanction to his marriage was deferred, but it was ultimately given by Nicholas II., in 1059.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of the Conqueror, says :—

“ He was of just stature, extraordinary corpulence, fierce countenance ; his forehead bare of hair ; of such great strength of arm that it was often matter of surprise that no one was able to bend his bow, which himself could bend when his horse was on full gallop ; he was majestic, whether sitting or standing, although the protuberance of his belly deformed his royal person ; of excellent health, so that he was never confined of any dangerous disorder, except at the last ; so given to the pleasures of the chase, that, ejecting the inhabitants, he let a

space of many miles grow desolate, that, when at liberty from other avocations, he might there pursue his pleasures. He gave sumptuous and splendid entertainments at the principal festivals; passing, during the years he could conveniently remain in England, Christmas at Gloucester; Easter at Winchester; Pentecost at Westminster. At these times a royal edict summoned thither all the principal persons of every order, that the ambassadors from foreign nations might admire the splendour of the assemblage, and the costliness of the banquets. Nor was he at any time more affable or more indulgent; in order that the visitors might proclaim universally, that his generosity kept pace with his riches . . . . His anxiety for money is the only thing for which he can deservedly be blamed. This he sought all opportunities of scraping together, he cared not how; he would say and do some things, and, indeed, almost anything, unbecoming such great majesty, where the hope of money allured him."

The last paragraph would almost lead one to suppose that the King was an ardent numismatologist, for the words used are strongly applicable to some numismatic transactions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries!

The accompanying illustration is a reproduction of the first Great Seal of this king:—

The obverse has, between two dotted circles, the legend:—  
**✠ H◊C • NORMANNORVM • VVILLELMVM • NOSCE •  
 PATRONVM • SI.**

The King on horseback to the right, in coat of chain mail, conical helmet, and wearing spurs; in right hand a long lance with three streamers; in left hand a round-headed shield held by a strap and showing the inner surface. Horse-trappings: a small saddle, stirrup, girth and breast-band.

The reverse, or counter-seal, has, between two dotted circles, the following legend:—

**✠ H◊C • ANGLIS • REDEM SIGNO • FATEARIS • EVNDEM.**

The King enthroned, wearing a crown surmounted by three crosses, *pattées fitchées*, clad in the tunica, the corpulence of the abdomen distinctly shown, both arms extended and raised from the elbow; in



THE FIRST GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM I.

right hand a sword erect ; in left hand an orb surmounted by a tall cross pattée fitchée. Throne without back.

The legends together form the couplet :—

“Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum,  
Si hoc Anglis regem signo fatearis eundem.”

The next illustration is that of the Conqueror's second Great Seal. The general designs of both seal and counter-seal are similar to, but varying in some details from those of his first seal. These are sufficiently apparent on inspection and comparison, but attention may be directed to the fact that whereas the first **E** in *eundem* is square, the second is a round **€**, and that Hoc on the obverse has a small **h**.

### *William II.*

William II. was born in Normandy before the conquest of England, presumably before the year 1060, as he is described as being “aged above forty years” when he died.

William of Malmesbury says of him :—

“Greatness of soul was pre-eminent in the King, which, in process of time, he obscured by excessive severity ; vices, indeed, in place of virtues, so insensibly crept into his bosom, that he could not distinguish them. The world doubted, for a long time, whither he would incline ; what tendency his disposition would take. At first, as long as Archbishop Lanfranc survived, he abstained from every crime ; so that it might be hoped he would be the very mirror of kings. After his death, for a time, he showed himself so variable, that the balance hung evenly betwixt vices and virtues. At last, however, in his latter years, the desire after good grew cold, and the crop of evil increased to ripeness ; his liberality became prodigality ; his magnanimity, pride ; his austerity, cruelty. . . .

“He was, when abroad, and in public assemblies, of supercilious look, darting his threatening eye on the by-stander ; and with assumed severity and ferocious voice, assailing such as conversed with him. From apprehension of poverty, and of the treachery of others, as may be conjectured, he was too much given to lucre, and to cruelty. At home and at table with his intimate companions, he gave loose to levity and to mirth. He was a most facetious railer at anything he had himself done amiss, in order that he might thus do away with obloquy, and make it matter of jest.”



THE SECOND GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM I.

As regards the personal appearance of Rufus, the same author says :—

“Should anyone be desirous to know the make of his person, he is to understand that he was well set ; his complexion florid, his hair yellow ; of open countenance ; different coloured eyes, varying with certain glittering specks ; of astonishing strength, though not very tall, and his belly rather projecting ; of no eloquence, but remarkable for a hesitation of speech, especially when angry.”

Accompanying is a representation of this king's Great Seal :—  
The obverse has the legend, between two dotted circles :—

**\* WIL[LELMV]S D̄I GR̄A RE\* ANGLOR-V.**

The King enthroned, wearing a crown of five points, of which the central point ends in a cross, a tassel terminating in three pellets dependent from either side beneath the crown ; tunic and pallium regale, fastened at the throat and adorned with broad bordure. Each arm extended and raised from the elbow ; in right hand a sword upraised and point inclined inwards. In left hand an orb surmounted by a cross. Throne without back. In field on either side a star, or rose, having six rounded leaves. All within a dotted circle.

The reverse, or counter-seal, has the legend, between two dotted circles :—

**\* WILLELMVS D̄-I GR̄A [RE]\* ANGLORV.**

The King on horseback to the right in chain armour, conical helmet, spur on heel ; in right hand long lance with three streamers, sword on King's left hanging down below the horse. In left hand, round-headed shield grasped by internal strap.

It will be noticed that whereas in the case of William I., the King, as Duke of the Normans, is shown on the *obverse* and the monarch enthroned as King *over* the English on the *reverse*, William II., on his seal, is portrayed on the *obverse* as King *of* the English, and the Norman representation, with the same legend as that on the obverse, is relegated to the reverse or counter-seal.





THE GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM II.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE TYPES OF THE COINS.

THERE are eight substantive types of William I. and five of William II. The eight types of William I. are represented by the figures in *Hawkins*, as follows :—

Type	I, fig. 233.
„	II, „ 234.
„	III, „ 236.
„	IV, „ 237.
„	V, „ 238.
„	VI, „ 243.
„	VII, „ 239.
„	VIII, „ 241 and 242.

Fig. 235 is a “mule,” or combination of the obverse of Type I (233) and the reverse of Type II (234).

Fig. 240 is, in like manner, a “mule,” or combination of the obverse of Type VII (239) and the reverse of Type VIII (241).

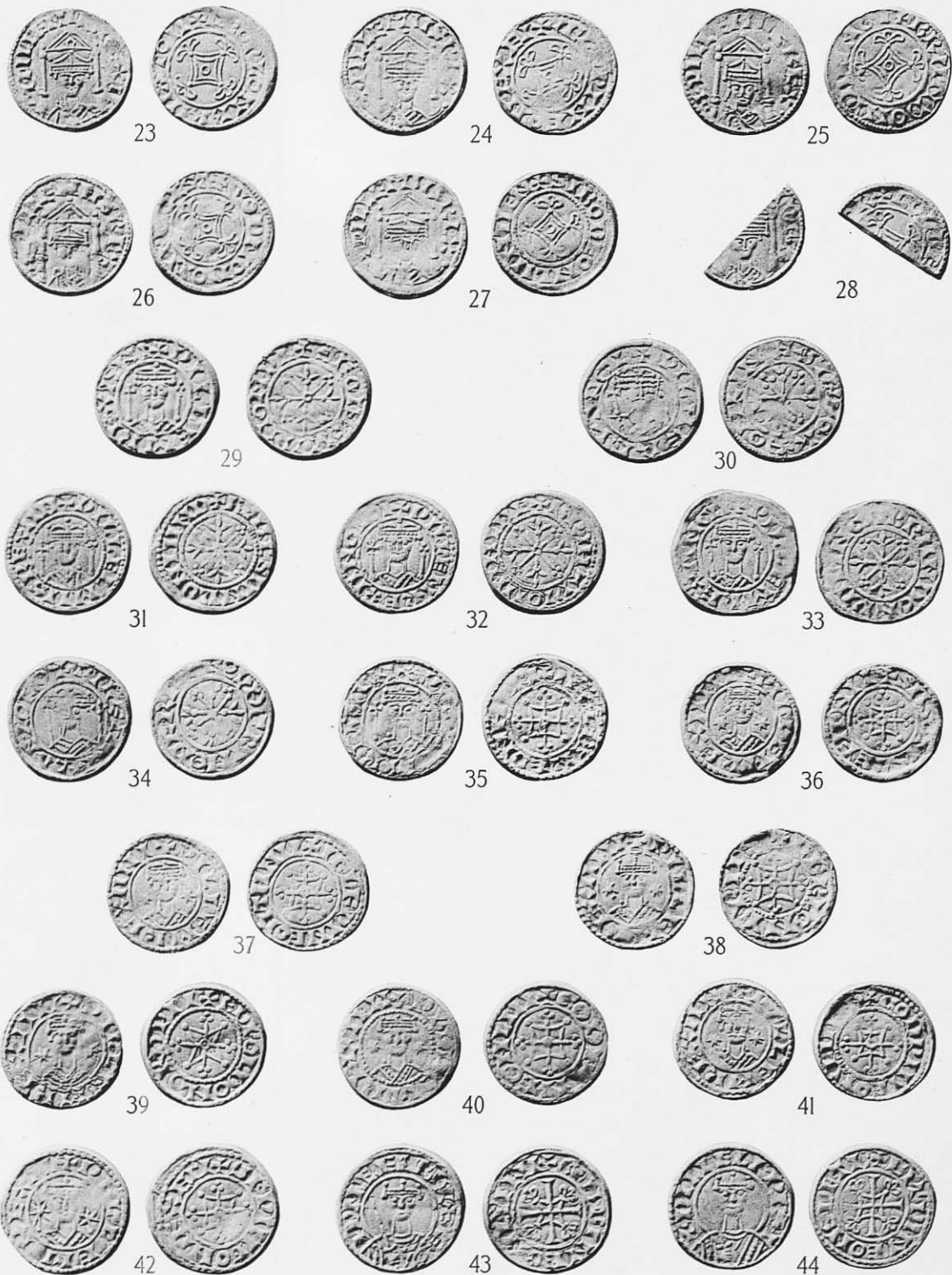
Fig. 241 represents the general appearance of Type VIII, whilst Fig. 242 is a representation of one of several variants from the general type.

The five types of William II. are represented in *Hawkins*, as follows :—

Type	1, fig. 244.
„	2, „ 246.
„	3, „ 247.
„	4, „ 250.
„	5, „ 248.

Fig. 245 is a “mule,” or combination of the obverse of Type 1 (244) and the reverse of Type 2 (246).

Fig. 249 is an uncommon variety of Type 4, being of the same design but without the star on either side of the King's head. In this particular it more nearly resembles the preceding Types 3 and 2



THE TYPES OF WILLIAM I. (continued).  
XI. CENTURY.



and, as hereafter appears, represents the earlier stage of the issue of Type 4.

The details of all of the types of both reigns and the various facts and arguments for determining their sequence will be dealt with when specifically considering them hereafter, but it would seem desirable to here attempt the classification of certain of the coins into groups, representing the work of successive cuneators or designers of the types.

The general style of the work and lettering of Types I to V (inclusive) of William I. so nearly resembles that of the coins of Harold II. and the later coins of Edward the Confessor, more particularly the last type (Type XI) and what, in another place, I have termed the "artificial mule" immediately preceding it, as to lead to the supposition that these five types are of the design, and executed under the superintendence of the same person who was responsible for the coinage of Harold, and at any rate, for the above specified types of the Confessor.

In each of the three reigns a portrait of the sovereign is clearly intended, and, as far as we are able to judge, the artistic effort is not unattended by success.

The late Mr. Frederick Spicer in a paper on "The Coinage of William I. and II." published, in an incomplete form, after his much regretted and sudden decease, has quoted some very acceptable authorities and given some equally reliable arguments in support of the supposition that Theoderic the Goldsmith (the Domesday tenant in capite of Kennington in Surrey, and of lands in Oxfordshire) was the cuneator employed by the Confessor. He was, therefore, the probable designer of the last types of the Confessor, of the coins of Harold II., and of the first five types of William I.

Otho or Otto, also styled in Domesday Aurifaber or Goldsmith, was, it is believed, the successor to Theoderic. Domesday shows that his lands were acquired during the Conqueror's reign. The date of Otho's acquisition of, or appointment to, the office of Cuneator has not been historically ascertained, but should the deduction attempted from the style of workmanship of the coins remaining to

us be correct, it may be inferred that Otho's work was initiated by the preparation and issue of Type VI (Hawkins, 243) at Michaelmas, 1080.

The voided cross and pyramid are characteristic features of several of the designs attributed to Theoderic, while it is reserved to Otho to introduce the large cross, ends pattée, appearing first on Type VI of the Conqueror, and prominently continued on the reverse of his Types VII and VIII and equally so on the reverses of Types 1 to 4 (all save the last) of William II.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., in his *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.* conclusively fixes the date of the appointment of Otho FitzOtho to the office of Aurifaber in succession to his father, himself the presumed successor in the same office to the Saxon Theoderic, as having been made by a charter granted at Arundel at Midsummer, 1101. The last type, viz., Type 5, of Rufus was probably designed by Otho the son prior to his formal appointment, as it bears a marked resemblance to Hawkins, Fig. 251, which Mr. Andrew regards as Type I of Henry I. Alternatively, the Arundel charter may have been one of confirmation by the new King, Henry I., soon after his accession.

The work of Type 5 of William II. also closely resembles that of Hawkins 254, which Mr. Andrew gives as Type II of Henry I., but which is in the opinion of the present writer Type I, Hawkins 251 representing Type II of Henry I.; although Mr. Andrew adheres to his original opinion.

Otho the son had probably been trained in the art of medallic designing and engraving in the expectation of his being made thereby eligible as successor to his father's office. A limited art of this kind is calculated to encourage hereditary succession, and this in fact ensued.

The work of Types 3 and 4 of Rufus is distinctly inferior to that of the previous types assigned to the elder Otho, and may well betoken advancing age or failing powers. The general characteristics of his work are preserved in Type 3, but the substitution of the large *voided* cross (ends still pattée) for the hitherto unvaried large cross, ends pattée, of Otho senior's period, seems to mark a period of change.

The exact date of the issue of Type 4 of William II. (Hks. 249 *without* the stars on either side of the King's head, and Hks. 250 *with* such stars) is fixed by an astronomical occurrence recorded alike in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, by *William of Malmesbury* and *Henry of Huntingdon*—namely, that a fresh comet appeared in the year 1097. Now Type 4 was current from Michaelmas 1096 to Michaelmas 1099: therefore, the *recurrence*, according to the then ideas, of the comet of 1066 was commemorated on the coins, by addition to the dies which were engraved *after* the appearance of the heavenly visitant. That the same emblem, replaced on the King's right hand by the more usual sceptre, was *continued* in Type 5 is not a matter of surprise or one occasioning remark.

The reverse of Type 5 displays once more the pyramid ornament so favoured by Theoderic, and exemplifies a reversion by a new man to an old design, a trait of the character of Otho the Younger when in designing what the writer deems to be the *first* type of Henry I., he exactly reproduced, allowing for differences of work and size, the *first* type of the new monarch's illustrious father, the Conqueror, and founder of Henry's title to the English throne. The same tendency to reversion to earlier types in the issues of Henry I. for which Otho FitzOtho is responsible is very noticeable in the cases of the reverses of:—

Type III (Hks. 253) in its resemblance to the coins of Harold II.;

Type V (Hks. 256) to the Paxs type of William I. (Hks. 241);

Type VII (Hks. 267) to Type VII of William I. (Hks. 239), the *obverse* being a reproduction of Type 5 (Hks. 248) of William II.;

And Type IX (Hks. 264) again to the Paxs type of the Conqueror, the central annulet being adopted from Type 1 of William II. (Hks. 244);

Lastly, Type X of Henry I. (Hks. 263) is distinctly reproduced, with characteristic variations, both as to obverse and reverse, from Type 2 of William II. (Hks. 246).

In Otho FitzOtho's remaining types under Henry I. there is traceable a tendency to *copy* from coins of the two Williams.



## TYPE I.

*After 14th October, 1066, to 29th September, 1068.*

FIG. A.—THE FIRST TYPE OF WILLIAM I.

HAWKINS, 233.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

- \* PILLEMVS RE\*
- \* PILLEMVS RE\* I
- \* PILLEMVS RE\* A
- \* (above the crown) PILLEM/VS RE\* A
- \* PILLEMV RE\* I
- \* PILLEMV RE\* A
- \* PILLEMVS RE\* AI
- \* PILLEMVS RE\*
- \* PILLEMVS RE\* N
- \* PILLEVS RE\* AI
- \* ILLEMV RE\* I (Romney only).
- \* PILLEMVØV I (Bust to *right*).

Crowned bust to left, in front sceptre. Legend commences opposite lower part of sceptre.

*Reverse* :—Cross fleury, annulet enclosing pellet in centre, within a beaded inner circle.

Mints :—31.

Bedford.	Dover.	London.
Bedwin.	Exeter.	Norwich.
Bristol.	Gloucester.	Nottingham.
Cambridge.	Hastings.	Oxford.
Canterbury.	Hereford.	Romney.
Chichester.	Huntingdon.	Salisbury.
Colchester.	Ilchester.	Stamford.
Derby.	Lincoln.	Thetford.

Wallingford.  
Wareham.  
Warwick.

Wilton.  
Winchester.

Worcester.  
York.

Finds:—Dymchurch (1739); St. Mary Hill Church (1774);  
York (1845); Whitchurch Common; City of London (1872).  
Weight and quality:—19 to 21 grains and generally of standard  
silver.

Form of letters.—**A** and **A=A • E=C • G=E • N** and **H=N**, **S** and  
**U=S**, **V**, **F** and **P=W • V=V • Æ** and **IE=Æ • D=TH**.

The general type of the obverse of this issue of the Conqueror's coins bears a very striking likeness to that of Harold's sole type. This first type of William I. may be regarded either as a continuation of Harold's coinage, *or* as one dating back to the time of the death of Edward the Confessor for the purpose of completing the period of its currency. In the latter case the Domesday fiction of regarding the reign of Harold as non-existent would be anticipated. The head and neck are turned to the left so as to display the features of the King in profile. The monarch is, unlike Harold, without a beard, but retains the upper lip unshaved. The left ear is well defined, and the line of the great muscle of the neck, known to anatomists as the sterno-mastoid, passes from the breast at the exposed base of the throat diagonally upwards to a point behind the ear. The crown is, like that of Harold, shown to consist of a circular band of gold set with jewels; from the front and back of this circlet, as seen in profile, rise two supports sloping inwards and terminating in a larger jewel or pellet below and above the line of the circlet. From each support to the centre of the crown rises a jewelled arch, surmounted at the point of juncture by a large jewel or pellet similar to the two by which each support is terminated. As the crown when shown sideways, as in this issue, presents the same appearance as when shown as worn by a full-faced representation of the King, it is clear that there were two complete, or four semi, jewelled arches rising from four supports to a jewel immediately above the centre of the wearer's skull. Slight indications of short hair appear at the back of the head under the

crown and behind the ear. From this point between the hair and the crown depend two strings or tassels terminating in knobs, probably intended for jewels. These represent the ornaments dependent from the cap worn beneath the crown. In the full-faced representation of the same crown shown in Type II (Hks. 234), two such ornaments are shown on each side of the head. They appear on the coins of Harold and of many of his predecessors.

On the last type of the Confessor (Type XI), and the mule X = XI they are particularly noticeable, but in these cases terminate in three pellets arranged as 2 and 1.

The sceptre or rod is like that on the coins of Harold and the later coins of the Confessor, above specified. It is a circular shaft with knobs at nearly equal intervals. In the portion visible on the coins of this type there are three such knobs, one at the lower end, one midway up, and the third at the top, this in turn being surmounted by three balls or pellets, 2 and 1.

Unlike his predecessor, William is depicted habited in a richly-embroidered or jewelled robe or mantle, probably the *pallium regale* of the coronation ceremony. The rod is that described as "the rod of virtue and equity," which if reference be made to Type IV (Hks. 237) is there shown on the left side of the King's bust. The sceptre with the cross is there shown to the King's right, and on the Conqueror's last type (Type VIII), the sceptre with the cross is held in the King's *right* hand, although rested on his *left* shoulder.

On the other hand, however, the sovereign type (Type VIII) of the Confessor represents the rod or staff in the King's right hand, whilst the orb surmounted by the cross, supposed by some to be the same object as the sceptre with the cross, is held in his left hand. The same order is shown in the type of the mule X = XI, and the Great Seal of the Confessor displays on one side the virga or rod in the *right* hand and an orb, without the surmounting cross, in the left, and on the other side are shown the sceptre with the dove in the right hand but the *sword* in the left. In his earliest days, William, as King of the English, desired to act as an elected King of that people. He seems to have adopted the English currency and all its system of issue,

weight and fineness exactly as they had been in the days of his predecessors. Although in his later days, as is so clearly shown by Domesday, he regarded Harold as a mere usurper and non-existent among his predecessors as a *king*, yet in his earliest English days, William, in a grant of land made early in 1067 to Regenbald his priest, addressed in Saxon to Saxon officials, speaks of Harold as "Harald Kinge," although in Domesday the entry in reference to the same holding uses the form "Heraldus comes."<sup>1</sup>

This policy may account for the profile of William being directed to the left, as was that of Harold; on the other hand, it is capable of argument that as William was in his view the direct successor of the Confessor, his profile would be, for the sake of distinction, in the opposite direction.

That even then there was some confusion of thought on this point is shown by the existence of coins of this type with bust in profile to right.

Some of Harold's coins are without the rod, or sceptre as it is more usually termed, and the same variation occurs in this first type of the Conqueror.

As in both the reigns of Harold and William I., coins of the same *place* of the varieties *with* and *without* the "sceptre" exist, the distinction, if intentional, must be one due to the *time* of issue of the dies rather than to any special circumstance attaching to the *places* at which they were intended for use, unless, indeed, the two classes of coins respectively represent those issued by the moneyers of the King and of some *other* personage having a share in the profits of the mints in question.

As regards the reverse design it is one new to our series of English coins, but was the prototype of the reverses of two of Henry I.'s issues, viz., Hks. 254 and Hks. Type IV.

The annulet or ring in the centre is the emblem of eternity and doubtless represents the ring used in the coronation service. The second English Coronation Order, one of the eleventh century,

<sup>1</sup> See *Feudal England* (J. H. Round), p. 422.

directs the giving of the ring after the anointing with oil of the monarch. The words of the service are : " Receive this ring, the seal of the Holy Faith, the strength of thy kingdom, and the increase of thy power, whereby thou mayest learn to drive back thy foes with triumph, destroy heresies, unite those whom thou hast conquered and bind them firmly to the catholic faith."<sup>1</sup>

The ring also played a prominent part in the conferment of Bishoprics by the Sovereign. Bishops before they entered into possession of their dignities received a ring and crozier from the hands of the King, which constituted their investiture. This virtually gave the King a control over the appointment of prelates and in the reign of Henry I. was the subject of grave dispute between him and Pope Paschal. This dispute was compromised by the King resigning the right to grant investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was presumed to be given, but the bishops had still to do homage for their temporalities. (*Student's Hume*, p. 100.)

A cut halfpenny of Type I is in the cabinet of the writer (see under Romney) : weight  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) *Obverse*.—Legend commencing *over* the King's crown and divided by the bust. See under Bedwin, Taunton (235) and York.
- (B) Without the rod or *virga* (usually termed "sceptre"). See under Exeter, Hereford, London and Norwich.
- (C) King's face bearded. See under York.
- (D) Inner circle on reverse *plain*. See under Bedford, Romney, Thetford, Winchester.
- (E) Larger bust of the King to *right*. See under London and Worcester.
- (F) On *obverse*.—Large pellet between the King's neck and sceptre. See under Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> This and subsequent extracts from the Coronation Service are from Mr. L. G. W. Legg's handsome book entitled, *English Coronation Records*, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., Westminster, 1901.

MULE  $\frac{I}{II}$ .



FIG. B.—MULE CONNECTING THE FIRST AND SECOND TYPES OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 235.

The chief, and in themselves sufficient, connecting links between Type I and Type II are the “mule” or “combination-type” coins having the obverse of Type I (Hks. 233) and the reverse of Type II (Hks. 234).

A mule of this kind is represented in Hks. 235. Eight specimens are known to the writer :—

Huntingdon	...	...	...	...	1
Lincoln	...	...	...	...	2
Southwark	...	...	...	...	1
Stamford	...	...	...	...	3
Taunton	...	...	...	...	1
					—
					8
					==

all of which are hereafter described under the mints named.

It is well to here describe and explain the significance and importance of the mule coins.

The obverse, in Saxon and Norman times, is *invariably* that of an earlier issue and nearly always of the issue immediately preceding the type of the reverse.

As explained in a former chapter, the lower, or standard, die was that fixed to the block or operating bench of the moneyer, the upper die, or trussell, was detached, and more liable to damage and wear in the course of the striking of the coins, as it received the direct blows from the moneyer's hammer in the process of manufacture.

The lower die was of a more durable character and less liable to damage and was, until removed, a fixture ready to the moneyer's hand.

Specimens of both upper and lower dies are described and illustrated in Vol. I of this Journal, and the mode of striking the coins is there also described.

In Vol. VII, p. 18, of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, there is a short account written by Mr. John Field, of the discovery in the year 1835 in a vault beneath the Record Office of the Treasury of the Exchequer, Chapter House, Westminster, of 64 Standards or Staples (viz. the lower or obverse dies) and 123 trussells or puncheons (viz. the detached upper or reverse dies).

These are stated to have been for the coinage of groats, half-groats and pennies of Edward III. and Henry VII., and mostly for the York Mint. They were, however, much corroded and no very minute examination seems to have been made of them, although the then keeper of the Records, Sir Francis Palgrave, assisted by Mr. Field, had a cabinet made for the preservation of the dies. It is mentioned that the faces of the dies were of steel. A bag of "counterfeit" groats and other coins of lead or other metal baser than silver was discovered at the same time. These it may be suggested were in reality *trial-pieces*, not counterfeits, and their examination would doubtless be of much interest and of great help in determining the devices on many of the corroded dies.

Sir Francis Palgrave was keeper of the Records of the Chapter of Westminster Abbey and it is, in the account cited, said that his predecessors in office seem to have been Treasurers, or were Masters of the Mint to the Kings of England from the time of Canute to a comparatively recent date.

The steady and almost uniform occurrence of coins, both in Saxon and Norman times, that connect a preceding type with its next successor would seem to show that the system was intentional, and that the connecting links were intentionally issued to show the sequence of the types, a matter of real importance when it is remembered that certain types were periodically put out of circulation. A prudent moneyer may well have kept such a set for reference, even without a



prophetic sense of kindness towards the members of the British Numismatic Society. The moneyers were doubtless also the bankers and money-exchangers of the period, and a set of mule coins would be good evidence of succession, and also of what money was current and what was not, or would serve to those making inquiry as a guide to what pieces were "good" and what "bad" in the same manner that the sheets issued by foreign governments to-day, and officially displayed in public offices and banks, throw light on what coins may be accepted and what should not be accepted. That the more sophisticated moneyer, or banker, benefited in these financial matters is not unlikely, a condition of affairs not uncommon here and abroad in the like circumstances at the present day!

In an honest endeavour to ascertain the truth and as a follower of Mr. Andrew's invaluable and unexampled endeavour to produce order from the chaos created by successive official numismatists, the writer desires to record his view that we may accept three propositions or general rules, namely :—

1. That the first type issued after the accession of a Norman king would be in profile.
2. That the reverse type of a mule coin would be later in date of issue than that of the obverse.
3. That mule and over-struck coins were usually, though not invariably, composed of successive types.

To return to our main subject. The *over-struck* coins also confirm the sequence of types. It is an obvious proposition that the original design impressed on a coin must be earlier than that super-imposed. Coins in the stock of a moneyer-banker were brought up to date in this way prior to issue in those cases where a change of type had taken place before the coins had been put into circulation, and equally was this the case when coins of an older issue were brought in for re-coinage. In point of fact it would seem that the coins which were so re-struck were often of the type immediately preceding that of the new impression, but this is, of course, a practice subject to many exceptions quite warranted by the necessities and probabilities of the case. The practice

of "overstriking" dates back to quite early Saxon times, and no one who is acquainted with specimens existing can doubt that the earlier coins were used as flans and re-struck as new coins, in the same way that Spanish dollars were, in the time of George III., converted by re-striking into Bank of England tokens. It would hardly seem necessary to emphasize a fact so apparent but for the circumstance that Mr. W. J. Hocking, a present-day official at the Royal Mint, has in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, p. 109, been induced to suggest a contrary view, viz., that the double impressions emanate from an imperfect re-engraving of the dies! Let any one who has any doubt remaining on this point refer to Fig. 13, Plate I.

In illustration of the change from Type I to Type II, Mr. W. S. Ogden has a penny of Hereford reading on the reverse ✠ **EDPI ON HEREFORI**, distinct traces of the old reverse design being visible through the pattern of the new reverse, and slight indications of the old profile obverse being discernible through the new obverse design. Coins that have slipped in the process of striking and are consequently "double struck," and those flans that have been taken from the dies and replaced the wrong way up, and therefore bear on each side traces of the same obverse and reverse are not to be confused with *over-struck* pieces.

#### TYPE II.

*Michaelmas, 1068, to Michaelmas, 1071.*



FIG. C.—THE SECOND TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 234.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

- ✠ PILLEMVS RE✠.
- ✠ PILLEMVS RE✠ I.
- ✠ PILLEMVS RE✠ Δ.
- ✠ PILLEMV RE✠.

- \* PILLEMV RE\* I.
- \* PILLEMV RE\* A.
- \* PILLEMV RE.
- \* (over the crown) PILELI/MVS RE\*.
- \* PILEME RE\* (Lincoln).

Full-faced bust crowned, tassels pendent from beneath each side of the crown. Legend commences at left of the coin.

*Reverse*.—Voided cross, each limb terminating in a pellet between two crescents, in centre, annulet usually enclosing a pellet, and in each angle a pyramid surmounted by a pellet: all within a beaded inner circle.

Mints:—40.

Barnstaple.	Leicester.	Southampton.
Bedford.	Lincoln.	Southwark.
Canterbury.	London.	Stafford.
Chester.	Malmesbury.	Stamford.
Colchester.	Northampton.	Steyning.
Cricklade.	Norwich.	Tamworth.
Derby.	Nottingham.	Taunton (235 only).
Exeter.	Oxford.	Thetford.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	Wallingford.
Hastings.	Romney.	Wilton.
Hereford.	Salisbury.	Winchester.
Huntingdon.	Sandwich.	Worcester.
Ilchester.	Shrewsbury.	York.
Ipswich.		

Finds.—York, 1704; St. Mary Hill Church, 1774; Malmesbury, 1828; York, 1845; Whitchurch Common; City of London, 1872.

Weight and quality.— $17\frac{1}{2}$  to  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and nearly always of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as in Type I, except that the square form of the **P** = **W** is entirely replaced by **P** with a rounded top. **S** and **2** = **S**.

The obverse of this coin is the full-faced representation of Type I, and the details of the crown and dependent ornaments are identical with those represented on Type I and, of course, on the connecting "mule" (Hks. 235) and the ordinary type of Harold II.

The trachea is indicated by a vertical line from below the centre of the chin to the juncture of the neck with the King's mantle, which is here shown as being folded over and fastened on the right shoulder with a fibula or brooch in the form of an annulet.

The voided cross on the reverse rendered the operation of dividing the penny into cut halfpennies and farthings a matter of easy exactitude. The central annulet has the same significance as that in Type I. Specimens of the cut halfpenny in the cabinet of the writer weigh  $8\frac{1}{5}$  and  $9\frac{1}{5}$  grains.

A Huntingdon coin of this type is struck upon a coin of Harold II., the new obverse appearing above the old reverse, and *vice versâ*. See under Huntingdon. This is the coin alluded to on p. 138.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) Obverse legend commences *over* the King's crown, divided by bust. See under Wallingford.
- (B) Inner circle on obverse. See under Ipswich.

This would seem to be the most fitting place to refer to the remarkable coin in the British Museum bearing the reverse of this type. The reverse legend is **✠ GODE2BRAND ON 2** (probably for Shrewsbury). This is coin No. 1175 of the B.M. Catalogue, where it is accorded the position of Type XVI of the coins of the Confessor.

Until recently the piece was supposed to be unique, but at Easter, 1905, the writer, in company with Mr. Andrew, found a second example in the collection of the York Museum. Both examples are illustrated on the following page.

These are, in the opinion of the writer, examples of "accidental" mules, the moneyers having at the time of issue of Hks. 235 used by



MULES CONNECTING THE LAST TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SECOND TYPE OF WILLIAM I.

mistake old obverse dies of the Confessor's last type, also a profile, in lieu of the dies of Type I (Hks. 233).

Both coins were probably found at York in the year 1845, as in the Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for that year is contained a reference to the discovery made in the early part of the year at the corner of Jubbergate and Coney Street of pennies of William I., with *one* or *two* of Edward the Confessor, and *all of the same type*, the *reverse of the Conqueror's coins agreeing with that of Edward*. Some of the coins from this find were described by Mr. Hawkins in the 1845 volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. They were all of Type II, and the readings there given correspond with many of the coins of that type now in the British Museum. The circumstance of these two mule coins being found with coins of William I.'s second type seems an almost conclusive argument in favour of the correctness of the view above stated of their having been, in fact, issued during the currency of that type.

MULE  $\frac{II}{III}$ .



FIG. D.—COIN FROM ALTERED DIE CONNECTING THE SECOND AND THIRD TYPES OF WILLIAM I.

This remarkable coin, now illustrated for the first time, was formerly in the cabinet of Captain R. J. H. Douglas, a member of the

British Numismatic Society, and is now in that of the writer. It is the first-discovered direct connecting link between Type II (Hks. 234) and Type III (Hks. 236). The obverse legend is—

✠ PILLEMVS RE✠

and the *original* design is exactly that of Type II.

The *die* has, however, been altered by the addition of *pillars*, beneath the crown, like those appearing on the next type. The design is to some extent obscured by reason of double-striking. The reverse legend is—

✠ LIOFSTAN ON ĠIPESPI,

and the type that of the next issue, Type III. It is the only known specimen of an Ipswich coin bearing the reverse design of Type III. Ipswich coins bearing the name of the moneyer "Liofstan" are, however, known of Type II, preceding this issue, and of several types that succeeded it.

### TYPE III.

*Michaelmas, 1068, to Michaelmas, 1071.*



FIG. E.—THE THIRD TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 236.

*Obverse.*—Legend:

✠ PILLEMVS RE  
✠ PILLEMVS RE✠  
✠ PILLEMVS RE✠ I  
✠ PILLEMV RE✠  
• ✠ PILLEMV RE✠ •

Crowned full-faced bust of the King beneath a portico. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse*.—Cross fleury with quadrilateral compartment enclosing annulet in centre, within plain inner circle.

Mints :—30.

Bath.	Hereford.	Southampton.
Bedford.	Ilchester.	Stamford.
Bristol.	Ipswich.	Taunton.
Canterbury.	Leicester.	Thetford.
Chester.	Lewes.	Wallingford.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Wareham.
Colchester.	London.	Wilton.
Derby.	Marlborough.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	Worcester.
Gloucester.	Oxford.	York. <sup>1</sup>

Finds.—St. Mary Hill Church, 1774 ; Whitchurch Common.

Weight and quality.—16½ to 21 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as in Type II.

The explanation of the obverse of this Type given by the late Mr. Frederick Spicer appears to be correct. The bust of the King is shown full-faced and crowned under a portico, apparently of Roman design, supported by a rounded column on either side rising from a larger base-support. Each pillar is surmounted by a ball or pellet, and a similar object is at the central point of the obtuse angle representing the pediment of the portico which rests on the supporting pillars. In the centre of the triangular space thus exhibited there is, on some specimens, a small object resembling a crescent: this probably represents an architectural feature, such as a window or open space.

The King's crown varies from the representations on Types I and II in that the surmounting *arches* are replaced by *concave* segments of circles. In most specimens the tassels pendent from the undercap are absent, but in a rare variety of the Wallingford mint these are still

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. iv, p. 356.



shown as on the preceding two types. The bust is clothed in the pallium regale as on Type II, but in this case the fastening on the right shoulder of the monarch is generally represented by three pellets (1 and 2), while on others there is no ornament on either shoulder. On some few specimens the line indicating the trachea is present.

In the winter of 1069 William put down all hostile movements throughout the province of Mercia by the power of a royal army. He built a castle at Chester, and another, on his return, at Shrewsbury, leaving strong garrisons and abundant stores of provisions in both. After these events King William kept the feast of Easter, 1070, at Winchester where he was solemnly crowned by three special legates sent over at his request by Pope Alexander, who honoured William as his most beloved son in Christ. They were Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sion in the Valais, and two other Cardinals named Peter and John. The King detained them at his Court for *a year*, listening to and honouring them "as if they were the angels of God."

After Easter a synod was held at Winchester, at which the King and the Cardinals presided. Here Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed, and other important ecclesiastical business was transacted. (Orderic B. IV. ch. vi.)

William had received the support of the Church from the commencement of his enterprise against Harold, and he seems always to have rendered a grateful return for this, and to have honestly done his best to promote the interests of Church and State alike, by the appointment of wise and suitable persons to the chief offices of the Church in England. The issue of this type commenced at Michaelmas, 1071, so, as the Cardinals did not leave England till a few months earlier, it may well be that the design for the new coinage was of their suggestion, and that one of them prepared a drawing intended to represent the crowned effigy of the King beneath the portal of, and directly protected by, the Cathedral Church of St. Peter at Rome.

In Mr. Legg's *English Coronation Records* (p. 30), there is a beautiful reproduction in sepia of a picture contained in a MS. belonging to Captain Holford, of the coronation of a King *temp.* of William the Conqueror. The monarch is clad in a richly-

embroidered tunic, over which is the pallium regale fastened on the breast by a large circular brooch. He is seated on a throne or chair without back, his feet clad in buskins resting on a cushion on a lower step. The view presented is nearly full faced, the head being slightly inclined to the King's left, on which side is represented the figure of an archbishop in the act of placing an arched crown, surmounted by a small orb and cross, on the monarch's head. The crown consists of a jewelled circlet from which rise four arches to a central point, and beneath the crown is the coif. In the archbishop's left hand is a crozier. Behind the archbishop stand five nobles, the foremost carrying a sword resting on his right shoulder. On the King's right is another archbishop, or bishop, who is in the act of placing with his right hand, into the King's right hand, a sceptre surmounted by a large globe, from which issues an object shaped like a fleur-de-lys. This prelate also carries a crozier in his left hand, and behind him are six nobles, the foremost bearing a sword resting on his right shoulder.

The picture is set beneath an arch of the usual circular Norman form; the curtains dependent from behind the top of the arch are draped back to show the spectator what is being done within the building. Above the centre of the arch is a tower, and a smaller tower is on either side; seen in perspective behind are two other towers, one being visible in each space between the central tower and the two flanking towers. These three towers last mentioned each terminate in a pointed top surmounted by a ball, and are exactly of the shape of the pyramid and pellet ornaments on the reverse of Type II of the Conqueror's coins.

The intention of the artist was to represent the coronation in progress within the church. Allowing for the small amount of space available on a coin, the obverse of Type III may well represent a similar scene, but this does not preclude the idea of special protection from the church more fancifully given on another page.

The quadrilateral ornament on the reverse of this type, and in like manner the similar ornament on the reverse of the preceding type, and also on those of Types V and VI in later years, may, as Mr. W. S. Ogden seems to think, represent, in symbol, the ground plan

of the Holy City.<sup>1</sup> They would equally well represent a Norman château or church, and in particular the White Tower of London, or the Cathedral of Westminster, the pyramidical or conical terminations, most clearly represented in Type II, being, as shown above, very characteristic of the corner towers with pointed tops observable in buildings of this period. The ecclesiastical symbol of eternity and investiture, the ring, is again the central object in the reverse design of this type.

Cut halfpennies of this type are in the cabinet of the writer ; weight,  $8\frac{2}{5}$ , 9,  $9\frac{1}{5}$ , and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

*Varieties:—*

- (A) Long tassels dependent from beneath the crown (see under Wallingford).
- (B) Annulet or fibula on the King's right shoulder, similar to that on Type II (see under Winchester).
- (c) *Beaded* inner circle on reverse.

MULE  $\frac{\text{III}}{\text{IV}}$ .

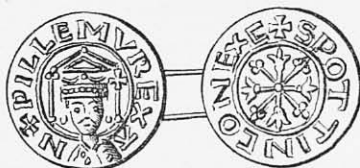


FIG. F.—COIN FROM ALTERED DIE CONNECTING THE THIRD AND FOURTH TYPES OF WILLIAM I.

A coin of Exeter supplies the connecting link between Type III (Hks. 236), and Type IV (Hks. 237). This is engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. IV, Plate XXI, and in Ruding, Supplement, Part II, Plate I, Fig. 1.

The obverse legend is—

✱ PILLEMV RE✱T/N

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Ogden's paper in this *Journal*

The general design is that of Type III ; but, as in the case of the mule connecting Types II and III before described, the die has been altered, in this instance, to make the *left* pillar resemble the *virga*, and the *right* pillar the sceptre with the cross.

The relative positions of these as they appear on Type IV are, therefore, reversed.

The reverse legend is—

✱ SPOTTINE ON E✱L

and the type is that of Type IV (Hks. 237).

The name of "Swottine" as a moneyer occurs on the substantive Types III and IV at Exeter, as well as on the mule coin now under description, but there is no record of the occurrence of his name on prior or later coins. This coin was found at St. Mary Hill Church, and is described and illustrated in *Archæologia*, Vol. IV, p. 357, in the Rev. Dr. Griffith's account of that hoard. The plate in Ruding on which this coin is also illustrated is, in the description of the plates, stated to have been prepared under the superintendence of Mr. Benjamin Bartlet, and intended by him as a second supplement to the plates which the Society of Antiquaries added to their edition of Folkes's Tables. There would therefore appear to be no reason whatever for doubting the existence and genuineness of the piece.

The circumstance of the altered obverse die finds an exact parallel in the case of the Ipswich mule II = III above described.

TYPE IV.

*Michaelmas, 1074, to Michaelmas, 1077.*



FIG. G.—THE FOURTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 237.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

\* PILLEM RE\* AN  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANI  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANG  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGLI  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGM  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGLO  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGLOI  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGLORI  
 \* PILLELMVS RE\* AN  
 \* PILLM RE\* AN (Lincoln).  
 \* PILME RE\* ANGL (Lincoln).  
 \* PILIEM RE\* ANGL  
 \* PILLEM RE\* ANGL  
 \* PILIEM RE\* ANGLOR (York).  
 \* PILEM RE\* ANLOFO (York).

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between sceptre, end pattée, on his right and sceptre bottonée on his left, within an inner circle, usually plain and rarely beaded. Legend commences above the crown.

*Reverse.*—Cross fleury over cross bottonée, in centre, annulet; within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—36.

Bedford.	Ipswich.	Shrewsbury.
Bristol.	Leicester.	Southampton.
Cambridge.	Lewes.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Lincoln.	Taunton.
Cricklade.	London.	Thetford.
Dorchester (mule only).	Malmesbury.	Wallingford.
Dover.	Marlborough.	Wareham.
Exeter.	Norwich.	Warwick.
Guildford.	Nottingham.	Wilton.
Hereford.	Oxford.	Winchester.
Huntingdon.	Rochester.	Worcester.
Ilchester.	Sandwich.	York.

Finds.—St. Mary Hill Church, 1774; Malmesbury, 1828; City of London, 1872.

Weight and quality.—19 to 22 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as on Types II and III.

The crown on this type again represents the top as composed of *arched* connecting bands. The pallium regale is again shown as clothing the bust, but the ornaments on the King's shoulders vary. In some specimens a single pellet is shown on the King's right shoulder, on others there is a pellet on each shoulder, and on some specimens, equally numerous, both shoulders are devoid of ornament.

On the King's right is the sceptre with the cross, on his left the *virga* or rod. Their attributes have been considered in describing Type I. They are well-known portions of the regalia of these realms, and take a prominent place in all the coronations of our sovereigns.

The obverse of this type presents another coronation scene. The incident in the ritual here represented is that where the archbishop delivers the sceptre with the cross into the King's *right* hand, saying "Receive the sceptre, the sign of kingly power, &c.," and, after an intervening prayer, delivers the rod or *virga* into the King's *left* hand, saying "Receive the rod of virtue and equity, &c." These ceremonies take place after the actual crowning of the monarch has been duly performed.

In considering this and all other types of the Norman coinage, it must be remembered that the artist had in view a state portrait of the King. He was therefore represented in his official guise as King, in his solemn coronation robes. A present-day state portrait of a monarch is depicted on the same lines.

The reverse design may be described as a double cross, the four principal limbs of which comprise four sceptres fleury, and the intermediate limbs the like number of *virgæ* or rods, all proceeding from the usual sacred central ring. The sceptre fleury appears on Type VII of this reign, and on Type 5 of William II. as the equivalent of the sceptre with the cross, and in each case is borne in the King's *right* hand. It appears also on the reverses of Types 1, 3 and 5 of William Rufus, and this form of sceptre may also be symbolised by the fleurs

appearing on the reverses of Types I, III and VII of the Conqueror's coins.

The sceptre outlined on the coins of many Saxon kings is shown to terminate in a fleur-de-lys-like object, and on Type VII of Edward the Confessor such a sceptre is used interchangeably with the sceptre with the cross.

No cut halfpennies or farthings of this type are known to the writer.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) S, instead of annulet, in centre of reverse design. See under Lincoln.
- (B) *Beaded* inner circles on obverse and reverse ; annulet, in lieu of pellet, on King's right shoulder. See under London.
- (C) *Beaded* inner circle on reverse. See under Malmesbury.
- (D) No initial cross to reverse legend. See under Wallingford.
- (E) The letter O where occurring is replaced by two annulets interlinked, thus  $\Theta$ . See under York.
- (F) On obverse *three* pellets on the King's right shoulder. See under Norwich.

MULE  $\frac{IV}{V}$ .



FIG. H.—MULE CONNECTING THE FOURTH AND FIFTH TYPES OF WILLIAM I.

✱ PILLEM RE✱ AN.

✱ IEOLPINE ON HERI (Hereford).

This, like Hks. 235 connecting Types I and II, is a mule or combination type, connecting Types IV and V in the same direct way.



The coin illustrated came from the Howard, Brice and Montagu (Lot 212) collections, and is now in the cabinet of the writer.

There is no record of the earlier appearance of the name of the moneyer, Ægelwine, at Hereford, but he coined there in several subsequent types of both William I. and William II.

The writer has notes of two specimens of the Mule IV=V of the Dorchester mint, reading on the reverse:—

✱ **GODPINE ON DORE** and ✱ **GODPINE ON DORLET**,

and one of Ipswich, reading on the reverse:—

✱ **IEOLBRIH ON GIP**

but is unaware of the present whereabouts of these three specimens.

# TYPE V.

*Michaelmas, 1077, to Michaelmas, 1080.*



FIG. I.—THE FIFTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 238.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✱ **PILLEM RE✱ A**  
✱ **PILLEM RE✱ AI**  
✱ **PILLEM RE✱ AN**  
✱ **PILLEM RE✱ ANI**  
✱ **PILLEMVS RE✱ ANI**

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between two stars, all within a plain inner circle. Legend commences above the crown.

*Reverse.*—Over a quadrilateral ornament, having a pellet at each angle, a cross bottonée with an annulet in the centre; all within a plain inner circle.

Mints :— 42.

Barnstaple.	Hertford (?).	Salisbury.
Bath.	Huntingdon.	Shaftesbury.
Bedford.	Ilchester.	Shrewsbury.
Bristol.	Ipswich.	Southwark.
Canterbury.	Launceston.	Stamford.
Chichester.	Lewes.	Taunton.
Colchester.	Lincoln.	Thetford
Cricklade.	London.	Wallingford.
Derby.	Marlborough.	Wareham.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Wilton.
Dover.	Oxford.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Pevensey.	Worcester.
Gloucester.	Romney.	Yarmouth (?).
Hereford.	St. Edmundsbury.	York.

Finds.—Beaworth, 1833 ; York (undated).

Weight and quality.—17 to 24 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—The same as on Types II, III and IV.

The full-faced representation of the King's crowned bust is nearly the same as that on the preceding type, but the sceptre and rod are replaced by a star on either side of the King's face. There is usually a single pellet on each shoulder, but, very rarely, that on the King's left shoulder is omitted.

This type presents the earliest instance of the use of the star as a device, although in later times it frequently reappears.

On the great seal of William Rufus, and on Type 4 of his coins, the two stars are shown in the same positions as those on this type. A single star in the same position appears on the last type of that King.

In the reign of Henry I. a star or stars appear on the obverses of Types VII (Hks. 267), VIII (Hks. 266), and X (Hks. 263), and as the central ornament on the reverses of Types XIII (Hks. 265) and XIV (Hks. 262). They also appear on the reverse of Type VIII

(Hks. 266), and the rosette-like object in front of the King's face on Type IX may also be intended for a star.

The *Annales de Waverleia* record the appearance of a comet, or some such astronomical phenomenon, in the spring of the year 1077, just prior to the time when the dies for this coinage were being prepared, so it must be concluded that the cuneator, when in search of a variation from the recent coronation types, had recourse to a representation of this phenomenon.

The passage referred to is as follows: *Dominica Palmarum circa horam sextam sereno cœolo stella apparuit* (Rolls Series, p. 193).

The great comet of 1066 is referred to in the *Saxon Chronicle* in the following terms:—

“There was seen over all England such a sign in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said that it was the star Cometa, which some men called the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litanía major, the viiith of the Kal. of May (April 24th), and so shone all the seven nights.”

This was regarded, after the event, as William's lucky star.

*Ordericus Vitalis* (Book V, ch. ix) contains the following lines in reference to this comet:—

History's ancient annals fix  
The year one thousand sixty-six.  
Then a fiery comet whirled,  
Dreadful omen, round the world,  
As the time when England's lord  
Fell before the Norman's sword.

Forester.

The comet of 1066 was that now known to astronomers as Halley's Comet. Its last appearance was in 1835, and as a period of 75 or 76 years elapses between its visits, it may again be expected in 1910, or thereabouts.

On the Bayeux Tapestry the Saxons are represented as looking at the portent with wonder not unmixed with fear.

Later we shall see how the occurrence of stars on some of the coins of Type 4 of William II. is to be accounted for, whereas their absence

on the other coins of the same issue is in like manner explained. Some of the stars on the coins of Henry I. have already been explained by Mr. Andrew.

The appearance of a brilliant and unusual star or comet on Palm Sunday of 1077 would be sufficient reason for recalling at this juncture, after the suppression of the rebellion of Ralph the Breton, Earl of Norfolk, coupled with the execution of Earl Waltheof (31st May, 1075), and the subsequent quarrel between the King and his eldest son, Robert, an omen so superstitiously connected with William's fortune. Orderic tells us that the death of Earl Waltheof was the cause of much censure on King William from many quarters, and numerous were the troubles he afterwards suffered. In the thirteen years which he afterwards lived he never won a pitched battle nor succeeded in taking a town he besieged.

His unsuccessful invasion of Brittany had taken place in 1075 or 1076, when he retreated in haste from Dol, and lost baggage and equipment to the estimated value of £15,000 sterling. In these circumstances any appearance that could be construed as a recurrent star of victory would be indeed welcome, on the principle of "*assume a virtue if you have it not!*"

Henry of Huntingdon, in concluding his account of William the Conqueror's reign, writes :—

"What though, like Cæsar, nature failed  
To give thy brow its fairest grace!  
Thy bright career a comet hailed,  
And *with its lustre wreathed thy face.*"

*Forester.*

These lines may well have been inspired by a remembrance of this type of William's coins (Type V), and they seem to be a direct reference to its distinguishing device.

The star which, in some form, constitutes part of the insignia of every order of knighthood is a survival of the idea underlying the use of the stars as a favourite badge of the Norman Kings.

The reverse design consists of a quadrilateral ornament of a more open character than that appearing on Type II, with a cross

constituted of four *virgæ*, or rods, issuing from the usual central sacred ring or annulet superimposed thereon.

A cut halfpenny of this type was found at Watford in 1818 with coins of Henry I. and Stephen.

*Varieties:—*

- (A) Reverse, a pellet in the fourth quarter of the quadrilateral ornament. See under Bristol.
- (B) In lieu of the quadrilateral ornaments, four pyramids like those on the reverse of Type II; inner circle *beaded*. See under Norwich.
- (C) *Beaded* inner circle on obverse. See under London.
- (D) *Beaded* inner circle on reverse. See under Colchester, London, Norwich, &c.
- (E) A detached pellet under each star on obverse. The star to the right of the King's face has eight points instead of the usual six. See under Exeter.

TYPE VI.

*Michaelmas, 1080, to Michaelmas, 1083.*



FIG. K.—THE SIXTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 243.

*Obverse.—Legend.*

- \* PILLEM RE\* I
- \* PILLELM RE
- \* PILLELM RE\*
- \* PILLELM RE\* I
- \* PILLELM RE\* Δ
- \* PILLELMRE
- \* PILLELMRE\*
- \* PILLELMRE\* I

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, who holds in his right hand, resting on his right shoulder, a naked sword inclined diagonally outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse*.—Over a cross fleury with quadrilateral ornament in centre, a large cross, ends pattée, all within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—34.

Barnstaple.	London.	Stamford.
Bristol.	Marlborough.	Steyning.
Canterbury.	Norwich.	Sudbury.
Chichester.	Nottingham (?)	Taunton.
Colchester.	Oxford.	Thetford.
Dorchester.	Romney.	Wallingford.
Exeter.	St. Edmundsbury.	Wareham.
Huntingdon.	Sandwich.	Watchet.
Ilchester.	Shaftesbury.	Winchester.
Ipswich.	Shrewsbury.	Worcester.
Lewes.	Southwark.	York.
Lincoln.		

Finds.—Beaworth, 1833; York (undated).

Weight and quality.— $17\frac{1}{2}$  to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on the preceding types except that **A** and **V** are represented by two nearly upright strokes, thus, **II**, and ligulate letters, *e.g.*, **MR** are now introduced.

This is the only type of William I. upon which the King appears holding a sword, and it is also the first type of the reign on which sufficient of the bust is represented to exhibit the hand of the monarch. In like manner it is the first of a long series to bear the large cross, ends pattée, on the reverse. As already conjectured, it probably is the first type designed by Otho the elder. The bust extends to the edge of the coin, a feature absent in Types IV and V, but one that is present in every subsequent type of the two reigns.

The robes and crown of the King are very similar to those displayed on the prior obverse types.

The sword has not necessarily a warlike significance, as it plays a prominent part in the coronation service and always appears on the Great Seals.

The counter-seal of Edward the Confessor shows the King holding the sceptre with the dove in his *right* hand and, curiously enough, a sword in his *left* hand sloping outwards and resting on his left shoulder.

At a coronation the sword was delivered naked to the king with these significant words :

“Receive this sword, which is bestowed on thee with the blessing of God, wherewith thou mayest have strength by the power of the Holy Ghost to resist and cast out all thine enemies, and all the foes of the holy church of God, and protect the Kingdom committed to thy charge ; and defend the camp of God, by the help of the most invincible conqueror, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, etc.”

These words are from the second of the English Coronation Orders, which, as before stated, are from a MS. of the eleventh century, and may have been used at the crowning of William I., and in them the *sword* and ring are included amongst the regalia.

Both Great Seals of the Conqueror show him seated, vested in a long tunic reaching nearly to the ankles, and over it a mantle fastened on the right shoulder. He is crowned, and bears the sword in his right hand and the orb with the cross in his left hand, and in these latter particulars the seal of William II. is similar to both those of his sire.

Orderic records (Book V, Chap. V) that King William spent the feast of Whitsuntide, 1080, at Lillebonne, where he summoned William the archbishop and all the bishops and abbots, with the counts and other barons of Normandy to attend him. The King's commands were obeyed. It was in the eighth year of the papacy of Gregory VII. that the celebrated synod was held at Lillebonne, in which the wants of the Church and the State generally, were carefully provided for by the wisdom of the King with the advice of his barons.



William seems to have remained abroad during a considerable part of the period of the issue of Type VI, having committed the government of his English realm to his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent. While Gregory VII. was still Pope, Odo seems to have aspired to be his successor. William, not approving of this plan of Odo's, lost no time in crossing the sea, and intercepted the Bishop in the Isle of Wight, whence he was about to cross to Normandy. The speech attributed by Orderic to William on this occasion gives a *résumé* of the events that had transpired during the currency of Type VI of the Conqueror's coins. Having assembled the great nobles of the realm in his royal Court, the King thus addressed them :—

“Illustrious lords, listen attentively to what I shall say, and give me, I pray you, salutary counsel. Before I went over to Normandy I entrusted the government of England to my brother, the Bishop of Bayeux. There were in Normandy many who revolted against my authority, and if I may say so, both friends and foes set themselves against me. Even my own son Robert, and the young nobles whom I had brought up and invested with the ensigns of knighthood, rebelled against me, while some traitorous vassals and my border foes eagerly joined the ranks of the malcontents. But by God's help, whose servant I am, they failed of success, and got nothing from me but *the sword which pierced them with wounds*. By the terror of my arms I restrained the people of Anjou, who were leagued for war against me, and I also curbed the rebellious inhabitants of Maine. Thus occupied, I found myself embarrassed by affairs beyond the sea, and was long detained labouring for the public good.”

The King then recounts the misdeeds of Odo during his absence, and afterwards orders his arrest. No one daring to arrest a bishop the King himself seized him, and in answer to Odo's protest as bishop replied, “I do not condemn a clerk or a bishop, but I arrest an earl I have myself created, and to whom, as my vicegerent, I entrusted the government of my realm, it being my will that he should render an account of the stewardship I have committed to him.”

The reverse of this type has already been sufficiently described. The only link connecting the type under consideration with its

predecessor, Type V, is a London coin in the possession of the writer which is over-struck on a coin of that type.

This reads on the *obverse* :—

✠ PILEELM RE✠E✠

and on the *reverse* :—

✠ GODPINE ON LVNI.

No mule coin connecting this type with its successor, Type VII, has yet been recorded, nor is the writer aware of the existence of any cut coins of this issue.

*Varieties* :—

- (A) On reverse, a bar across the upper and lower limbs of the central cross. See under Ilchester.
- (B) On obverse, two pellets to the right of, and a cross to the left of the King's neck. See under Dorchester.
- (C) On obverse, a double cross ‡ to the left of the King's neck. See under Dorchester.
- (D) On obverse, annulet to the left of the King's face. See under Wareham.
- (E) On obverse, cross to the left of the King's face. See under Wareham.
- (F) On obverse, the crown has concave segments of circles ; in lieu of arches, a long dependent ornament from beneath either side of the crown, the line of the trachea indicated : in these features much resembling the bust represented on Type III. See under London.

# TYPE VII.

*Michaelmas*, 1083, to *Michaelmas*, 1086.



FIG. L.—THE SEVENTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 239.

*Obverse* :—Legend.

✠ PILLELM RE✠.

✠ PILLELMRIE✠.

✠ PILLIELMRE✠

Crowned bust of the King in profile to right, the right arm is shown with the hand grasping a sceptre fleury in front of the face, and inclined outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse* :—Large cross, ends pattée, in centre an annulet ; in each angle a fleur attached by a pellet to a plain inner circle.

Mints :—31.

Bristol.

Canterbury.

Colchester.

Dorchester.

Dover.

Exeter.

Ipswich.

Leicester.

Lewes.

Lincoln.

London.

Maldon (mule only).

Malmesbury (mule only).

Norwich.

Nottingham (mule only).

Oxford.

Romney.

St. Edmundsbury.

Salisbury.

Shaftesbury.

Shrewsbury.

Southwark.

Taunton (also mule Hks.'s plate).

Thetford.

Twynham (Christchurch, Hants).

Wallingford.

Wareham.

Wilton.

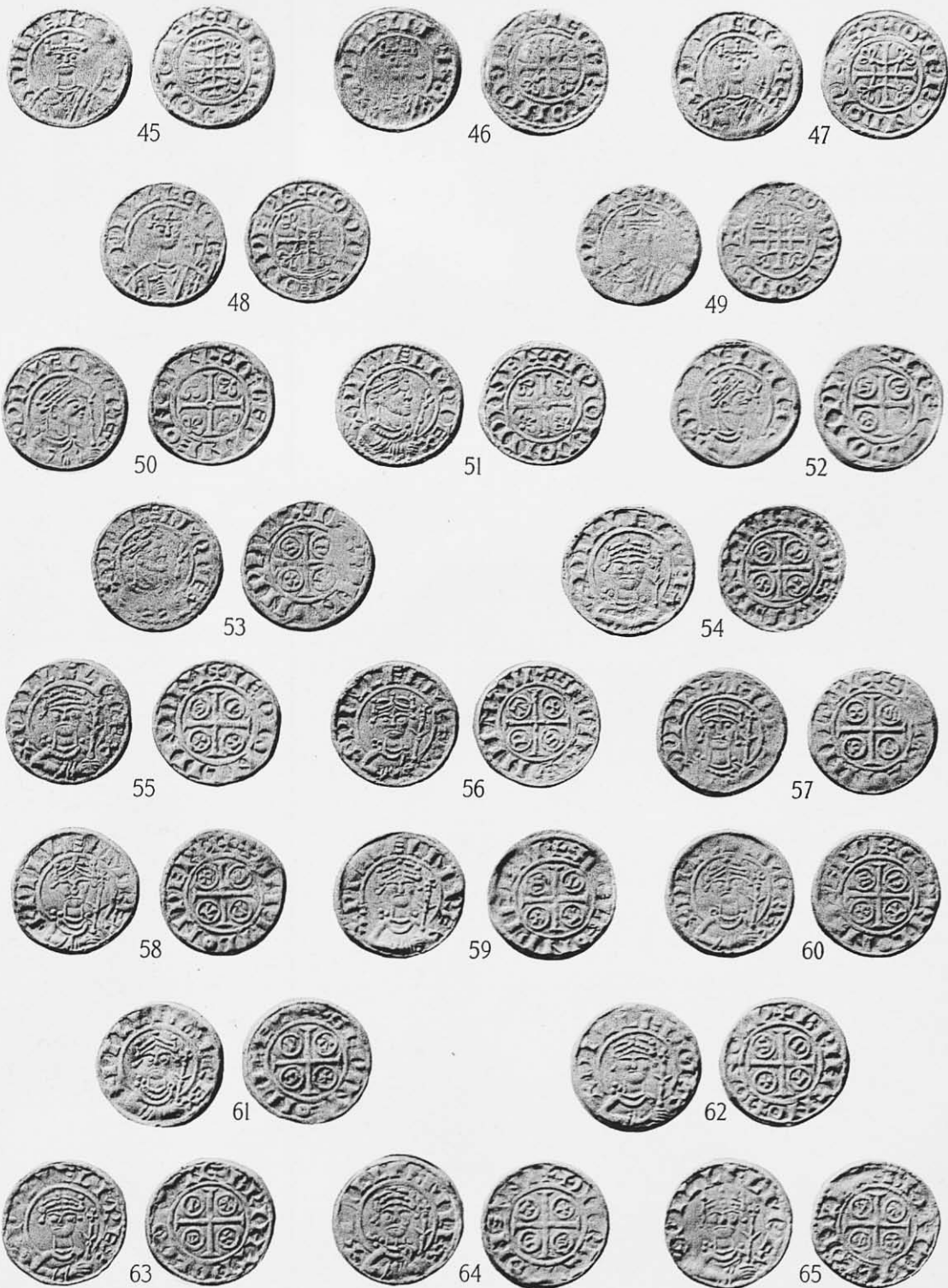
Winchester.

Worcester.

York.

Find : Beaworth, 1833.

There have probably been other discoveries of coins of this type as some of the specimens in our cabinets of to-day are in condition and appearance far different from those found at Beaworth.



THE TYPES OF WILLIAM I. (continued).  
XI. CENTURY.



Weight and quality— $17\frac{1}{2}$  to 21 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters—similar to those on Type VI.

This is the second and last profile type of William I. The King's crown is of the same form as that shown on the three preceding types (Nos. IV, V, and VI). The right ear and features of the monarch are well defined, the chin and nose betoken great firmness of character. The sterno-mastoid muscle is clearly shown, and is in the same position as described under Type I. The slightly convex line at the base of the neck would seem to indicate the top of the wearer's tunic below the royal mantle, the top of which is sometimes ornamented by a row of pearls, having the appearance of a chain from shoulder to shoulder. On the right shoulder are three pellets, and on the left shoulder, a single pellet. At the King's wrists are four lines that may represent simply the ornamented cuff of the sleeve of the under tunic, or possibly the armillæ, or bracelets, of the coronation regalia. The lines above these represent the folds of the mantle at the aperture for the arm near the elbow. The shaft of the sceptre is strengthened or ornamented by knobs placed equidistantly, one is below and another immediately above the hand, a third half-way up, and the fourth at the summit, and from this rise three leaf-shaped objects forming a fleur.

The reverse again bears the large cross, ends pattée, first introduced on the immediately preceding type, but the fleurs, which on that type are attached to the central quadrilateral ornament, are in this case attached to the inner circle equidistantly in the four angles of the cross. These much resemble the ornament which surmounts the sceptre on the obverse.

The central annulet is again present. The dies for this type were the next prepared after the King's return to England from Normandy, and on his taking into his own hands the government of his English realm after the seizure and imprisonment of his half-brother Odo, to whom, as above related, the same had been confided during his absence abroad.

The sceptre, indicative of William's kingly power ; his power as

King of the English, rather than as Duke of the Normans, is again displayed upon this, and the succeeding and last, type of his coins.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) On obverse the three pellets on the King's right shoulder are replaced by a loop-like ornament or fibula.

MULE  $\frac{\text{VII}}{\text{VIII}}$ .



FIG. M.—MULE CONNECTING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH TYPES OF WILLIAM I.  
HAWKINS, 240.

That Type VIII (Hks. 241 and 242) immediately succeeded Type VII (Hks. 239) is sufficiently shown by the mule coins having the obverse of Type VII and the reverse of Type VIII. A mule of this kind is represented in Hawkins, Figure 240.

Specimens of the following mints are recorded :—

Maldon,  
Malmesbury,  
Nottingham,  
Taunton,  
Thetford,  
Wilton,  
Winchester.

These are not in all cases limited to single specimens, and like the mules connecting Types I and II of this reign, already referred to, and those similarly connecting Types 1 and 2 of William Rufus, hereafter to be described, seem to afford evidence of a wide-spread, if not a general custom of issuing mule coins for a period *between* the general issue of one substantive type and that succeeding it.



As some clever forgeries of this mule coin exist, it is thought to be a fitting opportunity to here allude to the great service that Mr. L. A. Lawrence, our much esteemed colleague, has done to students of Norman numismatics by his most convincing exposure of several series of forgeries of supposed coins of the reigns of William I. and II. and other reigns.

Had these forgeries continued to be regarded as genuine the correct sequence of the types could not have been ascertained, and the study of Norman numismatics would have remained in the chaotic state in which it was prior to Mr. Lawrence's discoveries and the subsequent issue of Mr. Andrew's valuable "Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I."

Mr. Lawrence's paper on the forgeries of William I. and II. is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1897, but it is matter for regretful remark that one of these very forgeries, purchased by Mr. Grueber at the Montagu sale for the National Collection, is still treated as genuine in his *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, which was not published until 1899, and it is still more unfortunate that this fabrication is the very one selected for illustration of Hks. 250 in his Handbook, notwithstanding that numerous genuine coins of the type are in the National Collection.

That, prior to Mr. Lawrence's paper, an official numismatist should have catalogued ten, and selected for illustration six, of these forgeries in addition to other forgeries, at the Montagu sale, is not matter for surprise. The purchase of three of them for the National Collection is only matter for regret, but the obstinate retention of these same forgeries with the genuine coins in the National Collection is matter for strong condemnation in the interests of the beneficial owners of the coins, the British Public. The genuine specimens of the mule coins VII = VIII will be described under the notices of the several mints issuing them.

Another interesting link between Types VII and VIII is afforded by an overstruck coin in the collection of the writer. The obverse and reverse designs of Type VIII are super-imposed on those of Type VII.

The coin reads :—

*Obverse.* ✱ **PILLELMÆ PILLE.**

*Reverse.* ✱ **SEPINE ON HMTVI.**

The letters **PILLE** at the end of the new obverse legend are those of the old obverse legend of Type VII. This specimen is a particularly well-struck piece. Knowing that the old design had to be obliterated, the moneyer seems to have been careful not to spare the use of his hammer.

Many of the more clearly struck pieces of the "Paxs," and other types of William I. and II., when closely examined with a strong glass, show signs of having been overstruck. The practice of recoinage appears from the evidence of overstruck coins to have been very general, and a process that to some extent took place on the issue of each new type. This circumstance, doubtless, to a considerable degree accounts for the small proportion of coins of issues earlier than that current at the time of deposit, present in the Beaworth and other large finds of Norman coins.

#### TYPE VIII.

*Michaelmas, 1086, to 10th September, 1087.*



TWO VARIETIES OF THE EIGHTH TYPE OF WILLIAM I.

FIG. N.

HAWKINS, 241.

FIG. O.

HAWKINS, 242.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

- ✱ **PILLELM RE✱.**
- ✱ **PILLELM RE✱ I.**
- ✱ **PILLELM RE Δ.**
- ✱ **PILLELM RE✱ Δ.**
- ✱ **PILLELMI RE✱.**
- ✱ **PILLELMVS RE✱.**
- ✱ **PILLELM REI✱.**

✱ PILLELM RIE✱.  
 ✱ PILLE • LM RE✱ (Bristol).  
 ✱ PILLEMI RE✱.  
 ✱ PILLEILM RE✱.  
 ✱ PILLELM' RE✱.  
 ✱ PILLELLM • R •  
 ✱ PLLELM RE✱.  
 ✱ PILLEM RE✱.  
 ✱ ILLELM RE✱.  
 ✱ PILLELMRE✱.  
 ✱ PILLELMRE✱ I.  
 ✱ PILLELMR✱.  
 ✱ PILLELIMRE✱.

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, right arm shown with the hand grasping sceptre, fleured in centre of shaft and terminating in a cross pattée, inclined outwards over his left shoulder. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse.*—Large cross, ends pattée, in each angle an annulet, enclosing in succession the letters **PTAS**. All within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—62.

Barnstaple (241).	Durham (241).
Bath (241).	Exeter (241 and varieties and 242).
Bedford (241).	Gloucester (241 and varieties).
Bridport (241).	Guildford (241).
Bristol (241).	Hastings (241).
Canterbury (241 and varieties).	Hereford (241).
Chester (241).	Hertford (241).
Chichester (241 and 242).	Huntingdon (241).
Colchester (241).	Hythe (241).
Cricklade (241 and 242).	Ilchester (241).
Derby (241).	Ipswich (241).
Dorchester (241).	Launceston (241).
Dover (241).	

Leicester (241 and 242).	Shaftesbury (241).
Lewes (241).	Shrewsbury (241).
Lincoln (241).	Southampton (241 and variety).
London (241 and varieties and 242).	Southwark (241).
Maldon (241).	Stafford (241).
Malmesbury (241).	Stamford (241).
Marlborough (241).	Steyning (241).
Norwich (241).	Sudbury (241).
Nottingham (241).	Tamworth (241).
Oxford (241).	Taunton (241).
Pevensey (241).	Thetford (241 and 242).
Rhuddlan (241).	Wallingford (241).
Rochester (241).	Wareham (241).
Romney (241).	Warwick (241).
St. David's (Deviton) (241 and varieties).	Watchet (241).
St. Edmundsbury (241).	Wilton (241 and variety).
Salisbury (241).	Winchester (241).
Sandwich (241).	Worcester (241).
	York (241).

Finds : Beaworth, 1833 ; Shillington, 1871 ; Tamworth, 1877.

Weight and quality :  $21\frac{1}{4}$  to  $21\frac{3}{4}$  grains of standard silver.

Form of letters : Similar to those on Types VI and VII.

The obverse of this type is practically the same representation of the King, only full-faced, as that appearing on its immediate predecessor in profile. In the great majority of specimens the fastening of the King's mantle on his right shoulder is represented by three pellets, two below surmounted by the third, and a single pellet on his left shoulder. The variants are described below under the head of " varieties."

As regards the crown the straight golden band set with jewels is on many specimens replaced by two bands, the lower always plain and the upper sometimes beaded, rising from the lateral supports of the crown to the base of the central support and forming

an obtuse angled arch above the King's forehead. A single tassel depends from beneath the crown on either side of the King's face. The size and length of such tassels greatly vary in different specimens. In some specimens the upper edge of the royal over-mantle is jewelled and in others plain. In all specimens the sceptre varies from that on Type VII in that it is surmounted by a distinct cross pattée, in lieu of a fleur, and has a fleur, or leaf on either side, springing upwards from the central knob of the shaft.

As regards the reverse type, the large cross, ends pattée, again appears, although the central annulet is omitted. There is, however, a large annulet in each angle of the cross containing in regular succession the letters **PA\*S**. The relative position of these letters, always, however, in proper succession, greatly varies in different coins; sometimes the initial letter **P** is in the first, sometimes in any one of the three remaining angles of the cross.

The meaning of the inscription **PA\*S** has been much discussed, but there seems no reason to depart from the explanation which the present writer gave of it in his former short paper "On the coins of William I. and II. and the Sequence of the Types," printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1902, viz., that it may well be commemorative of the ultimate state of peace and law instituted by the Conqueror's firm government. In that paper the writer quoted from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, page 189, of the translation, the following passage, "Among other things is not to be forgotten the *good peace* he (William I.) made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm with his bosom full of gold unhurt."

Just prior to the issue of this type (Michaelmas 1086), great events had been taking place in England. At midwinter (Christmas) of 1085 the King was at Gloucester with his "witan" and there held his court five days. The King had a great council, and very deep speech with his "witan" about this land, how it was peopled, or by what men; then sent his men over all England into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the King himself had, and cattle within the land, or what

dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and what or how much each man had who was a holder of land in England, in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard (*virgate*) of land, nor even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left, that was not set down in his writ (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 186).

This work was done between January and July of 1086, and the results are represented by the compilation from those "writs," or the returns to them, of the great record now known as Domesday Book. Having thus ascertained the position of his affairs the King would see his subjects face to face, and have a direct oath of fealty from them. Accordingly by Lammas of 1086 (1st August), he was at Salisbury, and there his "witan" came to him, and all the landowners that were of account over all England, were they the vassals of what lord soever; and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 186).

William was now King indeed, the bonds of fealty were renewed, and in return his subjects had the full assurance of the King's Peace. At this very time the dies for the **PAXS** coinage were being prepared in readiness for Michaelmas, 1086, and no events so well as those first narrated could be more fittingly commemorated. The subsequent happenings of this reign have no bearing on its coinages, as William the Great died during the currency of this Paxs issue.

The following translation from Orderic of the epitaph written by Thomas, Archbishop of York, may be of interest, particularly the reference to the sceptre, which in the form surmounted by the cross first appears on the last issue of the Conqueror's coins.

Here William, greatest of his princely race,  
A home, a tomb, finds in this narrow space.  
Him the fierce Normans faithful homage paid,  
And lordly Maine his stern commands obeyed;

But mightier still, he England's *sceptre* swayed,  
The glorious prize, when Senlac's bloody field  
Saw her brave sons before the Conqueror yield.  
When twenty days and three,<sup>1</sup> the August sun  
'Mid the bright Virgin's stars his course had run,  
To Him who rules on high he bowed his head,  
And the proud King was numbered with the dead.

*Forester.*

Eighteen cut halfpennies of this type were found at Beaworth.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) On obverse, annulet on King's right shoulder. (Hks. 242.)
- (B) On obverse, annulet on King's *left* shoulder. (See under Exeter, Gloucester and London.)
- (C) On obverse, no ornament on King's left shoulder. (See under Barnstaple, Canterbury, Exeter and Gloucester.)
- (D) On obverse, no ornament on either shoulder of the King. (See under Bath, (?) Canterbury, Gloucester, Southampton and Wilton.)
- (E) On obverse, large annulet in centre of and cutting the two top bars of the King's crown. Four pellets in form of cross pommée on King's right shoulder. (See under St. David's and p. 50.)
- (F) On obverse, four pellets in form of a cross pommée on King's right shoulder. (See under St. David's and p. 50.)
- (G) On obverse, no inner circle. (See under London.)
- (H) On obverse, a single pellet on either shoulder of the King. (See under Warwick.)

<sup>1</sup> This should be seventeen days, as William died on the 9th September, 1087.



## WILLIAM II.

## TYPE I.

*Michaelmas, 1087, to Michaelmas, 1090.*

FIG. P.—THE FIRST TYPE OF WILLIAM II.

HAWKINS, 244.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✱ PILLELM R.  
 ✱ PILLELM ✱.  
 ✱ PILLELM R✱ I.  
 ✱ PILLELMRE.  
 ✱ PILLELMRE✱.  
 ✱ PILLELMRE✱ I.

Crowned bust of the King in profile to right, the right arm is shown with the hand grasping a naked sword, in front of the face and inclined slightly outwards, plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder.

Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse.*—Large cross, ends pattée ; in centre, annulet over cross fleury ; all within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—44.

Bedford.	Derby.	Hythe.
Bristol.	Dover.	Ilchester.
Cambridge.	Exeter.	Ipswich.
Canterbury.	Hastings.	Launceston.
Chester.	Hereford.	Lewes.
Chichester.	Hertford.	Lincoln.
Colchester.	Huntingdon.	London.

Maldon.	Salisbury.	Thetford.
Malmesbury.	Sandwich.	Wallingford.
Marlborough.	Shrewsbury.	Warwick.
Norwich.	Southampton.	Wilton.
Nottingham.	Southwark.	Winchester.
Oxford.	Stafford.	Worcester.
Pevensey.	Stamford.	York.
Rochester.	Tamworth.	

Finds.—Shillington, 1871 ; Tamworth, 1877.

Weight and quality.— $19\frac{1}{2}$  to  $22\frac{1}{4}$  grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Types VI, VII, and VIII of William I.

This being the first type of a new reign, bears the bust of the King in *profile*, as, in the writer's opinion, is the unvaried rule in the case of our four Norman sovereigns' reigns.

Type I of William I. has the bust in profile to the *left*.

Type I of William II. has the bust in profile to the *right*.

Type I of Henry I., the like to the *left*, and Type I of Stephen to the *right*.

It will therefore be seen that the rule throughout as regards *first* types is for the profile to be in alternate reigns to the *left* and *right*. The King's right ear is well defined, and his features also; the face is bare except as to the upper lip. The crown is somewhat arched at the top, and the two lappets dependent from the under cap or coif are shown at the back of the head below the crown. The sterno-mastoid muscle is not disclosed on coins of this issue. The arrangement of the drapery of the bust is similar to that on Type VII of William I, except that the shoulder ornaments or fastenings are seldom clearly shown. The sword probably has reference to that of the coronation order, but it may have been the King's intention to intimate to his subjects that he would, if necessary, maintain his rights by use of the sword. William II. was

crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Lanfranc on the 26th September, 1087.

It is interesting to note from the numismatic point of view that soon afterwards the King went to Winchester and inspected the treasury and the riches which his father had before gathered. In the words of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "it was not to be expressed by any man how much was there gathered in gold, and in silver, and in vessels, and in robes, and in gems, and in many other precious things, which are difficult to recount. The King then did as his father had commanded him ere he died, he distributed the treasures, for his father's soul, to every monastery that was in England: to one monastery ten marks of gold; to one, six; to every country church sixty pence; and into every shire were sent a hundred pounds *in money*, to distribute to poor men for his soul."

From this account some idea of the amount of coined money stored in the Treasury at Winchester at the time of the Conqueror's death may be formed.

In the early part of 1088 there was much treason in the land, and by Easter many great lords, with Odo, the King's uncle, at their head, were in open rebellion against the new King. The King, with the aid of his English subjects, used his sword with good effect and stamped out the disaffection with success.

The reverse of this type has already been sufficiently described. The central annulet, it should be noted, again appears.

No mule coin connecting this with the last type of the Conqueror's reign has come under the writer's notice. He, however, has a specimen of this issue which is overstruck on a Paxs-type penny. This reads on the obverse,

✠ **PILLIELMRE**

and on the reverse,

✠ **IELFRIED ON LVNEI**

*Varieties* :—None.

MULE  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



FIG. Q.—MULE CONNECTING THE FIRST AND SECOND TYPES OF WILLIAM II.  
HAWKINS, 245.

This mule has the obverse of Type 1 and the reverse of Type 2, and such a coin is represented in Hawkins, Figure 245.

Specimens are known of the following mints:—

Chester,  
Dover,  
Gloucester,  
Leicester,  
Lincoln (?)  
Oxford,  
Winchester.

These are described under the several mints mentioned.

TYPE 2.

*Michaelmas, 1090, to Michaelmas, 1093.*



FIG. R.—THE SECOND TYPE OF WILLIAM II.  
HAWKINS, 246.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✠ PILLELM RE  
✠ PILLELM RE✠

**PILLELM RE\* I**  
**\* PILLELM RIE\***  
**\* PILLELMREI**  
**\* PILLELMRE\***

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown with the hand grasping a naked sword resting on the right shoulder and inclined outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse*.—Quatrefoil with pellet at each angle, enclosing large cross, ends pattée, with an annulet in the centre. All within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—50.

Bedford.	Ilchester.	Southampton.
Bristol.	Launceston.	Southwark.
Canterbury.	Leicester.	Stafford.
Chester.	Lewes.	Stamford.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Steyning.
Colchester.	London.	Sudbury.
Cricklade.	Maldon.	Tamworth.
Derby.	Malmesbury.	Taunton.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Thetford.
Dover.	Nottingham.	Totnes.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Wallingford.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	Warwick.
Hastings.	Romney.	Wilton.
Hereford.	Salisbury.	Winchester.
Hertford.	Sandwich.	Worcester.
Huntingdon.	Shaftesbury.	York.
Hythe.	Shrewsbury.	

Finds.—Bermondsey, 1821 ; Shillington, 1871 ; Tamworth, 1877.

Weight and quality.—20 to 22 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type 1.

The obverse of this type is a full-faced presentment of its profile predecessor. The top of the crown is slightly arched and the dependent lappet on either side is shown. The workmanship of some specimens is good, but of others, presumably those from the later dies, discloses a marked deterioration. The design is somewhat similar to Type VI of William I., which, it will be remembered, was issued at a time when he had been much in Normandy. It is perhaps a coincidence, but in any case a point worthy of note, that at the time when the dies for this coinage of William II. were in course of preparation (prior to Michaelmas, 1090) the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that

“the King was considering how he might take vengeance on his brother Robert, most annoy him, and *win Normandy from him.*”

As regards the reverse, the large quatrefoil in which the usual cross, ends pattée, is enclosed, is a design new to this and the preceding reign, and does not again occur until that of Henry I.

The central annulet appears on most specimens, though on some it merges into a pellet and, on rarer examples, is entirely absent.

*Varieties :—*

- (A) On obverse, large pellet to the left of the King's face ; see under Dover.
- (B) Pellet, instead of annulet, in centre of cross on reverse.
- (C) No annulet or pellet in centre of cross. See under Lewes, London, Romney, and York.
- (D) Group of three annulets interlaced in centre of cross. See under Worcester.

TYPE 3.

*Michaelmas, 1093, to Michaelmas, 1096.*



FIG. S.—THE THIRD TYPE OF WILLIAM II.  
HAWKINS, 247.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✱ PILLELM RI  
 ✱ PILLELM RE  
 ✱ PILELM REI  
 ✱ PILLELMRE  
 ✱ PILLELMREI  
 ✱ PILLELMRE✱  
 ✱ PILLEMRE

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown grasping in the hand a naked sword resting on the right shoulder and inclined slightly outwards. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse.*—Large cross, ends pattée, over cross fleury, all within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—28.

Bristol.	Hythe.	Sandwich.
Canterbury.	Ilchester.	Southwark.
Chester.	Leicester.	Stamford.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Sudbury.
Colchester.	London.	Tamworth.
Dover.	Norwich.	Thetford.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	Winchester.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	Worcester.
Hastings.	Salisbury.	York.
Huntingdon.		

Find.—Shillington, 1871.

Weight and quality.— $19\frac{1}{2}$  to 22 grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Types 1 and 2, but of coarser execution.

The obverse of this issue is, in general design, the same as that of the next preceding type. The workmanship is, however, distinctly coarser, the top of the crown is flat, the lappets are not shown, and the



neck and bust have a thinner and longer look. The face of the King appears to be gaunt and haggard. This is probably due to a decline in power or art on the part of the cuneator, but the fact that in Lent, of 1093, the King was taken so sick at Gloucester that he was everywhere reported dead, is a coincidence.

The Red King must have indeed been very ill as he made many promises to God to lead his own life righteously, and to grant peace and protection to God's churches, and never more again for money to sell them, and to have all just laws among his people. So recounts the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* ; but, as is narrated in an ancient couplet of a more powerful potentate :—

The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be ;  
The Devil was well, the devil a monk was he !

In like manner, when he became well, Rufus withdrew his grants of land to many monasteries and abandoned all the good laws he had before promised.

The reverse of this type is somewhat similar to Type 1, especially in the case of those examples which, through carelessness in the making of the dies, have the leaves of the fleurs represented as solid instead of in outline. In Type 1, however, the central annulet is always well defined, whilst in the type under consideration it is invariably absent.

The statement on page 170 of the third edition of *The Silver Coins of England*, as to there being a mule of obverse 243 and reverse 244 struck at Colchester, is a regrettable mistake of a sometime official numismatist, Mr. Kenyon. This erroneous statement does not occur in the first or second edition of the same work. The coin thus described by Mr. Kenyon is in the British Museum, and is an ordinary specimen of 247 without any special variation. It is illustrated in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series IV, Vol. IV, Plate X, fig. 12, in support of Mr. Spicer's quite unsupportable theory that Type VI (Hks. 243) of William I. and Type 4 of William II. (Hks. 247) are one and the same type, and that the first of William II. The letterpress refers to the same coin and the authority Hawkins (1887 Edition).

A conclusive proof that Type 3 (Hks. 247) was issued subsequently to Type 2 (Hks. 246) is afforded by a specimen, struck at Rochester, in the collection of the writer. This is a coin of Type 3 *overstruck on Type 2*, the *old* reverse being most clearly visible through the superimposed impression of the *new* reverse type.

The writer has a cut halfpenny of this type : weight, 11 grains.

*Varieties.*—None.

#### TYPE 4.

*Michaelmas, 1096, to Michaelmas, 1099.*



TWO VARIETIES OF THE FOURTH TYPE OF WILLIAM II.

FIG. T.

HAWKINS, 249.

FIG. U.

HAWKINS, 250.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✠ PILLELM REI  
 ✠ PILLELMRI  
 ✠ PILLELMRA  
 ✠ PILLELMRE  
 ✠ PILLELMREI  
 ✠ PILLELMRE✠  
 ✠ PILLELMREI

Crowned full-faced bust of the King between two stars. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse.*—Voided cross, ends pattée, annulet in centre, over cross annulettée. All within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—36.

Bedford.	Hythe.	Salisbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Sandwich.
Canterbury.	Ipswich.	Shaftesbury.
Chester.	Lewes.	Shrewsbury.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Southampton (249 only).
Colchester.	London.	Southwark.
Dover.	Malmesbury.	Steyning.
Exeter.	Norwich.	Thetford.
Gloucester.	Nottingham.	Wareham.
Guildford.	Oxford.	Watchet.
Hereford.	Rochester.	Wilton.
Huntingdon.	St. Edmundsbury.	Winchester.

Finds :—Bermondsey, 1821 ; Shillington, 1871.

Weight and quality.— $20\frac{1}{2}$  to  $21\frac{3}{4}$  grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type 3, but of still coarser workmanship.

The obverse presents a very similar representation of the King to that displayed on the last preceding type, except that in most examples the face is broader. The crown is usually quite flat at the top, and has the appearance of two horizontal and parallel lines with a row of pellets, representing jewels between them.

The drapery is similar to that on the preceding types of the reign, and there is usually a pellet on each shoulder of the King. The earlier coins of this issue have no ornaments in the field, and an example is afforded in Hawkins, figure 249. The later coins of this type have a star on each side of the King's face. The change thus made in the obverse type, probably took place in the early part of the second year of issue in consequence of the appearance of a comet. This is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 1097 in the following passage :—

“ Then at St. Michael's mass there appeared an extraordinary star, shining in the evening, and soon going to its setting. It was seen

in the south-west, and the ray that stood from it seemed very long, shining south-east; and almost all the week it appeared in this wise. Many men supposed that it was comet."

The term *comet* is used as if it were a proper name and indicated a particular star and not one of a class.

Under the year 1095 the same authority narrates that—

"On the Mass night of St. Ambrose (4th April) there were seen, nearly over all this land, and nearly all the night, very many stars, as it were, to fall from heaven, not by one or two, but so thickly that no man could count them."

*William of Malmesbury* records that in the tenth year of Wm. II., on the kalends of October, a comet appeared for fifteen days, turning its larger train to the east and the smaller to the south-east. Other stars also appeared, darting, as it were, at each other. *Henry of Huntingdon* tersely remarks, "A comet appeared in this year (1097)."

The early coins (Hks. 249) of this issue, being without sword or sceptre, have an unfinished appearance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the appearance of a comet, or, as was then supposed, the re-appearance of Comet, the lucky pre-Hastings star of the Norman House, was considered a good omen and an important event. It was an apt and easy object with which to fill the blanks in the field of the coins. For the sake of uniform appearance a star was placed on either side and thus the design already used by the engraver of the Conqueror's fifth type (Hks. 238) was again adopted.

The voided cross on the reverse is revived on this type, for the first time since the issue of Type II of Wm. I. (Hks. 234). The central annulet is present and four are added, one at the end of each limb of the cross superimposed on the voided cross. These may, it is suggested, be intended to symbolise the five sacred wounds of our Lord.

It may be noted that in March, 1096, Peter d'Acheri (or Peter-the-Hermit) began to preach the Second Crusade, and the recovery of the Holy City was a subject occupying many men's thoughts.

Orderic says—

“Intelligence of the Apostolical mandate having been quickly spread throughout the world, those of all nations who were predestined to enlist under the banner of the mighty Messiah, were roused to action. Its thunders echoed through England and the other islands of the ocean, nor were they drowned by the roar of the waves, which, in their deep channels, separate those islands from the rest of the world.”

*Varieties :—*

- (A) Annulet, in lieu of pellet, on the King's left shoulder. See under Hythe.
- (B) No ornament on either shoulder. See under Oxford.
- (C) On reverse, a pellet in the second and third quarters of the central cross. See under Thetford.

TYPE 5.

*Michaelmas, 1099, to 2nd August, 1100.*



FIG. W.—THE FIFTH TYPE OF WILLIAM II.  
HAWKINS, 248.

*Obverse.*—Legend.

✱ PILLELMI RI  
✱ PILLELM RE  
✱ PILLELMRE

Crowned full-faced bust of the King, the right arm shown with the hand grasping a sceptre fleury, resting on the right shoulder and inclined outwards. Star to the right of the King's face. A plain inner circle from shoulder to shoulder. Legend commences at the left of the coin.

*Reverse.*—Cross fleury, a pyramid in each angle surmounted by a pellet; all within a plain inner circle.

Mints :—23.

Bristol.	Hereford.	Shrewsbury (?)
Canterbury.	Ipswich.	Southwark.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Stamford.
Colchester.	London.	Steyning.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Sudbury.
Exeter.	Nottingham.	Wareham.
Guildford.	Romney.	Winchester.
Hastings.	Salisbury.	

Finds.—None recorded.

Weight and quality.— $19\frac{1}{2}$  to  $21\frac{1}{4}$  grains of standard silver.

Form of letters.—Similar to those on Type 4, but of rather neater work.

The coins of this type are of smaller module, and of neater and more elaborate design than those of the prior types of this reign. They are resembled by the early coins of Henry I., and in like manner were, as stated above, probably the first work of Otto the Younger. The star on the King's left side is continued from the design of the last preceding type, but that on the monarch's right side is replaced by the sceptre held in his right hand and rested on his shoulder.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that at Easter, 1099, King William II. came hither to this land from Normandy, and at Pentecost held his Court, for the first time, in his new building at Westminster. *Henry of Huntingdon* also mentions that in his twelfth year William kept Court for the first time in the new palace at Westminster. He adds that upon his entering the hall to inspect it, some of his attendants observed that it was large enough, others that it was much larger than was necessary ; to which the King replied that it was not half large enough. This was the celebrated Aula Regis, around which the Courts of Justice were long situate, and which, restored and altered, remains to the present day. The sceptre probably indicates the intention of the King to do justice to his subjects in this new Palace of Justice.

The reverse of this type has a cross fleury, in effect four sceptres

from a central point. The "pyramids" have already been commented upon when describing Type III of the coins of William I., and may, as there suggested, be referred to the conical towers forming the corners of the White Tower of London, said to have been begun by the Conqueror and completed by Rufus.

*Varieties.*—None.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE MINTS.

FOR the purposes of the present work it is not necessary to carry enquiry further back than the law of Æthelstan enacted at the Synod of Greatley (Greatanlege). This probably was held soon after the year 928. It was enacted that there should be one kind of money throughout the whole realm and that no one should coin but in a town; that if a moneyer should be guilty, his hand with which he committed the offence should be cut off and fixed upon the mint. But if he should be accused, and would clear himself, then he should go to the hot iron, and acquit his hand of the fraud which he was accused of. It was at the same time ordained that there should be in Canterbury seven moneyers—four belonging to the King, two to the bishop, and one to the abbot; in Rochester three—two for the King and one for the bishop; in London eight; in Winchester six; in Lewes two; in Hastings one; in Hampton two; in Wareham two; in Shaftesbury two; and elsewhere one in the other Burghs.

From this it is clearly to be inferred that, except where otherwise expressly specified to the contrary, the moneyers were "for the King." The statement that there was to be one moneyer in every Burgh not specified is of very great importance.

An examination of the mint names appearing on our pre-Norman coins shows that this was a privilege universally exercised.

The number of mints rises to the highest point in the inglorious reign of Æthelred II, eighty-five having been recorded, and the number in Cnut's reign was nearly the same. The following is a list of sixty-nine boroughs existing in the reign of William I. of which coins either of William I. or William II. are now in evidence.



Barnstaple.	Hythe.	Sandwich.
Bedford.	Ilchester.	Shaftesbury.
Bath.	Ipswich.	Shrewsbury.
Bedwin.	Launceston.	Southampton.
Bridport.	Leicester.	Southwark.
Bristol.	Lewes.	Stafford.
Cambridge.	Lincoln.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	London.	Steyning.
Chester.	Maldon.	Sudbury.
Chichester.	Malmesbury.	Tamworth.
Colchester.	Marlborough.	Taunton.
Cricklade.	Northampton.	Thetford.
Derby.	Norwich.	Totnes.
Dorchester.	Nottingham.	Twynham.
Dover.	Oxford.	Wallingford.
Durham.	Peterborough.	Wareham.
Exeter.	Pevensey.	Warwick.
Gloucester.	Rhuddlan.	Watchet.
Guildford.	Rochester.	Wilton.
Hastings.	Romney.	Winchester.
Hereford.	St. Davids.	Worcester.
Hertford.	St. Edmundsbury.	Yarmouth (?)
Huntingdon.	Salisbury.	York.

Of these, it is interesting to note, eleven have the termination "chester," showing that they were Roman cities occupied by the after-coming Anglo-Saxons; nine have the suffix "borough" or "bury," showing in their names their title to be classed as boroughs; and the like number possess the termination "ford," pointing to the erection of a *burh* to guard an important river crossing.

The absence from the list of the important boroughs of Buckingham and Dunwich is remarkable.

Historical accounts of the several mints, together with a list of all varieties of the coins known to the writer, issued from them during the two reigns under consideration, will be given hereafter.

## HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE FIRST COINAGE OF HENRY II.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President.*

**H**AVING regard to the importance attached by this Society to the mutual support given, the one to the other, by our historical documents and our numismatic evidences, it has been deemed desirable to collect and analyse the references to the coinage of Henry II., contained in that most valuable and unique series of fiscal records known as the Pipe Rolls. This series, in effect, commences with the second year of the reign of that King, as the only earlier Pipe Roll now preserved to us is an odd roll of the reign of Henry I. for the year 1129-1130, of which excellent use has already been made by Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., in his "Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I."

The Pipe Rolls for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years of the reign of Henry II. were printed at the national expense, under the editorship of Joseph Hunter, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, in the year 1844. Until 1883 no further rolls were printed, but since that date private effort, in the shape of the Pipe Roll Society, has made available for more easy public reference the rolls for the 5th to the 23rd years, inclusive, of the same monarch.

The rolls for the first twenty years are printed in the much contracted Latin of the originals, but the roll for the 22nd year (A.D. 1175-1176) published in 1904 has the contractions extended. This alteration was effected with the view of securing a wider interest in the publications of the Pipe Roll Society, which had been in a state of suspended animation since 1897. The result has been to materially increase the thickness of the annual volume, but it is to be hoped that the main object of the change may be attained, as the Pipe Rolls

contain information of priceless value to the historian, numismatologist and genealogist alike. They constitute a record of the yearly national revenue and outlay, and are the chief historical documents remaining to bridge over the gap between the date of Domesday Book, 1086, and the close of the twelfth century. The other records of this period, few in number, have also been printed by the Pipe Roll Society.

Hitherto, with the exception of a stray reference or two here and there, the entries in the Pipe Rolls which relate to the coinage have not been separately dealt with, and it is to supply that omission and to form a supplement to Mr. Nathan Heywood's "First Coinage of Henry II.," published in Vol. I. of this *Journal*, that these pages have been essayed.

It is proposed, for the convenience of reference, to deal with the information obtained from the Pipe Rolls.

First, under the names of the mints, taken in alphabetical order.

(Part I);

Secondly, in the form of a list of Mints and Moneyers in conjunction; in Column I. as they appear on the coins which have been noted to this date, and in Column II. as they are recorded in the Pipe Rolls. (Part II); and

Thirdly, to set out, by way of an Appendix, a translation of all the entries which relate to the subject under consideration, with the references to the years and pages of the printed rolls. (Part III.)

It is matter for some regret that the Pipe Rolls hitherto printed extend only to the year 1176-1177, and do not, therefore, comprise the entire period of issue of the first coinage of Henry II. which was continued until the year 1180, but it has been thought better to leave the notes of those three years to a future supplement to this paper after the publication of the subsequent rolls, rather than to incur the expenditure of time and trouble that reference to the original manuscripts would necessarily involve.

It has been said "Happy is the nation that has no history,"

but the remark applies with greater force to the case of the moneyer, for rarely in the rolls does the name of an individual moneyer occur, except by reason of his having been mutilated, fined or taxed.

## PART I.

BEDFORD (*Bedeforda*).

See under Northampton.

BRISTOL (*Bristou* and *Bristouna*).

The rolls contain no reference to a mint at this place, nor to any moneyer coining there, though the coins preserved to us disclose the names of three moneyers. There are entries as to payments by the burgesses of Bristol in the returns relating to "Dorset and Somerset." The ancient part of the town, afterwards city and county, is situate on the Gloucestershire side of the Avon, and this may account for the entry in 20 Henry II. p. 16 (Dorset and Somerset). "The burgesses of Bristol owe £248 6s. 8d. for a fine, but the sheriff is not able to bring them to trial (*eos justiciare*)."

No part of this large fine was ever paid and, ultimately, the entry was eliminated by a "pardon" by the King's writ to the burgesses themselves of the entire sum (see 22 Henry II. p. 154).

BUCKINGHAM (*Buchingeham*, *Bukingeham*, *Bukingham*).

See under Northampton.

CANTERBURY (*Cantuaria*).

The rolls for 13 to 18 Henry II. disclose a payment of £1 per annum to a moneyer who received the rent, or firma, of the archbishopric, but his name is not mentioned.

In the rolls of 19 and 21 Henry II. Richard the moneyer is named, and in those of 21, 22 and 23 Henry II. mention is made of Richard Corbeille the moneyer, apparently a different person. The coins give the name "Ricard" simply, and Ricard followed by the letters **M**, **ML** and **MI**. These were doubtless the abbreviations used

for a surname, and were added to distinguish this Richard from another Richard who was coining contemporaneously. Unfortunately the rolls do not disclose the surname thus indicated, but this is happily otherwise in an analogous case (see under London).

In 19, 21 and 22 Henry II. we find the name of another moneyer, Roger, who in the first two of the three entries is described as being "of the Archbishop." His name is disclosed also on the coins of Canterbury. The other two moneyers of this city, Goldhavoc and Wiulf, are not named in the rolls.

In the roll for 23 Henry II. some very heavy fines are recorded as due from the moneyers of Canterbury, who would seem to have been found guilty of an offence of more than usual gravity. Ralph de Ria *and his wife* owed 1,000 marks. Of this they paid 100 marks and owed £600. John Fitz Robert owed 400 marks and Richard Corbeill 100 marks, but neither paid anything that year and the same remark applies to Salomon and Richard Deodatus who together owed 600 marks. It is significantly added that for the aforesaid debts of the moneyers the sheriff has sureties.

#### CARLISLE (*Carleolium*, *Carliolium*).

In 5 Henry II., p. 33, William FitzErembald is recorded as paying £100 for the rent of the mine, and in 10 Henry II. William the moneyer pays £200 for the same rent. This William, the son of Erembald who coined at Carlisle under Henry I., was doubtless the Willelm (variously spelt) of the coins. Reference is made in 16 Henry II. and subsequent years to a fine of £5 imposed upon the men of William the moneyer for an affray. It is probable that William the moneyer of Newcastle was related to his namesake of Carlisle.

#### CHESTER (*Cestria*).

As Cheshire was a County Palatine there are, of course, no references to it in the Pipe Rolls, but there may be documents of a similar character preserved with its own records.

COLCHESTER (*Colecestra*, *Colcestria*).

Although placed under Essex, or Essex and Hertfordshire, this place in the Pipe Rolls is always accorded a sub-heading of its own; as, indeed, it is in Domesday Book. Alexander the moneyer is mentioned under Essex in the rolls of 5 and 6 Henry II., but no coins of this issue bearing his name are preserved to us. Alfwin the moneyer is named in the Colchester return of 7 Henry II., and coins of this mint bearing his name, Alwin, are in existence. Gillebert is the name of another moneyer occurring under Essex in 9 Henry II. and some subsequent years, but later entries show that he removed to Norwich, of which place coins of his exist. Colchester would seem to have been entitled to four moneyers, and allowances of £3, representing three moneyers not at work, were made to the sheriff from the fixed rent of the county for the years 4 to 12 Henry II., and for £4 for the years 13 to 22 Henry II. It is presumed that the mint was entirely inoperative during these last mentioned years.

DERBY (*Derebi*, *Derbi*).

No coins of this issue have been found that are attributable to this town. In the rolls, the returns for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire are taken together. Under the year 5 Henry II., amongst the *Nova blacita*, etc., it is recorded that Walchelinus the moneyer rendered an account of £100, of which he then paid £50, the remaining £50 being duly discharged in the following year. He may be identical with the Whichelinus Derbi of the curious type of King Stephen's coins figured in Hawkins (No. 277), and it may be conjectured that the issue of these coins of Stephen was the cause for so large a fine as £100 having been imposed upon the moneyer.

DORCHESTER (*Dorecestria*).

No coins of this issue of the Dorchester mint have yet been noted. The roll of 5 Henry II. under Dorset shows, however, that Warner de Lisoriis, the sheriff, paid an account of 20 marks for the moneyers of Dorchester. In the following year the same sheriff pays accounts of 13s. 4d. for Colbert the moneyer and 26s. 8d. for Laurñ

(Laurence?) the moneyer. It is probable therefore that coins of Dorchester may some day be discovered, and that they will bear the names recorded by the Pipe Rolls is to be expected.

#### DOVER (*Doura*).

No coins of this issue of the Dover mint have yet been noted. The roll of 4 Henry II. shows that Ralph Picot, the sheriff of Kent, paid £3 for the dies of the moneyers. This may, and probably does, relate to Canterbury, but, in the same year, Adam the moneyer, under the sub-heading of Dover, is stated to owe 50 marks of silver for his redemption by the suretyship of Ralph Picot, and a similar entry occurs in 5 Henry II., when the same sheriff pays £6 18s. 10d. into the treasury on account of the 50 marks due from Adam the moneyer of *Dover*.

#### DURHAM (*Dunelm*).

The Bishop of Durham had Palatine rights and, therefore, no entries relating to Durham should be included in the Pipe Rolls. There are no entries relating to the mint or moneyers of Durham, and where debts are entered against the Bishop (*e.g.*, 22 Henry II., p. 103) it is added that he does not recognise that they are due to the King. The list of coins discloses the names of Johan, Waltier and Willam as moneyers at Durham, but the first may have been of Dunhevet (Launceston), for the mint name is given as *Dunhe*, and the last is taken from a very old catalogue reading and is unreliable. In the roll of 11 Henry II., under Tickhill (Tichehella) in Yorkshire, it is recorded that the *son* of *Walter* the moneyer owes the relief of one knight, and that Geoffrey le Briton owes 10 marks for having the custody of his land.

From Boldon Book we learn that :—

In the eleven hundred and eighty-third year of our Lord's Incarnation, at the feast of St. Cuthbert in Lent, Lord Hugh, Bishop of Durham, caused to be described in the presence of himself and his court all the returns of his whole bishopric, assizes and customs, as they then were and as they had been aforetime.

But the city of Dunolm' [Durham] was at farm and was rendering



60 marks. The mills of the aforesaid town and Quarringtonshire 36 marks. *The mint used to render 10 marks, but the Lord King Henry the Second reduced the rent of 10 marks even to 4 marks by reason of the mint which he first appointed at Newcastle, and at length he took away the mint, which had been used from times long previous.*

#### EXETER (*Exonia, Excestria*).

The names of Devonshire moneyers disclosed by the Pipe Rolls are :—

Aluric (also written Ailric and Ailuric),  
 Ilbert,  
 Oswald,  
 Richard FitzEstrange.

It is probable that all were moneyers of Exeter, as no other place in Devon is known, through existing coins, to have possessed a mint during this reign, and the rolls do not afford any clue to any place in the county, save Exeter, having possessed the right of coinage at this period.

Of the four names mentioned above, that of Richard is the only one appearing on coins hitherto noted, and the Edw (? Edward or Edwin), Guncelin and Rogier of the coins find no place in the rolls. The roll of 14 Henry II. shows that the moneyers of the city of Exeter owed 20 marks, which they paid in the following year. This was their contribution to the aid levied on the occasion of the marriage of Matilda, the daughter of the king.

#### GLOUCESTER (*Glocestria*).

The moneyers of the borough of Gloucester, as a body, are mentioned in all years, save the 6th, from the 5th to 13th Henry II. inclusive. The only individual moneyer named is Godefridus (Godfrey) in the nineteenth year. No coin bearing his name has been noted.

#### GRIMSBY (*Grimesbi*).

In the roll of 3 Henry II. for Lincolnshire, it is recorded that Gerard, the moneyer of Grimsby, owed and paid 1 mark of gold,

equal to £6. No coins minted at Grimsby of this or any other reign have yet been noted, but the town had the status of a borough at the date of Domesday Book, and was a place of sufficient importance in the time of Henry II. to have had a mint. A careful watch for coins bearing Gerard's name should be kept.

#### HEREFORD (*Hereford, Herefort, Herford*).

The sole entry relating to moneyers at this place occurs in the roll of 7 Henry II. in the return for "Herefordshire in Wales," when William de Beauchamp renders and pays an account of £4 for the moneyers.

#### ILCHESTER (*Ivelcestria*).

The Borough of Ilchester is referred to in the roll of 5 Henry II. as contributing through the sheriff a gift (*donum*) of £24 13s. 4d., and immediately afterwards the same sheriff is recorded to have rendered and paid an account of £8 for the moneyers.

#### IPSWICH (*Gipeswicum*).

The coins disclose the names of Nicole, Robert and Turstain as moneyers of this place. In the rolls the returns for Norfolk and Suffolk are made together, and it is therefore sometimes difficult to assign an individual moneyer named therein to the right town, as Norwich, Lynn and Thetford in Norfolk, and Ipswich and St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk each possessed a mint.

The roll of 11 Henry II. records that Robert the moneyer rendered and paid an account of 10 marks for the mint (*cuneo*), and as his name does not appear on the coins of Norwich or of Thetford it is safe to assume that he was the Robert of the Ipswich coins. The name Nicole does not occur in the rolls under Norfolk and Suffolk, but Turstan is specifically mentioned in 14 Henry II. as a moneyer of Thetford, of which place, as well as of Ipswich, there are coins bearing this name. The allowances made to the sheriff from the fixed farms of the counties are of some interest: as regards Ipswich they are as follows:—

	£	
4 Henry II.	4	(Ipswich only).
5 „	6	„ (and Thetford).
6 „	6	„ „
7 „	6	„ „
8 „	2	„ „
9 „	2	„ „
19 „	2	(Ipswich only, 2 moneyers).
20 „	2	„ „
21 „	2	„ „
22 „	2	„ „
23 „	2	„ „

These and other entries make it absolutely clear that the allowance to the sheriff in respect of a moneyer not at work, was at the rate of £1 for one year for each moneyer. For instance, in 15 Henry II. we find the entry “and in default of one moneyer of Thetford 5s. for a fourth part of the year,” and in 20 Henry II. the entries are “and in default of five moneyers at Norwich 100s., and in default of three moneyers at Thetford 60s., and in default of two moneyers of Ipswich 40s.”

#### LAUNCESTON (*Lanzauentona*).<sup>1</sup>

The roll of 4 Henry II. under Devonshire, contains the following entry:—“The same sheriff (William de Boterell) renders an account of 20 marks of silver for Roger Peck (Pechus) the moneyer of *Cornwall*. Cornwall was, in effect, a County Palatine, and the references to it in the rolls are by way of exception rather than rule.

The roll of 22 Henry II. contains the following entry under *Cornubia*. “Eustace Fitz Stephen renders an account of £153 12s. 6d. for the rent of the county of Cornwall for the mines of tin, and for the rent of the borough of Launceston (*Lanzauenton*)” according to the roll of the Bishop of Winchester, by the testimony of Bernard the

<sup>1</sup> This mint has been treated at length by Mr. Carlyon-Britton in a paper intituled “Cornish Numismatics,” which will be printed in a future volume of this *Journal*.—ED.

Chaplain, of that part which is in the King's hand. He has paid into the treasury £152 14s. 8d. And in the appointed alms to the knights of the Temple 1 mark. And in land at Helston which the King confirmed to Baldwin the Chamberlain, after the death of the Earl himself 20s. And he has a surplusage of 15s. 6d." The deceased Earl was Reginald de Dunstanville, a natural son of Henry I., and he had died at Chertsey in 1175.

The name of Roger the moneyer of Cornwall does not correspond with either of the names appearing on the coins of this issue attributed to Launceston, but it is possible that further evidence may exist amongst the records of the Duchy of Cornwall.

A Roger (Rogier) struck coins of this issue at Exeter.

#### LEICESTER (*Legrecestria*, *Legercestria*).

The only entry in the rolls relating to moneyers of the county of Leicester is one contained in that of 2 Henry II., where an allowance is made to the sheriff of 12s. 6d. for the conduct (to trial and punishment) of false moneyers. The names on the coins are Ricard and Robert (Rodbert and Rudbert).

#### LEWES (*Lewes*, *Lewis*).

No coins of this issue have hitherto been assigned to Lewes. The roll of 5 Henry II. records that the sheriff, Ralph Picot, rendered an account of £10 for the moneyers of Lewes. Under Sussex Wulwin or Wulfwin (once in error styled Wluric) is frequently named, and another moneyer, Orgar, is named in 7 Henry II.

In the summer of 1905, the writer acquired in Edinburgh a coin of this mint. The initial cross on the reverse is very distinct, as are the letters **LEV** for the mint name and the **:** immediately preceding them. The name of the moneyer is not clear, but the first letter appears to be a **T** and the third letter is probably an **L**. The **T**, however, may be a **P=W** and the name of the moneyer Wulwin—the Wulwin of the roll.

As regards Orgar, as he made his payment for the Knights of Pevensey, it is possible that the mint at that place was still operative.

LINCOLN (*Lincolia, Lincolnia, Nichole*).

The entries in the rolls show that the payments due from the moneyers of Lincoln, as a body, were very substantial. The names of six moneyers are preserved to us through the coins of the first type of Henry II., but these do not include Achard, named in the rolls for 14, 15, and 16 Henry II., but on the other hand, coins bearing the name of Raven, the moneyer of Lincoln, named in the rolls for 16 and 17 Henry II. are still in evidence.

LONDON (*Lundonia, Londonia*).

That the fate of a moneyer who was found guilty of coining false money was far from a happy one is shown by an entry in the roll of 2 Henry II., when a payment of 6s. 8*d.* is allowed to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex "for the mutilation (*disfaciendo*) of a false moneyer." This is immediately followed by an allowance of 5*s.* for the similar treatment of William Osmund, but it is not disclosed whether he was or was not a moneyer. The name does not occur on coins of this issue of London.

Girard (*i.e.* Gerard) is mentioned in 5 Henry II., and Geoffrey in 5 and 6 Henry II., and coins bearing the latter name are in existence to-day. Robert the moneyer, who, with Roger Ulketel, was an "approver" of the king, is named in the roll of 9 Henry II., and coins bearing this name are included in this series. The roll of Henry's 14th year is the richest as regards the names of individual moneyers, and it contains those of the following, who contributed to the aid on the occasion of the marriage of the king's daughter, Matilda :—

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Achard.          | 6. Godfrey de Castell. |
| 2. Lefwin Besant.   | 7. Turkil.             |
| 3. Ailwin Finch.    | 8. Peter Merefn.       |
| 4. Ædmund Seintier. | 9. Peter de Salerna.   |
| 5. John Peucier.    | 10. Godwin Ladubur.    |

Coins of all these, save Achard, Turkil, and Godwin, are in evidence. Achard seems never to have paid any part of the 100s. levied upon him and it is quite likely that he removed to Lincoln, where this Berkshire name occurs in the rolls for 14, 15, and 16 Henry II. The surnames disclosed by the roll are an interesting feature, and especially is this so in the case of the two Peters, Peter Merefin, and Peter de Salerna, for the legends **PIRES : MER** etc., and **PIRES : SAL :** on our London coins are now explained.

Abbreviations of the respective surnames of two moneyers having the same Christian name, who were coining contemporaneously, were added to distinguish their respective outputs. John Peucier is also called in later rolls, John le Pealcer, the French equivalent of the English name Skinner.

#### LYNN (*Lenna*).

The rolls from 1 to 22 Henry II. do not contain any reference to a moneyer at this place, but the reading **✠ ROGIER : ON : LEN** on the coin recorded, and the occurrence of coins coupled with certain records of moneyers of this place of later times seem to render it certain that it possessed a mint at this period.

#### NEWCASTLE (*Novum Castellum*).

The only name occurring on the coins of this place is William, variously spelt, and in 6 Henry II. we find under Northumberland that William the moneyer rendered and paid an account of 10 marks. In 12 Henry II. and some subsequent years, mention is made of Wilechin (also Wilekin) the son of the moneyer of Newcastle, but the entries in no way imply the death of William the father. The roll of 22 Henry II. contains the following interesting entry:—"And for furnishing two ships to carry the lead which the king gave to the Church of Grosmund from *Newcastle* to Rochelle £12 9s. 4d. by writ of the king and by the view of Ralph Baard and *William the Moneyer*."

NORTHAMPTON (*Norhamtona*, *Norhantona*).

The rolls contain many references to the moneyers of Northampton, as a body. In the roll of 6 Henry II. the returns for Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire are entered together. Mention is there made of Thomas the moneyer and his debt, originally of 100s., but reduced in that year to 46s. 8d. All subsequent entries concerning this Thomas are under "Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire." In 9 Henry II. he paid 20s. and still owed 2 marks. The roll of 11 Henry II. records the debt but states that Thomas has fled into Scotland. By 13 Henry II. we get the further addition "and he is dead." The name Thomas does not appear on any Northampton coins of this issue. It is possible that he was a moneyer of Buckingham, but more probably of Bedford, but coins of neither place of the type then current are preserved to us. In 19, 20 and 21 Henry II. we have mention of the moneyer Engelram (or Engclaram) who is doubtless the Engelram of the "unappropriated" coin bearing that name. The **INGERAS** of the Northampton coins is probably the same person, and the slight variation is probably due to a misreading of the coin, at any rate as regards the last letter.

NORWICH (*Norwicum*).

Under Norfolk and Suffolk there are many entries relating to the moneyers of Norwich, but as regards individuals the only names appearing both in the Rolls and on the coins are:—

Gillebert,  
Hugh (Fitz Cecilia),  
Richard.

Gillebert seems to have removed from Norwich into Essex and to have again returned to Norwich, a process which gave the sheriffs much trouble as the duplicated entries on the rolls clearly show. The "unappropriated" coin reading **✠ GIL . . . . : ON : L** (? **LE**) may be a coin of this moneyer struck at Colchester or London. Richard, who owed £10, is stated in 10 Henry II. to have fled into Scotland, but by 14 Henry II. he has returned to Norwich and then reduces his debt



to £9 6s. 8d. He further reduced the amount by small payments to £6 13s. 4d. which was the sum owing in 21 Henry II. when an attempt was made to collect it from the moneyers of Norwich as a body, but without effect, for in the next year the entry is removed by a pardon by the King's writ to John, Bishop of Norwich, a circumstance which would seem to show that Richard was a moneyer of the Bishop.

The following names appearing in the rolls under Norfolk and Suffolk have not been identified with those appearing on coins struck at places in either county.

Albold (or Albod).  
 Aluric (sometimes called Alured).  
 David.  
 Geoffrey.  
 Goscelin (or Joscelin).  
 Jordan.  
 Osbert.  
 Thort (or Thord).  
 Wiger.

but there are coins of York bearing the name of Jordan as moneyer.

The allowances made to the sheriffs from the fixed firma of the counties show that Norwich did not always exercise the privilege of working its full quota of moneyers. In 18 Henry II. there were two short, in the following year four, in 20, 21, and 22 Henry II. five, and in 23 Henry II. as many as six deficient.

#### NOTTINGHAM (*Notingeham*).

No coins of this issue have yet been attributed to this place. The roll of 4 Henry II. records that the moneyers of Nottingham owe 43 marks, and that of the next year records the payment of 40 marks, leaving 40s. remaining due. As regards Walchelinus the Moneyer see under Derby.

#### OXFORD (*Oxineforda*, *Oxeneforda*).

The moneyers of Oxford, as a body, are mentioned in the rolls of 5 and 7 Henry II., in the latter year in conjunction with the borough

of Oxford. Adam the moneyer is specifically named in 21 Henry II., and coins bearing his name are in existence.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY (*Burgus de Sancto Ædmondo*).

There is no mention in the rolls of this place connecting it with the coinage, except that the moneyer Ralph, named in 9 Henry II. and subsequent years, would be the **RAVL** and **ROVLF** of the undoubted coins of this important town.

SALISBURY (*Sarisberia, Saresberia*).

None of the names of the moneyers appearing in the rolls under Wiltshire can be identified with either Daniel or Levric, the names which are disclosed to us by coins attributed to this place. The longest form of the mint name on these is **SALEBR** (Royal Mint Collection), which may be an abbreviation of Salopesberia.

SHREWSBURY (*Salopesberia*).

The roll of 5 Henry II. under the *Nova placita* records a payment by the sheriff of 100s. for the moneyers. In the following year Warin the moneyer is mentioned as owing 10 marks, 5 of which he paid. Apart from the coins attributed to Salisbury, Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's coin of this mint is the only specimen known. It has the very satisfactory reading **SALOPES** for the mint name. The name of the moneyer is not decipherable from the illustration, but the spacing is just correct for ✠ **W(or P)ARIN : ON :** It is possible that a further examination of the coin in the light of this evidence may disclose sufficient of the lettering to determine the name of the moneyer.

STAFFORD (*Stafforda*).

The roll of 5 Henry II. records that the sheriff paid 1 mark of silver for the moneyers of Stafford. In the following year Colebrant the moneyer rendered and paid an account of 2 marks. He is, of course, the Colebrand of the coins of Stafford, and his is the only name appearing for this place. This is one of the most marked and

valuable of the identifications established beyond question by the evidence of the Pipe Rolls, the reading **STAF**, as the name of the mint, having been questioned as a possible contraction of **STANF** (Stamford).

STAMFORD (*Stanford*)

There is no entry in the rolls 1 to 22 Henry II. which affords any evidence as to a mint or moneyers at Stamford, nor are the readings of the mint name on the coins sufficient to establish the attribution beyond question.<sup>1</sup>

TAUNTON (*Tantona*).

According to the Catalogue of the Royal Mint Collection there is a coin of this issue (No. 333 in the Catalogue) which reads **✠ R . . . N . R : ON : TAN** The rolls contain no information, confirmatory or otherwise, of there being a mint here at this period.

THETFORD (*Thedford, Theford, Tedford, Thefford, Teford, Tiefford*).

The entries in the rolls concerning Thetford are contained under Norfolk and Suffolk. Payments and allowances relating to the moneyers of Thetford are of frequent occurrence. In 14 Henry II. Turstan and William Fitz Derewold (and ?) William de Wiclewuda, moneyers of Thetford, paid 5½ marks as an aid on the occasion of the marriage of the King's daughter. On the same occasion the moneyers of Norwich rendered an account of 10 marks, so that it may be inferred that Thetford was of a little more than half the importance of Norwich at this time. Coins of this mint bearing the names of Turstan and William are not uncommon. The catalogue issued by the Deputy Keeper of the Royal Mint in 1906 erroneously assigns some coins, obviously of Thetford, to the impossible mint of Tensford. There is a coin of Thetford by a moneyer whose name begins with **E**,

<sup>1</sup> They bear the mint name **STA••** and in some, if not all cases, the **S** is retrograde —2. Mr. Andrew writes that this peculiarity occurs in Stephen's reign on coins of *Stafford*, which are also ornamented with extra pellets.

the remainder being illegible, which may be by the moneyer Edward named in the roll of 6 Henry II.

WAINFLEET (*Villata de Weinfleet*).

The coin of this issue which has been read \* **WALTIER : ON :** **WAIN** is the sole reason for the suggestion that this place ever possessed a mint. Probably the coin, if available for inspection, would prove to be one of Durham. If the first letter is not a Roman **W** but **D** misread **P**, the error is easy of conception. The rolls in no way assist this attribution.

WALLINGFORD (*Warengesford*).

The rolls contain no evidence as to a mint at this ancient and important town, but the readings on the coins leave no room for doubt that the mint still continued to be in operation at this date. They preserve the older rendering Wali for Walingaford.

WARWICK (*Warewic*).

Edred the moneyer is named in the rolls of 4 and 5 Henry II., but no coins of this issue bearing his name are known, nor have any yet been assigned to this ancient mint.

WILTON (*Wiltona*).

The Pipe Rolls contain many entries relating to the moneyers of Wiltshire and of Wilton. That of 4 Henry II. refers to an allowance of 18s. 4d. for making the *polas* of the moneyers. The ordinary meaning of *pola* is a pole or perch, but *polas* may here mean polls and refer to the election of the moneyers which took place annually at Winchester, London, etc., when the offices were offered at a price (like toll bars) and the citizens voted. Of the names appearing on the coins the unusual forms Anschetil (or Anscetil) and Lantier appear in the rolls, together with the more usual name William. No coins bearing the names of Alured, Hubert, Ivo, Reginald, or Wineman, all moneyers of Wiltshire named in the rolls, have yet been noted.

WINCHESTER (*Wintonia*).

The moneyers of Winchester are mentioned as a body in the rolls of 5, 7 and 14 Henry II. The amount paid by them for the aid in the marriage of the King's daughter was only 106s. 8d. The roll of 13 Henry II. contains a curious record of a fine of 100s. imposed on Herbert Fitz Westman and certain moneyers because they had fabricated together in one house. Whether the offence was that of making false money or was the making of the money in one place together, instead of in the respective houses of the several moneyers, or, as Mr. Andrew would contend, making it in a private house instead of in the appointed public place of minting, is difficult to determine. The name Herebert (also rendered Herbert) appears on the existing coins of Winchester. None of the other Winchester names which occur on the coins are mentioned in the rolls.

WORCESTER (*Wirecestria, Wircestre, Wigornia*).

The mint and moneyers of Worcester are frequently mentioned in the rolls. The names of Ælard (or Alard) Godfrey, Stephen and Wulfric (or Wuluric) also occur. None of these in any way correspond with the names Nicole and Robert which are those appearing on the coins attributed to Worcester. The name is rendered **VIP=VIW**, **PIP=WIW** and **WIW**, which probably indicate Wiwrecestria.

YORK (*Everwich, Eboracum*).

The rolls contain some interesting entries as to the mint and moneyers of York. The William whose name appears on the coins was probably William de Bretegate, who in 17 Henry II. owed 20 marks that he might be relieved from the custody of the mint. In the preceding year Gerard Fitz Lefwin paid 50 marks to have the coinage rights of the mint, so that it would appear that both the incoming and the outgoing officials were called upon to pay the King. Herbert the moneyer, whose name appears on the coins, is incidentally referred to in the rolls of Henry's 21st and 22nd years.

PART II.

THE MONEYS AND THEIR MINTS.

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Adam. Ilchester.	Achard. Lincolnshire.
Adam. Oxford.	Achard. London.
Adv . . . Gloucester.	Adam. Dover.
Agelhan. Norwich.	Adam. Oxford.
	Ælard } Worcestershire.
	Alard }
	Albod } Norfolk and Suffolk.
	Albold }
Alf . . . Launceston.	Alexander. Essex.
Alwin. Colchester.	Alfwin. Essex.
Alwin } London.	Ailwin Finch. London.
Alwine }	
	Aluric }
	Ailuric } Devonshire
	Ailric }
	Aluric } Norfolk and
	Alured (error) } Suffolk.
	Alured. Wiltshire.
Andreu. Chester.	
Andreu. Lincoln.	
Andreu. Winchester.	
Aschetil. Wilton.	Anschetil } Wilton.
Asc . . . Oxford.	Anscetil }

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
<p>Colbrand. Stafford. Daniel. Salisbury.</p> <p>De . . . . London. E . . . . . Thetford. Edmund. London.</p> <p>Edw . . . . Exeter. Elaf. Bristol.</p> <p>Engelram (unap- propriated), see also Ingeras } Northampton. and En . . . . nd }</p> <p>Fulche. Wallingford.</p> <p>Geffrei } London. Geffri }</p> <p>Gillebert } Norwich. Gilebert }</p> <p>Gil . . . . . L . . . . . Godefroi } London. Godefei }</p>	<p>Colbert. Dorset. Colbrant. Stafford.</p> <p>David. Norfolk and Suffolk.</p> <p>Edward. Norfolk and Suffolk. Ædmund Seintier. London. Edred. Warwickshire.</p> <p>Engelram } Northampton. Engelaram }</p> <p>Gaufridus (Geoffrey). London. Geoffrey. Norfolk and Suffolk. Gerard. Grimsby. Gerard Fitz Lefwin. York. Girard. London. Gillebert. Norfolk and Suffolk, Norwich. Gillebert. Essex (removed to Norwich).</p> <p>Godefridus de Castell. London.</p> <p>Godefridus. Gloucester.</p>



On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Godric. Lincoln.	God̄ (Godefridus). Worcester- shire.
Godwine. York.	Godwin Ladubur. London.
Goldhauc } Goldhavoc } Canterbury. Goldhavocc }	
Guncelin. Exeter.	Goscelinus. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Henri. St. Edmundsbury.	
Herberd } Herbert } York.	Herbert. York.
Herbert. Norwich.	
Herbert. Winchester.	Herebert Fitz Westman. Win- chester.
Herebert. Norwich.	
Hereman. Winchester.	Hubert. Wiltshire.
Hue } Hw } Norwich. Hwe }	Hugh Fitz Cecilia. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Humfrei } Hunfrei } London.	
Ingeras. Northampton.	Ilbert. Exeter.
Johan. Durham.	Ivo. Wiltshire.
	Engelram. Northampton.
	John Fitz Robert. Canterbury.

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Johan. London.	John Peucier } John Pealcier } London. John le Pealcer } (= the Skinner).
Jordan. York.	Jordan. Norfolk and Suffolk. Jocelin } Joscelin } Norfolk and Suffolk.
Lafram. Lincoln.	Lantier. Wilton.
Lantier. Wilton.	Laurñ. Dorset.
Lefwine } Liwine } London.	Lefwin Besant. London.
Levric } Livr . . } Salisbury.	
Lud . . York.	
Martin. London.	
Nicole. Gloucester.	
Nicole } Nicol } Ipswich.	
Nicole. Northampton (?)	
Nicol. Norwich.	
Nicole. Worcester.	
Picot. Norwich.	Orgarus. Sussex.
Peres } Pires } London.	Osbert. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Pieres }	Osward. Devonshire.

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
<p>Pieres : M. London }  Pires : Mer. London }  Pires : Sal : London.  Pires. Northampton.  Raven. Lincoln.  Raul } St. Edmundsbury.  Roulf }</p> <p>Re . . . . Northampton (?)  Rein . . Northampton (?)</p> <p>Reimund. Norwich.  Reiner } Norwich.  Reinier }</p> <p>R . . n . r. Stamford (?) or  Taunton (?)</p> <p>Ric . . . Colchester.  Ricard. Canterbury.</p> <p>Ricard. Exeter.  Ricard. Ilchester.  Ricard. Leicester.  Ricard. London.  Ricard. Norwich.  Ricard. Winchester.  Robert } Gloucester.  Rodbart }</p> <p>Rodbart. Hereford.  Ro . . . . Ilchester.</p>	<p>Peter Merefyn. London.</p> <p>Peter de Salerna. London.</p> <p>Raven. Lincoln.  Ralph. Norfolk and Suffolk.</p> <p>Ralph de Ria. Canterbury.</p> <p>Reginald. Wiltshire.</p> <p>Ricardus } Kent.  Ricardus Corbeille }</p> <p>Ricardus Deodatus. Canterbury.  Ricard Fitz Estrange. Exeter.</p> <p>Ricard. Norfolk and Suffolk.</p>

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Robert } Ipswich. Rodberd }	Robert. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Robert } Rodbert } Leicester. Rudbert }	
Rogier. Canterbury.	Roger the moneyer of the Arch- bishop.
Rogier. Exeter.	Roger Pechus. Cornwall.
Rogier. Lynn.	
Rogier. Oxford.	
Sa . . . Gloucester.	Salomon. Canterbury.
Siwat } Siwate } Thetford.	
Svein. Lincoln.	Stephen. Worcestershire.
Swetman. London.	
	Thomas } Buckinghamshire Tomas } and Bedfordshire.
	Turkil. London.
	Thord } Thort } Norfolk and Suffolk.
Turstan } Ipswich. Turstain }	
Turstan } Turstain } Thetford. Turstein }	Turstan. Thetford.
T . . . . d. Bristol.	
W . . Launceston.	

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Waltier. Durham.	Walchelinus. Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.
Waltier. Northampton.	
Waltier. Wainfleet (?)	
Wid } London.	Warin. Shropshire.
Wit }	
Wilam }	Wigerus. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Willelm } Carlisle.	Willelmus. Carlisle.
Willem }	
W . . . . . m. Chester.	
Wi . . . . . Colchester.	
Willam. Durham.	
Willam }	Willelmus. Newcastle.
Willelm } Newcastle.	Wilechin } his son.
Willem }	Wilekin }
Wilelm }	Willelmus. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Willelm }	
Wilem }	Willelmus. Norfolk and Suffolk.
Willam } St. Edmundsbury.	
Willelm }	
Willem }	
Willem. Stafford.	
Willam }	Willelm' Fitz Derewold } Thet-
Willelm } Thetford.	Willelm' de Wiclewuda } ford.
Willem }	

On Coins.	In the Pipe Rolls.
Willem. Wilton.	Willelmus. Wiltshire.
Willem. Winchester.	
Willem. York.	Willelm' de Bretegate. York.
Willeman. Thetford.	
Wiulf. Canterbury.	Wineman. Wiltshire.
	Wulwin } Sussex.
	Wulfwin }
	Wuluric } Worcestershire.
	Wulfric }
Wulfsi. York.	

## PART III (APPENDIX).

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND BEDFORDSHIRE.

6 Henry II. p. 37.

(See under Northamptonshire, etc.)

7 Henry II. p. 11.

*Thomas* the moneyer owes 46s. 8d.

8 Henry II. p. 40.

*Tomas* the moneyer owes 46s. 8d.

9 Henry II. p. 15.

*Thomas* the moneyer renders an account of 46s. 8d. He has paid into the treasury 20s., and he owes 2 marks.

10 Henry II. p. 30.

*Thomas* the moneyer owes 2 marks.

11 Henry II. p. 22.

*Thomas* the moneyer owes 2 marks but he has fled into Scotland.

This entry is repeated :

12 Henry II. p. 11.

13 Henry II. p. 104.

*Thomas* the moneyer owes 2 marks, but he fled into Scotland and is dead.

This entry is repeated :

14 Henry II. p. 8.

15 Henry II. p. 88.

16 Henry II. p. 26.

17 Henry II. p. 58.

18 Henry II. p. 49.

19 Henry II. p. 72.

20 Henry II. p. 83.

21 Henry II. p. 50.

CARLISLE.

5 Henry II. p. 33.

*William Fitz Erembald* renders an account of £100 for the rent of the mine. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

There are many such entries in subsequent years.

10 Henry II. p. 2.

*William* the moneyer renders an account of £200 for the mines of Carlisle. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

11 Henry II. p. 55. *Tichehella*.<sup>1</sup>

*The son of Walter* the moneyer owes the relief of one knight in *Statt*.

Geoffrey le Briton owes 10 marks for the custody of the land of *the son of Walter* the moneyer.

16 Henry II. p. 33.

*The men of William* the moneyer owe 100s. for an affray.

17 Henry II. p. 80.

*The men of William* the moneyer owe 100s. for an affray.

<sup>1</sup> Tickhill in the wapentake of Strafforth (? *Statfforth*) and Tickhill, West Riding of Yorkshire.



18 Henry II. p. 70.

*The men of William* the moneyer render an account of 100s. for an affray. They have paid into the treasury 26s. 8d., and they owe 73s. 4d.

19 Henry II. p. 114.

*The men of William* the moneyer render an account of 73s. 4d. for an affray. They have paid into the treasury 2s., and they owe 71s. 4d.

23 Henry II. p. 121.

*The men of William* the moneyer owe 71s. 4d. for an affray.

#### DEVONSHIRE.

3 Henry II. p. 75.

*Ilbert* the moneyer renders an account of £11 16s. 8d. for his debt. He has paid 100s. into the treasury and he owes £6 16s. 8d.

4 Henry II. p. 159.

*Ilbert* the moneyer renders an account of £6 16s. 8d. of the plea of Henry of Essex. He has paid 26s. 8d. into the treasury, and he owes 110s.

p. 160.

The same sheriff (namely, William de Boterell) renders an account of 100s. for the *dies of the moneyers*. He has paid it to Ralph Fitz Stephen in the King's Court, and he is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of 20 marks of silver for *Roger Peck* (*Pechus*) the moneyer of *Cornwall*. He has paid it to Hugh de St. Clare by writ of the king, and he is quit.

*Richard Fitz Esirange* the moneyer of Exeter owes 100 marks of silver for his redemption.

5 Henry II. p. 41.

*Ilbert* the moneyer renders an account of 110s. for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 40s., and he owes 70s.

*Richard Fitz Estrate* renders an account of 100 marks for his redemption.

*(Nova placita, etc.)*

The same sheriff (namely, William de Boterell) renders an account of £136 13s. 4d. for the moneyers. He has paid into the treasury £48 6s. 8d. in three tallies, and he owes 10 marks.

The same sheriff owes 20 marks for *Ailric* the moneyer.

The same sheriff owes 80 marks for *Oswald* the moneyer.

6 Henry II. p. 51.

*The Burgesses of Exeter.*

*Ilbert* the moneyer owes 70s.

The same sheriff (namely, William de Boterell) renders an account of 10 marks for the *moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury 100s., and he owes 33s. 4d.

The same sheriff renders an account for 20 marks for *Ailric* the moneyer. He has paid into the treasury 10 marks and he owes 10 marks.

*Oswald* the moneyer renders an account of £53 6s. 8d. for his debt. He has paid into the treasury £16 15s. 4d. in two tallies.

7 Henry II. p. 28. *(Nova placita, etc.)*

The same sheriff (namely, Hugo de Ralega) renders an account of the old debt of the *moneyers* of 33s. 4d. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

*Oswald* the moneyer renders an account of £22 2s. 11d. He has paid into the treasury 60s. and he owes £19 9s. 7d.

*Aluric* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid into the treasury 33s. 4d., and he owes 100s.

p. 29.

And the same sheriff renders an account of 100 marks for the *moneyers of Exeter*. He has paid into the treasury 40 marks.

## 8 Henry II. p. 4.

*Osward* the moneyer renders an account of £19 9s. 8d.  
He has paid into the treasury 6s., and he owes  
£19 3s. 7d.

*Ailuric* the moneyer renders an account of 100s. He has  
paid into the treasury 2 marks in two tallies, and he  
owes 73s. 4d.

## 9 Henry II. p. 12.

The same sheriff (namely, Hugo de Ralea) renders an  
account of £19 3s. 7d. for *Osward* the moneyer. He  
has paid into the treasury 6s., and he owes £18 17s. 7d.

*Ailric* the moneyer renders an account of 73s. 4d. of his debt.  
He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

## 10 Henry II. p. 19.

The same sheriff (namely, Hugo de Ralega) renders an  
account of £18 17s. 7d. for *Osward* the moneyer. He  
has paid into the treasury 6s., and he owes £18 11s. 7d.

## 11 Henry II. p. 79.

The same sheriff (Hugo de Ralega) renders an account of  
£18 11s. 7d. for *Osward* the moneyer. In pardon by  
the king's writ to the sheriff himself 6s., and he owes  
£18 5s. 7d.

## 12 Henry II. p. 93.

The same sheriff (Hugo de Ralega) owes £18 5s. 7d. for  
*Osward* the moneyer.

## 13 Henry II. p. 169.

The same sheriff (Hugo de Ralega) owes £18 5s. 7d. for  
*Osward* the moneyer.

## 14 Henry II. pp. 125-6.

*Osward* the moneyer owes £18 5s. 7d. for a fine, but he  
has fled, and Eustace Fitz Stephen has his house,  
which was in the king's hand, by writ of the  
king.

This entry is repeated 15 Henry II. p. 48, and 16 Henry II.  
p. 98.

p. 133.

The *moneyers* of the same City (*Exeter*) owe 20 marks.

15 Henry II. p. 51.

The *moneyers of Exeter* render an account of 20 marks.

They have paid it into the treasury, and they are quit.

17 Henry II. p. 25.

*Osward* the moneyer owes £18 5s. 7d. for a fine, but he has fled, and *Eustace Fitz Stephen* has his house, which was in the king's hand for the same debt.

This entry is repeated.

18 Henry II. p. 99.

19 Henry II. p. 144.

20 Henry II. p. 90.

21 Henry II. p. 60.

DORSET.

5 Henry II. p. 43.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, *Warner de Lisoriis*) renders an account of 20 marks for the moneyers of *Dorchester* (*Dorecestria*). He has paid it into the treasury in two tallies and is quit.

6 Henry II. p. 42.

The same sheriff (namely, *Warner de Lisoriis*) renders an account of 13s. 4d. for *Colbert* the moneyer. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of 26s. 8d. for *Laurñ* the moneyer. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

ESSEX.

4 Henry II. p. 135. Colchester.

And in default of *moneyers* for one year 60s.

5 Henry II. p. 5. Essex.

*Alexander* the moneyer owes £20 by the pledge of *William de Lanvalein*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to this *William de Lanvalai* see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 115 et seq.

p. 7. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s. and he (the acting sheriff) is quit.

6 Henry II. p. 11.

*Alexander* the moneyer owes £20 by the suretyship of William de Lanvalein.

p. 12. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s. and he is quit.

7 Henry II. p. 68. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s.

And the same (namely, Richard de Luci) renders an account of 40s. for *Alfwin* the moneyer. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

8 Henry II. Colchester. p. 11.

And in default of *the mint* 60s.

#### ESSEX AND HERTFORDSHIRE.

9 Henry II. p. 23.

*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £10. He has paid into the treasury 26s. 8d., and he owes £8 13s. 4d.

p. 24. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s.

10 Henry II. p. 37.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £8 13s. 4d.

p. 38. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint (monete)* 60s.

11 Henry II. p. 17.

*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £8 13s. 4d. He has paid into the treasury 10s. and he owes £8 3s. 4d.

p. 21. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s.

12 Henry II. p. 124.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £8 3s. 4d.

p. 127. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* 60s.

13 Henry II. p. 154.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £8 3s. 4d.

p. 158. Colchester.

And in default of *the mint* £4 for this year.

This entry is repeated each year from 14 to 23 Henry II.

14 Henry II. p. 37.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £8 3s. 4d. for a fine, but he ought to be sought for in Norfolk.

This entry is repeated each year 15 to 22 Henry II.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

5 Henry II. p. 27.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff, namely, William de Beauchamp (de Bello-campo) renders an account for £66 13s. 4d. for the *donum* of the borough of *Gloucester* (*Glocestria*). He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of 13 marks, the *donum* of the *moneyers*.

He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

7 Henry II. p. 23.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

. . . .<sup>1</sup> marks for the *moneyers* of *Gloucester*. He has paid into the treasury 11 marks.

8 Henry II. p. 60.

*The moneyers* of *Gloucester* owe 9 marks.

9 Henry II. p. 9.

*The moneyers* of *Gloucester* owe 9 marks of assize by the suretyship of William de Beauchamp.

10 Henry II. p. 18.

*The moneyers* of *Gloucester* owe £6 of assize by the suretyship of William de Beauchamp.

<sup>1</sup> The missing words may be surmised to be "The same sheriff renders an account of 20."

11 Henry II. p. 12.

*The moneyers of Gloucester* render an account of £6 of assize by the suretyship of William de Beauchamp. They have paid into the treasury 40s. and they owe £4.

12 Henry II. p. 78.

*The moneyers of Gloucester* render an account of £4 of old assize. They have paid into the treasury 40s. and they owe 40s. by the suretyship of William de Beauchamp.

13 Henry II. p. 142.

*The moneyers of Gloucester* render an account of 40s. of old assize. They have paid it into the treasury and they are quit.

19 Henry II. p. 154.

*Godfrey* (Godefridus) the moneyer renders an account of 20s. for a gift (*Donum*). He has paid it into the treasury and he is quit.

#### HAMPSHIRE.

5 Henry II. p. 46. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Turstin) renders an account of £24 13s. 4d. for the *moneyers of Winchester* (*Wintonia*). He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

7 Henry II. p. 57.

The same sheriff (namely, Richard Fitz Turstin) renders an account of £20 for the *moneyers of Winchester*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

13 Henry II. p. 193. City of Winchester.

*Herebert Fitz Westman* and *certain moneyers* render an account of 100s. for a fine because they have fabricated together in one house (*q'a fabricavērt simt in una domo*). They have paid it into the treasury and are quit.

14 Henry II. p. 181. City of Winchester.

The same [sheriff] (Richard Fitz Turstin) for the *aid* of the *moneyers* 106s. 8d. He has paid it into the treasury in 5 tallies and he is quit.



HEREFORDSHIRE IN WALES.

7 Henry II. p. 21. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, William de Beauchamp) renders an account of £4 for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

KENT.

4 Henry II. p. 181. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Ralph Picot) renders an account of 60s. for the *dies of the moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

p. 185. Dover.

*Adam* the moneyer owes 50 marks of silver for his redemption through the pledge of Ralph Picot through Simon de Criville.

5 Henry II. p. 59. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Ralph Picot) renders an account of 50 marks for *Adam* the moneyer of *Dover*. He has paid into the treasury £6 18s. 10d.

13 Henry II. p. 201. The Archbishopric of Canterbury.

And in payment to a *moneyer* who received the rent of the archbishopric for a whole year, 20s.

This entry is repeated.

14 Henry II. p. 153.

15 Henry II. p. 165.

16 Henry II. p. 161.

17 Henry II. p. 142.

18 Henry II. p. 139.

19 Henry II. p. 87.

*Richard* the moneyer owes 4 marks for the same assize.

*Roger the moneyer of the Archbishop* owes 3 marks for the same assize.

21 Henry II. p. 218.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of 4 marks for the

same assize. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

*Roger the moneyer of the Archbishop* owes 3 marks for the same assize.

p. 220.

*Richard Corbeille* the moneyer renders an account of 60 marks for the chattels of Flemings and of foreign merchants. He has paid into the treasury 40 marks, and he owes 20 marks.

22 Henry II. p. 208.

*Roger* the moneyer renders an account of 40s. for the same assize. In pardon by writ of the King to *Roger* himself 40s. And he is quit.

p. 209.

*Richard Corbeille* the moneyer renders an account of 20 marks for chattels of Flemings and of foreign merchants. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

23 Henry II. p. 208.

Concerning the fine of the moneyers of Canterbury.

*Ralph de Ria moneyer of Canterbury and his wife* render an account of 1,000 marks for their fine. They have paid into the treasury 100 marks. And they owe £600.

*John Fitz Robert* owes 400 marks for his fine.

*Richard Corbeill* 100 marks for his fine.

*Salomon and Richard Deodatus* owe 600 marks for the same.

For the aforesaid debts of the moneyers the sheriff has sureties, and he ought to receive more in the county by order of the justices.

#### LEICESTERSHIRE.

2 Henry II. p. 45.

And for the conduct of *false moneyers* 12s. 6d.

#### LINCOLNSHIRE.

3 Henry II. p. 83.

*Gerard*, moneyer of *Grimsby*, renders an account of one mark

of gold. He has paid into the treasury £6 for one mark of gold, and he is quit.

4 Henry II. p. 138.

The *moneyers of Lincoln* render an account of £220. They have paid into the treasury £26 13s. 4d. and owe £193 6s. 8d.

5 Henry II. p. 64.

The *old moneyers* render an account of £193 6s. 8d. They have paid into the treasury £84 9s. 4d. in two tallies, and they owe £108 17s. 4d.

p. 65. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Walter de Amundevilla) renders an account of £66 13s. 4d. for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

6 Henry II. p. 45.

And in gifts by writ of the Queen £6 13s. 4d. to a *certain moneyer*.

The *old moneyers* render an account of £108 17s. 4d. They have paid into the treasury £26 8s. 10d. and they owe £82 8s. 6d.

7 Henry II. p. 16.

The *old moneyers* owe £82 8s. 6d.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

The *moneyers of Lincoln* render an account of £80. It has been paid into the treasury in two tallies, and they are quit.

8 Henry II. p. 17.

The *old moneyers* owe £82 8s. 6d.

9 Henry II. p. 66.

The *old moneyers* owe £82 8s. 6d., of whom four are dead and of the others nothing is found by the faith of the sheriff.

10 Henry II. p. 23.

The *old moneyers* owe £82 8s. 6d., of whom four are dead and of the others nothing is found.

This entry is repeated 11 to 21 Henry II.

13 Henry II. p. 51.

Randolph Ruffus renders an account of 106s. 1d. for an old fine of *the moneyers of Lincoln*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

14 Henry II. p. 68.

*Achard* the moneyer owes half a mark for default.

15 Henry II. p. 12.

Richard Pateriz and *Achard* the moneyer owe one mark for default.

16 Henry II. p. 144.

*Achard* the moneyer renders an account of half a mark for a default. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

p. 150.

*Raven* the moneyer of *Lincoln* owes two marks for having the right of succession to his debt which Andreas of Norwich owed to him and his heirs.

17 Henry II. p. 110.

And *Raven* the moneyer renders an account of two marks for right of succession to his debts.

#### LONDON.

2 Henry II. p. 4.

And in payment for the mutilating of a *false moneyer* 6s. 8d.  
And for the mutilating of *William Osmund* 5s.

4 Henry II. p. 114.

And the same sheriffs (namely, Reiner Fitz Berengar, Geoffrey the Bursar, Josce the Vintner, Richard Vitullus and Brihtmar de Haverhell) render an account of £12 by number for the commutation of the *minting* right. *He* (sic) has paid it into the Treasury and *is* (sic) quit.

5 Henry II. p. 2.

And in payment of *Girard* the moneyer 9s. 8d. (owing).

*Geoffrey* (*Gaufridus*) the moneyer owes 10 marks.

The same sheriffs (namely, Gervase de Cornhill and John

Fitz Ralph) render an account of  $62\frac{1}{2}$  marks for the *minting* rights. They have paid into the treasury £27 6s. 8d.

6 Henry II. p. 14.

*Geoffrey* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks and he owes 5 marks.

7 Henry II. p. 18.

The *moneyers of London* render an account of £40. They have paid into the treasury £34 13s. 4d., and they owe 106s. 8d.

And the same (namely, the citizens of London) render account of £18 6s. 8d., for the chattels of the *moneyers*, and they are quit.

9 Henry II. p. 72.

And in payments to Roger Ulketel and to *Robert* the moneyer, approvers of the King, 43s. 2d.

11 Henry II. p. 33.

The *moneyers of London* render an account of 40 marks of assize for the same army (*i.e.*, of Wales). They have paid into the treasury £20, and they owe 10 marks.

12 Henry II. p. 132.

The *moneyers of London* owe 10 marks for the same old army (of Wales).

13 Henry II. p. 3.

The *moneyers of London* render an account of 10 marks for the same army. They have paid it into the treasury and are quit.

14 Henry II. p. 5.

Concerning the aid of the moneyers of London for the marrying of the daughter of the King.

*Achard* the moneyer owes 100s.

*Lefwin Besant* renders an account of 5 marks. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

*Ailwin Finch* owes 2 marks.

*Ædmund Seintier* renders an account of 3 marks. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

*John Peucier* owes 2 marks.

*Godfrey de Castell* renders an account of 33s. 4d. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

p. 6.

*Turkil* his companion renders an account of 2 marks. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

*Peter Merefin* owes 1 mark.

*Peter de Salerna* owes 2 marks.

*Godwin Ladubur* renders an account of half a mark. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

15 Henry II. p. 172.

Concerning the aid of *the moneyers of London* for the marrying of the daughter of the King.

*Achard the moneyer* owes 100s., but he has gone to Jerusalem.

*Ailwin Finch* owes 2 marks.

*John Pealcier* owes 2 marks.

*Peter Merefin* owes 1 mark.

*Peter de Salerna* owes 2 marks.

These entries are repeated 16 to 21 Henry II.

22 Henry II. p. 14.

*Ailwin Finch* renders an account of 2 marks for the same aid. He has paid it into the treasury, and he is quit.

*Peter de Salerna* renders an account of 2 marks for the same aid. In pardon by writ of the King to the Bishop of London, and he is quit.

#### NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.

4 Henry II. p. 125.

And in default of the *moneyers of Ipswich* £4.

p. 126.

And in default of the *moneyers of Thetford* 40s.

The same sheriff (namely, William de Caisneto) renders an

account of 40s. for the commutation of the mint of *Ipswich*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

p. 131.

*William* the moneyer renders an account of 20 marks of silver. He has paid into the treasury 10 marks of silver. And he owes 10 marks of silver.

5 Henry II. p. 8.

And in default of the *moneyers of Ipswich* and of *Thetford* £6.

p. 9.

And the same sheriff (namely, William de Caisneto) renders an account of £12 for the *Exchange* of the money. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

p. 11.

The same sheriff renders an account of £40 for *Gillibert* the moneyer. He has paid into the treasury £15 6s. 8d. in two tallies and he owes £24 13s. 4d.

The same sheriff owes £31 13s. 4d. for the *moneyers* of last year.

The same sheriff renders an account of 100s. for *Aluric* the moneyer. He has paid 50s. in two tallies and he owes 50s.

p. 12.

The same sheriff renders an account of £33 6s. 8d. for the *moneyers of Norwich*. He has paid it into the treasury in two tallies and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of 5 marks for the *moneyers of Thetford*. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

p. 13.

*Osbert* and *Albold*, moneyers, owe 4 marks.

*David* the moneyer owes 1 mark.

*Geoffrey* (*Gaufridus*) the moneyer owes 1 mark.

6 Henry II. p. 2.

And in default of the *moneyers of Thetford* and of *Ipswich* £6.



p. 3.

*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £24 13s. 4d.

He has paid into the treasury £8 6s. 8d. in two tallies and he owes £16 6s. 8d.

6 Henry II. p. 3.

*Edward* the moneyer renders an account of £6 8s. 5d. He

has paid into the treasury 45s. 1d. and he owes £4 3s. 4d.

The *old moneyers* owe £23 15s.

p. 4.

*Osbert* and *Albod* the moneyers owe 1 mark.*David* the moneyer owes 1 mark.*Geoffrey* the moneyer owes 1 mark.

7 Henry II. p. 2.

And in default of the *moneyers* of *Thetford* and of *Ipswich* £6.*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £16 6s. 8d. He

has paid into the treasury £6 in two tallies and he owes £10 6s. 8d.

The *old moneyers* owe £23 15s.*Osbert* and *Albod* render an account of 1 mark. They have paid it into the treasury and are (is) quit.*David* the moneyer renders an account of 1 mark. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.*Geoffrey* the moneyer renders an account of 1 mark. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.p. 4. (*Nova placita, etc.*)The same sheriff (namely, William de Caisnei) renders an account of £200 for the *donum* of *Norwich*. He has paid into the treasury £189 6s. 8d. and he owes £10 and 1 mark.The same sheriff renders an account of 100 marks for the *moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury £56 13s. 4d. and he owes £10.

The same sheriff renders an account of 10 marks for

*Tefford (Thetford).* He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

p. 5.

The same sheriff renders an account of 10 marks for the *moneyers* [of Thetford]. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

8 Henry II. p. 62.

And in default of the *moneyers of Thetford* and of *Ipswich* 40s.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £10.

The *old moneyers* owe £23 15s.

p. 63.

The same sheriff (namely, William de Caisnei) owes £10 for *Richard* the moneyer.

9 Henry II. p. 28.

And in default of the *moneyers of Thetford* and of *Ipswich* 40s.\*

p. 29.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £10 but he should be sought for in Essex.

*Thort* the moneyer and *Ralph, Goscelin, Jordan* and *Aluric* owe £23 15s.

This entry is repeated 10 to 12 Henry II.

10 Henry II. p. 33.

And in default of the *moneyers of Norwich* 20s.

*Richard* the moneyer owes £10 but he has fled into Scotland.

11 Henry II. p. 3.

And in default of the *moneyers of Norwich* 20s.

*Richard* the moneyer owes £10 but he has fled into Scotland.

p. 6.

*Robert* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks for the mint (*Cuneo*). He has paid it into the treasury in two tallies and he is quit.

p. 9.

The same sheriff (namely, Oger Dapifer) renders an account of 40s. for the *moneyers of Norwich*.

12 Henry II. p. 18.

*Richard* the moneyer owes £10 but he has fled into Scotland.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £8 3s. 4d. and he is accountable in Essex.

13 Henry II. p. 17.

And in default of *a moneyer of Norwich* 20s.

*Thord* the moneyer and *Ralph, Joscelin, Jordan* and *Aluric* owe £23 15s., but certain of them are dead and others have nothing.

This entry is repeated 13 to 15 Henry II.

*Richard* the moneyer owes £10.

14 Henry II. p. 15.

And in default of the *mint of Norwich* 20s.

p. 17.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £10 for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 13s. 4d. and he owes £9 6s. 8d.

p. 26.

*Turstan* and *William Fitz Derewold, William de Wiclewuda, moneyers of Thetford*, render an account of 5 marks and a half for the same aid. In payment by the King's writ to Reginald de Wař for his scutage which the King had pardoned him, and they are quit.

The *moneyers of Norwich* render an account of 10 marks for the same aid. In payment by the King's writ to Reginald de Wař 116s. 8d. for his scutage which the King pardoned him, and they owe 16s. 8d.

15 Henry II. p. 93.

And in default of the *mint of Norwich* 20s.

And in default of *one moneyer of Thetford* 5s. for a fourth part of the year.

p. 96.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £9 6s. 8d. for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 1 mark and he owes £8 13s. 4d.

The *moneyers of Norwich* owe 16s. 8d. for the same (aid).

p. 105.

*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £8 3s. 4d. for a fine which they required in Essex. He has paid into the treasury 40s. and he owes £6 3s. 4d.

*Wiger* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks for his redemption. He has paid into the treasury 3 marks and he owes 7 marks.

16 Henry II. p. 2.

And in default of the *mint of Norwich* 10s.

And in default of *one moneyer of Thetford* 10s.

p. 4.

And in default of *two moneyers at Norwich and Thetford* 20s.

p. 5.

*Thord* the moneyer and *Ralph, Jocelin, Jordan and Alured* old moneyers owe £23 5s. But some are dead, some have nothing.

This entry is repeated 17 to 21 Henry II.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £8 13s. 4d. for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 13s. 4d., and he owes £8.

p. 7.

The *moneyers of Norwich* render an account of 16s. 8d. for the same aid (marriage of the King's daughter). They have paid it into the treasury and are quit.

p. 10.

*Gillebert* the moneyer renders an account of £6 3s. 4d. for a fine which was being sought for in Essex.

*Wiger* the moneyer renders an account of 7 marks for his redemption. He has paid into the treasury 30s. 4d., and he owes 63s.

17 Henry II. p. 2.

And in default of the *mint of Norwich* 30s.

And in default of *one moneyer of Thetford* 20s.

p. 4.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £8 for a fine.

He has paid into the treasury 1 mark and he owes £7 and half a mark.

p. 8.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £6 3s. 4d. for a fine which they sought in vain in Essex.

*Wiger the moneyer* owes 63s. for his redemption.

This entry is repeated 18 to 21 Henry II.

18 Henry II. p. 24.

And in default of *two moneyers at Norwich* 40s.

And in default of *two moneyers at Thetford* 40s.

p. 26.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £7 6s. 8d. He has paid into the treasury 13s. 4d. and he owes £6 13s. 4d.

p. 29.

*Gillebert* the moneyer owes £6 3s. 4d. for a fine.

This entry is repeated 19 to 21 Henry II.

19 Henry II. p. 116.

And in default of *four moneyers at Norwich* £4.

And in default of *two moneyers at Thetford* 40s.

And in default of *two moneyers of Ipswich* 40s.

p. 128.

*Hugh Fitz Cecilia* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks for the same aid. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks and he owes 5 marks.

20 Henry II. p. 37.

And in default of *five moneyers at Norwich* 100s.

And in default of *three moneyers at Thetford* 60s.

And in default of *two moneyers of Ipswich* 40s.

*Richard the moneyer*, etc. (entry as above under p. 26, repeated).

p. 46.

*Hugh Fitz Cecilia* renders an account of 5 marks for the same aid. He has paid into the treasury 60s. and he owes 6s. 8d.

21 Henry II. p. 108.

And in default of *five moneyers at Norwich* 100s.

And in default of *three moneyers of Thetford* 60s.

And in default of *two moneyers of Ipswich* 40s.

*Richard* the moneyer owes £6 13s. 4d. which they have sought for from the moneyers of Norwich.

p. 117.

*Hugh Fitz Cecilia* renders an account of 6s. 8d. for the same aid. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

22 Henry II. p. 60.

And in default of *five moneyers of Norwich* and *three of Thetford* and *two of Ipswich* £10.

p. 62.

*Richard* the moneyer renders an account of £6 13s. 4d. In pardon by the King's writ to John Bishop of Norwich £6 13s. 4d., and he is quit.

p. 64.

*Wiger* the moneyer renders an account of 49s. 8d. for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 20s. and he owes 29s. 8d.

23 Henry II. p. 124.

And in default of *six moneyers of Norwich* and *three of Thetford* and *two of Ipswich* £13.

p. 127.

*Wiger* the moneyer renders an account of 29s. 8d. for a fine. He has paid it into the treasury and he is quit.

#### NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

4 Henry II. p. 141.

And to the porters by the King's writ on account of the *moneyers* through Gregory.

p. 143.

The same sheriff (namely, Simon Fitz Peter) renders an account of 100 marks of silver for the *moneyers*. He has paid £21 13s. 4d. into the treasury and owes £45.

5 Henry II. p. 17. (*Nova placita et novæ conventiones*.)

The same sheriff (namely, Simon Fitz Peter) renders an account of £25 6s. 8d. for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of £45 for the *old moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury £21 6s. 8d. in three tallies, and he owes £23 13s. 4d.

6 Henry II. p. 37. (Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire.)

*Thomas* the moneyer renders an account of 100s. for his debt. He has paid into the treasury 53s. 4d. And he owes 46s. 8d. (for subsequent entries see under Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire).

The same sheriff (namely, Simon Fitz Peter) renders an account of £23 13s. 4d. for the *old moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

7 Henry II. p. 34. Northampton (*Norhantona*).

And the same (namely, Robert Fitz Sawin) renders an account of 26 marks for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

8 Henry II. p. 9. Northampton.

And the *moneyers of Northampton* 20s. And he has a surplusage of 33s. 4d.

14 Henry II. p. 54. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The *moneyers of Northampton* render an account of £10 for the same aid (*i.e.*, the marriage of Matilda, the King's daughter). They have paid into the treasury 100s., and they owe 100s.

15 Henry II. p. 75.

The *moneyers of Northampton* render an account of 100s. for



the same (aid). They have paid it into the treasury, and they are quit.

p. 77. Northampton.

The same (Robert Fitz Sawin) renders an account of £81 13s. 4d. for the aid of the *Borough of Northampton* and the marrying of Matilda the daughter of the King. He has paid into the treasury £62 1s. 4d. And he owes £19 12s., of which £10 are (accounted for) above, *for the moneyers* of the same town, who render an account above in the county.

19 Henry II. p. 37.

*Engelaram* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks for an aid. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks, and he owes 5 marks.

20 Henry II. p. 54

*Engelram* the moneyer owes 5 marks for an aid.

21 Henry II. p. 43.

*Engelram* the moneyer renders an account of 5 marks for an aid. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

#### NORTHUMBERLAND.

6 Henry II. p. 56.

*William* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

12 Henry II. p. 76.

*Wilechin the son of William the moneyer of Newcastle* owes 30 marks for lead found beneath the earth.

13 Henry II. p. 75.

*Wilechin the son of the moneyer of Newcastle* renders an account of 30 marks for lead found beneath the earth. He has paid into the treasury 20 marks, and he owes 10 marks.

14 Henry II. p. 170.

*Wilechin the son of the moneyer of Newcastle* renders an

account of 10 marks for lead found beneath the earth.  
He has paid into the treasury 42s., etc.

15 Henry II. p. 131.

*Wilekin the son of the moneyer of Newcastle* renders an account of 43s. 4d. for lead found beneath the earth. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

22 Henry II. p. 137.

And for furnishing two ships to carry the lead which the King gave to the church of Grosmund from Newcastle to Rochelle £12 9s. 4d. by writ of the King and by the view of Ralph Baard and *William the moneyer*.

#### NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE.

4 Henry II. p. 154.

The *moneyers of Nottingham* owe 43 marks of silver through Henry Fitz Ger'.

5 Henry II. p. 52.

The *moneyers of Nottingham* render an account of 43 marks. They have paid into the treasury 40 marks in two tallies, and they owe 40s.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

*Walchelinus* the moneyer renders an account of £100. He has paid into the treasury £50 and he owes £50.

6 Henry II. p. 43.

*Walchelinus* the moneyer renders an account of £50. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

19 Henry II. p. 175.

*Reginald* the moneyer (*Moneĩ*) renders an account of 43s. for his cowardice. He has paid into the treasury 4s., and he owes 39s.

N.B.—The word *Moneĩ* is an error, as in other years *Moñ* and *Monaĩ* (for *Monachus*) are used in reference to this person and entry.

OXFORDSHIRE.

- 5 Henry II. p. 35. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Henry de Oilli) renders an account of £14 for the *moneyers* of Oxford. He has paid into the treasury £11 6s. 8d., and by pardon through the King's writ to the same *moneyers* 53s. 4d., and is quit.

- 7 Henry II. p. 26. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Manesser Arsich) renders an account of 80 marks for the Borough of Oxford and for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

- 21 Henry II. p. 14.

Adam the moneyer renders an account of 1 mark on account of an encroachment. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

- 23 Henry II. p. 13. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Robert de Tureville) renders an account of a half-mark for Adam the moneyer for an encroachment upon the King.

SHROPSHIRE.

- 5 Henry II. p. 63. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, William Fitz Alan) renders an account of 100s. for the *moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

- 6 Henry II. p. 27.

Warin the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks, and he owes 5 marks.

SOMERSET.

- 5 Henry II. p. 21. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Richard de Radduna) renders an account of £24 13s. 4d. for the *donum* of the borough

of *Ilchester* (*Ivelcestria*). He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of £8 for the moneyers. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

## STAFFORDSHIRE.

5 Henry II. p. 29. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Robert de Stafford) renders an account of 1 mark of silver for the moneyers of *Stafford*. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

6 Henry II. p. 7.

*Colebrant* the moneyer renders an account of 2 marks. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

## SUSSEX.

5 Henry II. p. 61. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Ralph Picot) renders an account of £10 for the moneyers of *Lewes*. He has paid into the treasury 113s. 4d. in two tallies, and he owes £4 6s. 8d.

6 Henry II. p. 56.

*Wulwin* the moneyer renders an account of £4 6s. 8d. He has paid into the treasury 6s., and he owes £4 os. 8d.

7 Henry II. p. 13.

*Wulwin* the moneyer owes £4 os. 8d.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

*Orgar* the moneyer renders an account of 20s. In payment of the knights of *Pevensey* (*Peuenesel*) 20s., and he is quit.

8 Henry II. p. 31.

*Wluric'* (*sic*) the moneyer owes £4 os. 8d.

9 Henry II. p. 13.

*Wulwin* the moneyer renders an account of £4 os. 8d. He has paid into the treasury 18d., and he owes 79s. 2d.

10 Henry II. p. 3.

*Wulwin* the moneyer owes 79s. 2d.

This entry is repeated 11 to 21 Henry II.

WARWICKSHIRE.

4 Henry II. p. 185.

*Edred* the moneyer owes 50 marks of silver for his redemption through Richard de Luci.

5 Henry II. p. 26.

*Edred* the moneyer renders an account of 25 marks.

WILTSHIRE.

4 Henry II. p. 115.

And for making the *Polas* of the moneyers 18s. 4d.

5 Henry II. p. 39.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

*Ivo* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid 5 marks into the treasury and owes 5 marks.

*William* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks. He has paid 5 marks into the treasury and owes 5 marks.

*Reginald* the moneyer renders an account of 40s. He has paid 20s. into the treasury and owes 20s.

*Hubert* the moneyer owes 40s.

p. 40.

*Wineman* the moneyer renders an account of 5 marks. He has paid 40s. into the treasury and owes 2 marks.

*Alfred* (*Aluredus*) the moneyer renders an account of £10. He has paid 100s. into the treasury and he owes 100s.

6 Henry II. p. 17.

*Ivo* the moneyer renders an account of 5 marks. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

6 Henry II. p. 17.

*William* the moneyer owes 5 marks.

This entry is repeated 7 Henry II. p. 10.

*Reginald* the moneyer renders an account of 20s. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

*Hubert* the moneyer renders an account of 40s. He has paid into the treasury 30s. and he owes 10s.

*Wineman* the moneyer renders an account of 2 marks. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

*Alfred* (*Aluredus*) the moneyer renders an account of 100s. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

In pardon by writ of the King. And to *Geoffrey* the moneyer 16*d.*

7 Henry II. p. 10.

*Hubert* the moneyer renders an account of 10s. He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

8 Henry II. p. 13.

The same sheriff (namely, Richard Clericus) renders an account of 5 marks for *William* the moneyer. He has paid into the treasury 10s. and he owes 56s. 8*d.*

*William* the moneyer owes 56s. 8*d.*, but he does not remain in this county.

10 Henry II. p. 14.

*William* the moneyer owes 56s. 8*d.*

This entry is repeated 11 to 21 Henry II.

11 Henry II. p. 58. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

*Anschetil* the moneyer of *Wilton* renders an account of 10 marks for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 44s. in two tallies, and he owes £4 9s. 4*d.*

*Lantier* the moneyer renders an account of 10 marks for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 44s. in two tallies, and he owes £4 9s. 4*d.*

12 Henry II. p. 72.

*Anscetil* the moneyer renders an account of £4 9s. 4*d.* for a fine. He has paid into the treasury 33s. 4*d.* and he owes 56s.

*Lantier* the moneyer renders an account of £4 9s. 4*d.* for a

fine. He has paid into the treasury 33s. 4d., and he owes 56s.

13 Henry II. p. 127.

*Anschetil* the moneyer renders an account of 56s. for a fine.

He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

*Lantier* the moneyer renders an account of 56s. for a fine.

He has paid it into the treasury and is quit.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

5 Henry II. p. 24. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, William de Beauchamp) renders an account of 100s. for *the mint* of Worcester. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

The same sheriff renders an account of 57 marks and 2s. for the *redemption* of the *moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury £4 15s. 4d.

6 Henry II. p. 24,

The same sheriff (namely, William de Beauchamp) renders an account of 20 marks for the *redemption of the moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury 40s., and he owes 17 marks.

7 Henry II. p. 55. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, William de Beauchamp) renders an account of 10 marks for *Godefridus* (*God*) the moneyer. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks, and he owes 5 marks.

8 Henry II. p. 57.

*God* the moneyer renders an account of 5 marks. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

The same sheriff (namely, William de Beauchamp) renders an account of £10 6s. 8d. for the *redemption of the moneyers*.

10 Henry II. p. 4.

*Wuluric* and *Ælard* moneyers of Worcester owe £10 6s. 8d. for their redemption.

11 Henry II. p. 98.

*Wuluric and Ælard* the moneyers render an account of £10 6s. 8d. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 2 marks, and they owe £9.

12 Henry II. p. 81.

*Wuluric and Ælard* owe £9 for their redemption.

This entry is repeated 13 to 15 Henry II.

p. 82.

(*Nova placita, etc.*)

*Stephen* the moneyer renders an account of 4 marks for two fugitives at the election of William de Beauchamp. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

16 Henry II. p. 55.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £9 for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 10s., and they owe £8 10s.

17 Henry II. p. 97.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £8 10s. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 10s., and they owe £8.

18 Henry II. p. 22.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £8 for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 7s. 8d., and they owe £7 12s. 4d.

19 Henry II. p. 164.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £7 12s. 4d. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 8s. 4d., and they owe £7 4s.

20 Henry II. p. 26.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £7 4s. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 6s. 4d., and they owe £6 17s. 8d.

21 Henry II. p. 128.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £6 17s. 8d. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 3s. 8d., and they owe £6 14d.



- 22 Henry II. p. 35.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £6 14s. for their redemption. They have paid into the treasury 3s. 4d., and they owe £6 10s. 8d.

- 23 Henry II. p. 64.

*Wulfric and Alard* the moneyers render an account of £6 10s. 8d. for a fine. They have paid into the treasury 2s., and they owe £6 8s. 8d.

YORKSHIRE.

- 5 Henry II. p. 32. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Bertrann de Bulemer) renders an account of the debt of *the old moneyers*. He has paid into the treasury £40.

- 7 Henry II. p. 37. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Bertrann de Bulemer) renders an account of 30 marks *for the moneyers*. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

- 11 Henry II. p. 49. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

The same sheriff (namely, Randulph de Glanville) renders an account of £53 6s. 8d. for the *moneyers of York* (*Eboracum*). He has paid it into the treasury in three tallies, and is quit.

- 13 Henry II. p. 92. *City of York.*

*William White (Alb)* renders an account of 15 marks because he has married the *wife of a moneyer* of York without the licence of the King. He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

- p. 93.

*Gerard FitzLefwin* renders an account of 50 marks for the coinage rights of the mint (*Cuneo Monete*). He has paid it into the treasury, and is quit.

- 17 Henry II. p. 73. (*Nova placita, etc.*)

*William de Bretegate* owes 20 marks that he may be relieved from the custody of the mint.

- 18 Henry II. p. 60.

*William de Bretegate* renders an account of 20 marks that he may be released from the custody of the mint. He has paid into the treasury 10 marks, and he owes 10 marks.

- 19 Henry II. p. 8.

*William de Bretegate* renders an account of 10 marks that he may be released from the custody of the mint. He has paid into the treasury 5 marks, and he owes 5 marks.

- 21 Henry II. p. 182. *City of York.*

William son of Grossus the priest owes 20 marks for the same *benevolence* and 100s. which his father had owed for the chattels of *Herbert* the moneyer.

- 22 Henry II. p. 106.

The same William (son of Grossus the priest) and Robert and Roger and Gerard sons of Grossus the priest render an account of 30 marks for the chattels of *Herbert* the moneyer. They have paid it into the treasury, and are quit.

- 23 Henry II. p. 68.

And in default of *four moneyers* 53s. 4d.

## PORTRAITURE OF THE STUARTS ON THE ROYALIST BADGES.

BY MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.



THE indulgence of the Society is requested for one of the most unlearned of its members, whilst calling attention to a romantic—one might almost say sentimental—branch of the numismatic art, *i.e.*, the royalist badges of Charles I. and Charles II.

It will be said, and it is quite true, that everything which is worth knowing about the subject is contained in *Medallic Illustrations of British History* and the beautiful series of plates now being issued to complete the same. But I will disarm criticism, on this point only, by beginning with my expression of very great obligation to that book—to the officials at the British Museum, and above all, of my most grateful thanks to Mr. Grueber, for the invariable kindness and patience with which he has greeted all my enquiries and striven to enlighten my ignorance.

I have, however, thought that this Society might care to consider a collection of some of the badges of Charles I. and Charles II., whilst I offer a few remarks about their *makers* and *origin*, striving to elucidate the following questions amongst others :—

Can we determine the exact date of these badges ?

Did Rawlins make use of Van Dyck's and other pictures for his designs ?

Are any of the badges taken from the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike* ?

What is the origin of Stuart's portraits of the two Simons ?

The object of issuing these badges of the Stuarts was twofold. Firstly, Charles I. bestowed them on his followers, in acknowledgment

of services rendered to him. Secondly, after his death, they were distributed to keep alive in the hearts of his people any remnants of loyalty to the Stuart cause.

No doubt Charles II.'s badges were designed to revive the interest of the country in his claims, and were mostly issued about the time of the Restoration or shortly after his father's death.

The earliest badges we have, which could have been intended as rewards for services, are those of Elizabeth and James I.; for the medallic art had made so little progress in England in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, that those few portrait medals of Henry VIII., of Philip and Mary, etc., which may be studied in the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum or Hertford House, could only have been intended for private distribution, and even they are mostly the work of foreign artists, such as Jacopo da Trezzo, etc.

Elizabeth's beautiful badges—probably of English execution—though they may have been given as presents to her favourites, were most likely intended also for naval decorations, as some of them commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The most beautiful of these, "Dangers Averted, 1589," *Med. Ill.*, I, 154-129, must excite our admiration, and though some of those badges, at one time supposed to be Elizabethan, are now declared to be of later date—the authenticity of No. 129 is undoubted, although the name of the artist is not known.

Coming now to the days of the Stuarts, we may say of James I. that his badges, whether naval decorations, or intended for private distribution, are mostly of Dutch origin, though a very interesting example (cast to commemorate the "Attempted Union" between Scotland and England in 1604), which has lately come under my notice, is no doubt of British work. This badge, *Med. Ill.*, I, 194-17 (of which only two examples in silver are at present known), has a very fine decorative border, and is therefore more beautiful than the copper example in the British Museum.

We do not, however, now propose to tarry with Elizabeth or James—although their decorations are comparatively rare—but we must pass on to the days of Charles I., when badges were so freely

distributed that they might almost be said to be within the reach of all who cared to possess such a portrait of the King.

It is said that Charles I. is the earliest English monarch of whom it is specially recorded, that he ordered a badge to be made as a *military* decoration. We read in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, where an engraving of the badge and a description of the warrant deposited in the Heralds' College may be found, that the King commanded Rawlins to make for this purpose "a medal in gold for our trusty and well-beloved Sir Robert Welch, knight, with our own figure and that of our dearest sonne Charles; and on the reverse thereof to insculpt ye form of our Royal Banner used at the battail of Edgehill." Welch had distinguished himself at this great battle, on October 23rd, 1642, where, according to the warrant, "he did us acceptable service, and received the dignity of knighthood from us." This medal is described in *Med. Ill.*, I, 302-124, and the "acceptable service" is there defined as the rescue of "the standards of the King's own regiment" and the capture of "two pieces of cannon and the Earl of Essex's waggon." Now we know that no fewer than four guns were taken from the enemy and forty standards, also that "Essex's own coach" was carried off by a party of horse the day after the battle, but with regard to the rescue of the "royal banner," a better known story is that of Captain Smith, who also was knighted and received a gold medal bearing this same trophy on the reverse. Sir Edmund Verney, the King's standard bearer, being mortally wounded, Colonel Middleton of the Parliamentary army, grasped the banner and retreated with it to the secretary of Essex, in whose charge he left it. Captain John Smith and two others, of whom Welch must have been one (though neither Whitelock,<sup>1</sup> Clarendon nor Ludlow give his name), appropriated orange-tawny scarves from the dead adherents of Essex (whose colours they were) and thus disguised, rode through the enemy. Smith, after telling Secretary Chambers that it was not fit a "penman" should bear so honourable a trophy, snatched it from him, the brave cavaliers fighting their way back to the King, at whose feet the gallant Captain

<sup>1</sup> See Clarendon, ed. 1843, p. 309, and Ludlow, vol. i, p. 49. Whitelock, p. 64.



placed the recovered treasure.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Smith was killed at Cheriton-Fight on the 29th of March, 1644, and is said to have fallen wearing his medal suspended round his neck by a green ribbon. Whether the decoration either of Welch or Smith still exists I cannot say, but of that bearing the name of Welch we read in *Medallic Illustrations*, modern imitations have been made by using for the reverse the engraving shown in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xv, p. 80, and for the obverse the portraits of the King and Prince copied from *Med. Ill.*, 1, 302-123. This number 123 was hurriedly executed, and is not at all a good example of Rawlins's work, indeed it would be unfair to judge of his talent therefrom; but certainly as we see it placed in the United Service Exhibition, next to some of Simon's fine works, with their very superior finish, it excites our interest more than our admiration.

Charles, however, issued a really fine badge (one of Rawlins's best efforts, now extremely rare) in the year 1643, as a military reward, "to be worn on the breast of every man, who shall be certified under the hands of their Commanders-in-Chief, to have done us faithful service in a forlorn hope." This, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 301-122, bears a reverse specially interesting, as showing one of the few really good medallic represen-



PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I., BY RAWLINS.

*MED. ILL.*, 1, 308-253.

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, p. 480. Ludlow, vol. i, p. 110. Clarendon says that Sir John Smith was a brother of Lord Carrington.

tations of Charles II. in his early youth, and a fine portrait of Charles I. on the obverse. The latter portrait reappears in *Med. Ill.*, 1, 368-253, and, by the favour of Mr. Talbot Ready, I am able to reproduce it here.

This is a thin embossed plate in very high relief—more probably intended to decorate some *article-de-virtu* than the person of a warrior. The presentment of the Prince is also to be found unaccompanied by his father's portrait, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 371-262 and 371-263. But there are other decorations specially designed for the King's soldiers, such as *Med. Ill.*, 1, 299-118-119 and 302-123 (before mentioned), and yet more medals may have been intended for the same object. I have even seen (at the United Service Exhibition) badges bearing the portraits of the King and Queen placed amongst the military rewards.

It is said that such badges were sometimes cast in lead or pewter, and in the absence of uniform were distributed to the common soldiers, to distinguish them from the king's enemies, for although in most cases the different regiments wore clothing of one particular colour, the King and Parliament alike had a *red* regiment, etc., and many corps wore buff-coats; it was therefore necessary to assume the colours of the commander, as we have seen was the case in the story of the orange scarf worn by the men under the generalship of Essex. Whitelock indeed tells us, that at that time "any setting up another colour were held malignants."<sup>1</sup> We might suggest that possibly these badges may have been attached by a coloured ribbon—like the "green watered ribbon" of Sir John Smith, or worn in the hat, like the white cockade which distinguished the parliamentary troops at the battle of Marston Moor, where Sir Thomas Fairfax only escaped and passed through the enemy by pulling the tell-tale badge from his hat. If these pewter medals were distributed in any great numbers to the King's men, we must attribute their excessive rarity to the fact, that the soft metal portraits being easily defaced, they were no doubt, after a time, thrown away as worthless, but a carefully treasured example of *Med. Ill.*, 1, 354-215, now in my hands,

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock's Mem., p. 62.



corroborates this report of their distribution. It was given by Charles II. to Richard Penderel in recognition of the latter's services, in aiding the poor young King in his escape in 1651, after the battle of Worcester. The tradition in the Penderel family ran, that in presenting this token, Charles said it was one of the badges worn by his father's soldiers, to distinguish them from the parliamentary troops, and that he, having nothing else about him, gave it to Richard Penderel, that he might present it to the giver, when he came to the throne, and he would remember him or his son, and put him into the army, or give him some post about his person.

This being done, at the Restoration, Penderel was made one of the King's body guard, and the badge was preserved in the family till 1884, when it passed into the hands of a friend of my own, from whom I acquired it. How Charles came to have the medal about him is not stated, but it is of course possible that he treasured this common badge worn by one of his soldiers, because it bore the portraits of the late King and of the Queen.

But it was not only amongst the followers of Charles that such memorials were found, cast also in various metals; the victory at Edgehill being claimed by both sides, a similar course of decoration was pursued by the parliamentary leaders; indeed Essex actually adopted in *Med. Ill.*, I, 300-120, the reverse of Charles's Edgehill medal (*Med. Ill.*, I, 299-119) for the obverse of a military reward to be given to the King's adversaries. Again, Essex at various times bestowed medals with his own portrait, on the troops over whom he had been



BADGE OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 295-113.



appointed Commander-in-Chief at the commencement of the Civil War, see *Med. Ill.*, I, 296-113 to 298-117.

By favour of Mr. S. M. Spink, I illustrate a fine example of *Med. Ill.*, I, 295-113.

These medals were also struck in gold for the superior officers; of course such are rare, but there is one of them in Mr. Spink's collection. There are also portraits of Lord Fairfax, who commanded the forces in the North, of Lord Manchester, *Med. Ill.*, I, 309-137



BADGE OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 309-137.

(again illustrated from Mr. S. M. Spink's cabinet) and of other officers of the parliamentary army, see 303-125 to 305-128, 310-138 to 311-139, 329-170 and 332-176, etc.

Some of the badges issued by the son of Lord Fairfax—Sir Thomas Fairfax, who succeeded Essex in the chief command in 1645, are of very fine workmanship by Simon, see *Med. Ill.*, I, 317-149 to 319-153. Amongst these, Mr. Spink has kindly given me the opportunity of illustrating *Med. Ill.*, I, 317-150.



BADGE OF SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 317-150.

Simon and other artists executed many medals for the Parliamentarians, some of them the bitterest opponents of the King, but neither Essex, Fairfax nor Manchester were amongst these personal enemies. It is true that they took up arms against their lawful sovereign, but Essex<sup>1</sup> lost the confidence of his party, and resigned his command the year before his death, which occurred in 1646. Fairfax refused to take part in the King's trial, and afterwards aided in the Restoration, whilst Manchester also actively participated in the arrangements for the recall of Charles II., and even subsequently took office under the Crown. But enough of the parliamentary badges—we cannot study these in any detail now, as I proposed only to treat of the portraiture of the Stuarts.

It is difficult to assign an exact date to other badges of Charles than those specially made to commemorate some battle, or the sad memorials of his death.

It would be interesting if we could trace any of those with portraits of the King on one side, and of the Queen on the other, to the period of their marriage or of the coronation; but this cannot be for several reasons, of which one alone, that they are mostly by Rawlins, may be sufficient. Some authorities indeed place the birth of Rawlins "about 1600," but the *National Biography* gives the date as 1620 (with a query, it is true), and Rawlins, if born in 1620 (?) was at the time of the King's marriage a small child; but even when the artists responsible for the badges are unknown, the dress worn by the King and Queen, in most instances, almost proves that the work cannot have been executed before 1630, at the earliest—probably not then.

The date selected by most museum authorities is 1649 (the time of the King's death)—the Hertford House catalogue hazards "about 1630"—but for reasons that I will give, I should (though I may be wrong) place most of Charles I.'s badges between the years 1640 and 1650, inclining to the period, specially for Rawlins's work, when the

<sup>1</sup> The badges of Essex and Manchester are not now attributed to Simon, though Vertue so attributed them.

Queen was with her husband at Oxford from 1643 to 1644, at which time the medallist was working at the mint in that city. Henrietta left England in February, 1641-42, and excepting for the brief period I have mentioned, she would not have been within the reach of Rawlins as a model, until he himself went to France in 1648, as from 1644 onward her exile continued till after the Restoration. Of course, this fact proves nothing, as it is extremely likely that many of the badges were executed from pictures—indeed I shall endeavour to show that *Med. Ill.*, 1, 357-222, was taken from one of Van Dyck's



SIGNED BADGE BY RAWLINS OF CHARLES I. AND HENRIETTA MARIA.

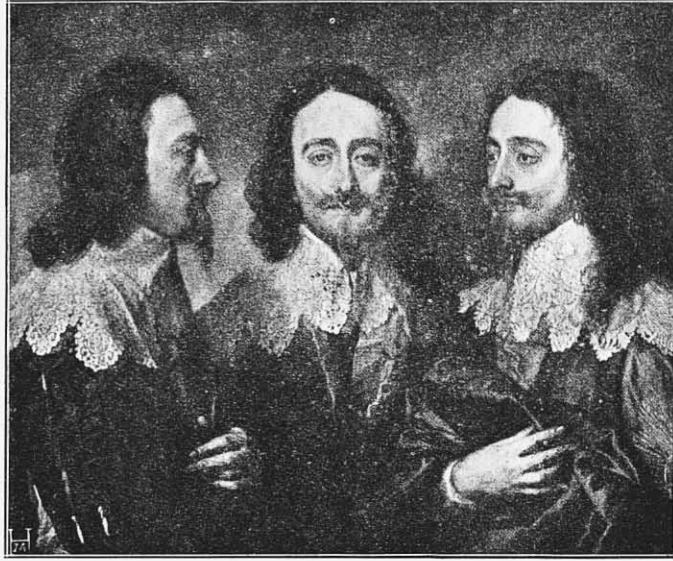
*MED. ILL.*, 1, 354-215.

portraits. But the Henrietta Maria of the well-known signed badge by Rawlins, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 354-215, and of the rest of the series with the same effigy of the Queen (wearing the fashions of about the years 1640 to 1644) does not bear, as far as I can trace, any marked resemblance to Sir Anthony's pictures, though the portrait of Charles on the obverse reminds us of the fine three-fold presentment of the King, painted by Van Dyck to assist the Italian sculptor Bernini in 1638, in the production of the bust,<sup>1</sup> which was unfortunately lost in the fire at Whitehall in January, 1697-98.

I should be inclined to think from the fashion of the Queen's dress that this series was designed in 1644, or a little earlier. The

<sup>1</sup> Walpole says this bust was either stolen or consumed. The King gave Bernini a thousand Roman crowns to make it, and it realized £800 at the sale, 1650-53. In 1822, this picture, now in the Royal Collection, was bought for £1,000 by George IV.

National Biography says that Rawlins made a badge of the King and Queen in 1644, but does not say which badge.



*Photograph by Franz Hanfstaeigl.*

CHARLES I., BY VAN DYCK, ROYAL COLLECTION, WINDSOR.

With regard to the King's marriage and coronation, the former took place by proxy in Paris, in May, 1625, and Henrietta arrived in England in the June of that year; the rough little marriage medal,



MARRIAGE MEDAL OF CHARLES I. AND HENRIETTA MARIA.

*MED. ILL., I, 239-3.*

*Med. Ill., I, 239-3*, which I here illustrate, shows the ruff and high collar worn by men and women respectively at that time.

The coronation took place in February, 1626, but the Queen was not crowned with her husband owing to differences of creed, Henrietta,

or her religious advisers, objecting to the Protestant ritual, so there is no special reason why we should expect to find her portrait, issued together with that of the King, in the form of a badge to be worn at, or in commemoration of the ceremony.

The rough cliché of Charles, *Med. Ill.*, I, 243-11, here shown, was hurriedly executed by Briot, probably for distribution at the coronation :



CLICHÉ OF CHARLES I., BY BRIOT.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 243-11.

but though two such thin plates were occasionally set back to back in a metal rim, so as to form a badge, and this shell may have been intended to be worn thus, we know of no numismatic portrait of Henrietta Maria in the Medici collars of the time, which would correspond in fashion with her husband's ruff, except *Med. Ill.*, I, 240-6, a charming thin cliché, but too big to be mounted with Briot's shell of the King, though doubtless executed about the same date ; and a very rough little copy of the same, which in its turn is too small for the purpose and was possibly meant for a counter. I have seen this little portrait of Charles used as the lid of a box to contain such counters, as is the case with some similar thin medalets of Charles II., and Catherine,<sup>1</sup> made at the time of their marriage—but these are rather

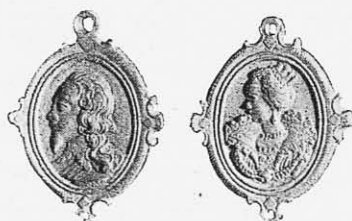


JETTON OF QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

<sup>1</sup> See *Med. Ill.*, I, 987-106.

less fragile, and I think the cliché of Charles I. was possibly intended to be mounted in some fashion and worn.

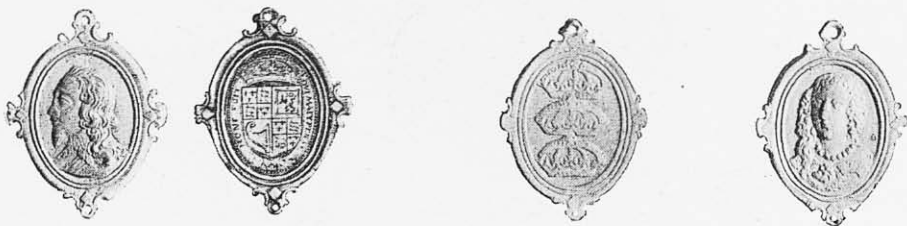
I give an illustration of the jetton of Henrietta Maria ; it was in the Montagu collection, and Mr. Montagu, in a note in his own copy of *Medallic Illustrations*, expresses his belief that these thin pieces were not meant for personal adornment, but for use as counters ; on the other hand, the well-known series of counters in the style of Passe which portray both King and Queen in the early fashions of the time of their marriage, and again in 1638, were of a more serviceable thickness. To return to the undisputed badges of the royal pair. The only examples in which either Charles or his wife appears in the high collar and ruff, respectively, are (as far as I know) the fairly common, but pleasing little *Med. Ill.*, I, 358-224, here



BADGE OF CHARLES I. WITH HENRIETTA IN MEDICI COLLAR.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 358-224.

shown, and the unique (?) *Med. Ill.*, I, 348-203, with Charles in the radiate oval ; but both these reverses have for obverse the well-known head of the King, which is seen on the commonest of all his badges—see *Med. Ill.*, I, 361-235, with the royal arms as reverse, also *Med. Ill.*, I, 364-244, with the very rare reverse of three crowns and many other



BADGES OF CHARLES I. IN FALLING LACE COLLAR, WITH VARIOUS REVERSES.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 361-235.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 364-244.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 357-223.

reverses, some showing the Queen, after she has discarded the high collar, *Med. Ill.*, I, 357-223, and others, originally the work of Rawlins, but often roughly copied by inferior artists.

A head of Charles I.<sup>1</sup> of the same type as that on these badges (but larger), appears on the lid of a box in my collection containing counters said to have been executed about 1636, see *Med. Ill.*, I, 383-288 and 380-282. Rawlins at that date may only have been about sixteen years old and possibly not a very finished artist. The bust is like that on the memorial medals, *Med. Ill.*, I, 372-265 to 374-268, and others. Rawlins possibly elaborated it later in his pattern broad and the famous Juxon medal, or again the box and counters may not be quite of the same date (this I consider far more likely), but the portraits on the counters certainly point to about the year 1636, and this head *might* be the first attempt of Rawlins at portraying the King, the badges and memorial medals being made afterwards as required. Charles wears the plain turned-down collar, not in regular use till 1631, so it is *probable* that the maker of these badges, whenever designed, modelled his *early* portraits of their Majesties on these reverses from pictures painted before 1630 to 1632, combining them with an obverse executed after that date, and if they are the work of Rawlins, not before 1636 at the earliest. I say "probable" not "certain," because there is one medalet actually dated 1625 in which Charles appears in a turned-down collar (it is *Med. Ill.*, I, 239-2), but with this exception, as far as I know, "the



DOMINION-OF-THE-SEA MEDALS.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 257-42.

REVERSE OF 257-42 AND 257-43.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 257-43.

<sup>1</sup> I have seen this head of Charles combined with an early bust of Henrietta (*Med. Ill.*, I, 358-224) used in the binding of a book dated 1643.



falling band, the new mode succeeding the cumbersome ruff" as Evelyn has it, is first seen, numismatically speaking, on Briot's Dominion-of-the-Sea medals, of which I give examples, *Med. Ill.*, I, 257-42 and 43, to illustrate my point. These medals were both executed in 1630; one shows the King in the "falling band," the other in the "cumbersome ruff," but we must wait for the year 1631 to see the turned-down collar portrayed on the coinage, and though Mytens painted Charles in that year in the "new mode," there is a picture by Van Dyck as lately painted as 1632, in which the King still wears the earlier fashion, though Henrietta is shown in the more becoming falling lace collar; *ergo*, we must date the change from ruff to collar from 1630 to 1632. The remaining portraits of the Queen, some of which I exhibited to the Society, and others which I regret to say I do not possess, all portray the fashions in vogue between 1632 (when Van Dyck first painted her), and the time of the King's death, *i.e.*, either the almost high lace-trimmed bodice, which immediately succeeded the Medici collar, or the very low-necked dress with or without drapery on the shoulders, or falling lace collar as seen in these later pictures. In one of these, *Med. Ill.*, I, 358-226, here shown, of rather poor workman-



BADGE OF CHARLES I. AND HENRIETTA MARIA, AFTER LEMON (?).

*MED. ILL.*, I, 358-226.

ship, the Queen is seen in the very stiff low bodice, which, according to one of Wenceslaus Hollar's old fashion-books of prints (which I have examined in the British Museum), was in vogue in 1644. This badge has the same obverse (a portrait of Charles) as *Med. Ill.*, I, 363-241, by some attributed to Simon because it bears the initials T. S. It is, however, not at all like Simon's work, but I have seen, and by permission of Mr. S. M. Spink reproduce, an unpublished little medallion with the same obverse, but no reverse, also signed T. S.,



which is of rather finer workmanship. Might this possibly have been the original, and the others inferior copies? It is unlikely Simon



MEDALLION OF CHARLES I. SIGNED T. S.

should have worked for the King at so late a date as 1644, but he might have designed the little medallion earlier, afterwards to be copied in the form of a badge.

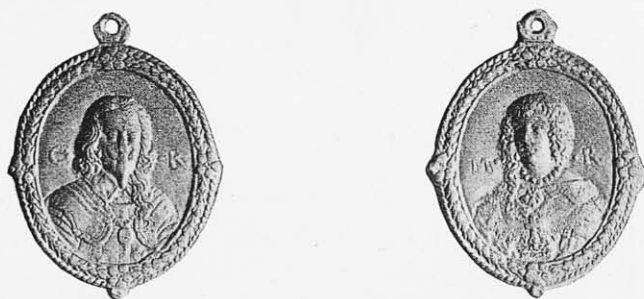
Now to return to *Med. Ill.*, I, 357-222. I cannot help thinking that the resemblance between this representation of the royal pair and Van Dyck's pictures is too marked to be accidental. Sir Anthony resided almost entirely in England from 1632, when he succeeded



*Photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl.*

HENRIETTA MARIA, BY VAN DYCK, ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN.†

Mytens as Court-painter, till 1641, in which year he died, and during that time he painted no less than thirty-six portraits of Charles and twenty-five of Henrietta Maria. With some, at least, of these pictures, Rawlins and other medallists must have been familiar.



PORTRAITS OF CHARLES I. AND HENRIETTA MARIA.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 357-222.

By a careful examination of the prints after Van Dyck, I have satisfied myself that the reverse of *Med. Ill.*, I, 357-222, is identical with



*Photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl.*

CHARLES I., BY VAN DYCK, HERMITAGE GALLERY, ST. PETERSBURG.

one of the most pleasing of Sir Anthony's portraits of Henrietta Maria, now in the Royal Portrait Gallery at Dresden, see p. 257, whilst the obverse, though in a less marked manner, bears a close resemblance in nearly every detail to the full-length picture of Charles I. in armour at the Hermitage at St. Petersburg painted in 1638.<sup>1</sup> It also reminds us of Lord Spencer's portrait of the King, and is, except in the lace-trimmed collar, even more like the picture in the possession of Lord Pembroke at Wilton, of which there is a copy by old Stone in the National Portrait Gallery.

Now if, as I suggest, Rawlins took these pictures for his models, he most likely designed the badge between 1638—the probable date of their production—and 1649, when on the death of the King, the Council of State decided on the sale of the greater part of Charles I.'s magnificent collection of art treasures. It took more than three years to disperse the contents of nineteen palaces,<sup>2</sup> and the catalogue alone took a year in compilation. When Cromwell came into sole power, wishing to preserve for his own use the furniture and valuables at Whitehall and Hampton Court where he resided, he put an end to further sales,<sup>3</sup> even, as Walpole tells us, refusing to give up to the purchasers some of the goods already sold. Numbers of foreign potentates bought the wonderful works of art collected by Charles; Christina of Sweden, according to Clarendon, became possessed of the best medals, and only 400 of the 1,200 catalogued in 1649 were still to be found in the King's library in St. James's at the Restoration, and these unfortunately were lost in the fire at Whitehall, whither Charles II. had caused them to be carried. These coins and medals were from the collection of Prince Henry, Charles's elder brother, who made the twelve-year-old boy his heir, starting him on his career as a collector.

At the time of Prince Henry's death, the collection was valued at about £3,000. At the sale the coins fetched on an

<sup>1</sup> The Hermitage picture was in the Houghton Collection, sold to the Empress of Russia in 1780.

<sup>2</sup> According to some authorities, twenty-four residences.

<sup>3</sup> The last sale was in August, 1653.

average one shilling apiece, and the other works of art correspondingly low prices. Van Dyck's magnificent portrait of the Duke of Buckingham and his brother realised only £50, and Raphael's cartoons were bought by Cromwell for £300. Walpole<sup>1</sup> tells us that the whole sale produced no more than the sum of £118,080 10s. 6d., but he says that the catalogue, from which Vertue obtained these figures, had thirty or more missing pages, and may therefore not have comprised all the plate and jewels—some of the latter had been already sold, the Queen had managed to rescue a certain portion, and undoubtedly some precious things were embezzled and concealed—but Richard Symonds, on the authority of the Clerk of the Committee at Somerset House, tells us that *all* the King's goods were appraised for the sale at £200,000 only, the prices being fixed, and few higher bids being made. Probably the sums were approximately based on the prices paid by the King, but we must remember, that when Van Dyck received no more than £20 or £40 for a picture, he was also in the enjoyment of a salary as Court-painter. The Council of State showed its extraordinary ignorance of the real value of these treasures in thus dispersing them by forced sales, and in consequence, many of them were lost to the country for ever, for though at the Restoration, many of the pictures secured by the adherents of the late King were returned to Charles II. (alas! some of them to perish in the fire at Whitehall<sup>2</sup>) not one of the foreign Princes—as Clarendon says with regret—"ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King after his blessed Restoration."<sup>3</sup> But I must not let my interest in Charles I. as a collector in general carry me too far from the works of Rawlins in particular, whose productions we were endeavouring to trace to their original source and date.

In 1641 appears the first badge signed and dated by Rawlins, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 289-103, namely, that of William Wade, but as this medal was not cast for Charles, the politics of Wade being in opposition to the King's, this fact gives no information as to the exact time when

<sup>1</sup> Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1888 edition, vol. i, 287.

<sup>2</sup> In January, 1697-98.

<sup>3</sup> See Clarendon's *Rebellion*, vol. iii, 203.

Thomas Rawlins began to work for him, though we have mentioned a portrait possibly executed in 1636 by this artist. Again, the badge, *Med. Ill.*, I, 293-108, cast to commemorate the Declaration of Parliament of May, 1642, proclaims the words of the King's antagonists, as the legend round the bust of Charles, *Should hear both houses of parliament for true Religion and subiects freedom stand*, was the advice given to the King by his Commons, and not that of Charles to his people; but the legend, which is seen on *Med. Ill.*, I, 293-109, with almost the same bust, *Pro Religione Lege Rege et Parlamento*, embodies the famous declaration at Wellington, of September, 1642, and is in substance, though not in exact words, the same as the motto used by Charles on his Oxford and other coinage of about 1642, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANGL. LIBER. PAR. When addressing his officers before the battle of Edgehill, the King said to them, "I have written and declared, that I always intended to maintain the Protestant Religion, the Privileges of Parliament and the liberties of the Subject," and thus these words carry us on to the Edgehill medal (October, 1642), *Med. Ill.*, I, 299-119, with the same portrait of the King which reappears with the royal



BADGE OF CHARLES I. CROWNED. REVERSE, ROYAL ARMS.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 360-232.

arms as reverse in *Med. Ill.*, I, 360-232, of which I have a fine example, and much more commonly as seen on *Med. Ill.*, I, 355-216, with reverse the same portrait of Henrietta Maria which

we have discussed on No. 215. This suggests to us that 1642, when Rawlins was working for the King at Oxford, is a possible



BADGE OF CHARLES I. CROWNED AND HENRIETTA MARIA.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 355-216.

date for the series of *Med. Ill.*, I, 354-215 and 355-216, and similar busts of Henrietta such as 355-217 with Charles in arched



BADGE OF CHARLES I. LAUREATED AND HENRIETTA MARIA.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 355-218.

crown on obverse, or again 355-218, also amongst my selection, where the King appears laureated; but we must remember that if these badges were indeed executed after February in 1642, it must have been from a picture that Rawlins obtained his bust of the Queen, because of her absence from England already referred to. This obverse of *Med. Ill.*, I, 354-215, also reappears with many reverses, of which the commonest perhaps is *Med. Ill.*, I, 360-231, having for reverse the royal arms; of this also I am showing a fine example.

Many of the badges I have described have floral borders, and there are others also—too many to mention—which are very decorative

in themselves, and if publicly worn, could not fail to attract attention ; but as a rule, of more modest proportions are the memorials of the King's death.



BADGE OF CHARLES I. REVERSE, ROYAL ARMS.

MED. ILL., I, 360-231.

Under the rule of Cromwell, it was not desirable to advertise the loyalty still felt by Cavaliers for a lost cause, and many tiny badges form a pathetic contrast to those of the King's predecessors : the favours of good Queen Bess had been proudly displayed upon breast or hat ; no one was then desirous of concealing his loyalty ; thus (with the exception of one very small piece, *Med. Ill.*, I, 182-185, probably intended for insertion in a ring), all that Queen's badges were of a nature to attract attention. Of course, some of the decorations of King Charles were similarly fine, and were no doubt bravely displayed by a few proud souls, but far more of very small size exist, some even hiding away the portrait as a sacred relic in a little heart-shaped box, which might be worn, without danger of calling attention to the politics of the wearer. Some of these may be seen at the British Museum, and two, the property of Mr. Berney-Ficklin, exhibited at the United Service Museum, and again, those we saw in the Murdoch collection, sold in June, 1904, all bear inscriptions, alike in loyalty, but varying in curious spelling and form of expression, such as, *I live and dy in*



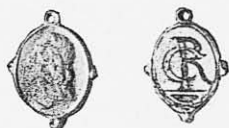
*loyalty; Prepared bee to follow me; I mourn for monarkey; Ichabod; Quis tempory a lachrimis (sic);* and the like mournful mottoes. Many are engraved with the date of the King's death, January 30th, 1648, according to the reckoning then in use, the year 1649 beginning with March 25th.

The portrait contained in all these little boxes is the same as that which I am showing as 249A (as *Med. Ill.*, I, 366-249, but without any



SECRET BADGE OF CHARLES I. REVERSE, PLAIN.  
249A.

reverse), which still bears traces of the black enamel, with which the field of these little memorials was often covered, in sign of mourning. The same obverse appears on my unique silver-gilt example, *Med. Ill.*, I, 366-249,<sup>1</sup> which I showed to this Society in 1904<sup>2</sup>; it is here illustrated



SILVER-GILT MEMORIAL BADGE OF CHARLES I.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 366-249.

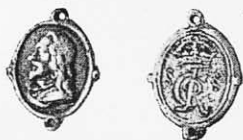
and has now appeared amongst the plates of *Medallic Illustrations* at the British Museum; it is interesting inasmuch as all traces of a specimen with C.R. *uncrowned* on the reverse, had been lost sight of for some years before it came into my possession, and it was only known from a drawing by Pinkerton, see *Medallic History*, Plate XIV, 6. The same type of obverse is seen with reverse C.R. *crowned* in the gold specimen, *Med. Ill.* I, 366-248, shown at the same time at the Society's meeting and also reproduced here; and at the British Museum I have seen it with other reverses; it is a beautiful little portrait,

<sup>1</sup> See note to *Med. Ill.*, I, 366-249.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 421.



the work of Rawlins. Mr. Berney-Ficklin at Whitehall exhibited a very fine specimen, enclosed in a heart-shaped crystal locket, the



GOLD MEMORIAL BADGE OF CHARLES I.

MED. ILL., I, 366-248.

badge being surrounded by a lock of Charles I.'s hair given by his son Charles II. to Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland; this I understand from the owner has no reverse, but the other side, being covered by a curl cut from the head of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the elder Charles, is not available for general inspection.

These are the smallest of all Charles I.'s badges, but there are others not much more obtrusive, such as *Med. Ill.*, I, 345-197, here



MEMORIAL BADGE OF CHARLES I. REVERSE, A SKULL.

MED. ILL., I, 345-197.

shown, and others of almost similar type, bearing pathetic emblems taken from the *Eikon Basilike*. No. 197 has for reverse a skull between C.R. ; above, a celestial crown and GLORIA ; and below, an earthly crown and VANITAS ; the legend is BEATAM. ET. ETERNAM SPLENDIDAM. AT. GRAVEM—"I receive a blessed and eternal crown, I relinquish one splendid, but burdensome," reminding us of almost the last words Charles spoke upon the scaffold, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." A note in *Med. Ill.*, I, page 345, to badge 196 (which is of the same type as 197, only with border), gives the following passage from the *Eikon Basilike*, "I shall not want the heavy and envied crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated His graces with

Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdoms amongst men, for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdom with Himself"; but instead of referring the reader to the frontispiece of the *King's Book*, we see "the device of the reverse is well illustrated by an engraved portrait of Charles, by White, published in Burnet's *History of the Dukes of Hamilton*." Now Burnet, writing in 1677, gives no clue to the origin of this picture (reproduced here as Plate I), merely prefixing it to some verses written by the King during his imprisonment at Carisbrooke Castle; consequently the impression left on the mind is that the picture was



FRONTISPIECE TO *EIKON BASILIKE*, FROM AN EDITION ONCE THE PROPERTY OF CHARLES II., LENT BY MR. EDWARD ALMACK.



*Alij diutius Imperium: tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquit. Tacit. Histor. Lib. 2. c. 47. p. 417.*

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES I.

PLATE FROM BURNET'S *HISTORY OF THE DUKES OF HAMILTON*.



taken from the badge not the *badge* from the picture, as I venture to suggest. Most likely the reference to the *History of the Dukes of Hamilton* rather than to the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike* was given because Burnet is easily consulted, whereas of the forty-six editions of the latter printed in English,<sup>1</sup> in the year 1649 alone, many have no frontispiece, or have a totally different portrait of the King, and even when this symbolical picture is in place, there are no fewer than seventeen different versions of it—some indeed more like the badge than White's picture, but some which do not suggest it so well, and thus a reference to the *King's Book* might, if given, only puzzle the reader. The illustration on page 266 is from an edition of 1649, kindly lent me by Mr. Almack; this frontispiece (like that by Marshall, three-quarters face to right, which is probably better known, in that Mr. Edward Scott



PART OF TITLE-PAGE OF A RARE EDITION OF *EIKON BASILIKE*.

<sup>1</sup> See Edward Almack's *Bibliography of the King's Book*.

reproduced it in his edition of 1880), has, clearly shown, the *Gloria* and *Vanitas* upon the two crowns rendered in the badge, though they do not appear in White's version, and we might be tempted to refer the skull itself to a rare title-page of an edition with Marshall's frontispiece, which, by the courtesy of a friend, I am able to show. This title-page has a skull below C.R., crowned, beneath the usual motto, *Bona Agrere*, etc. See p. 267. A similar emblem was occasionally used on the bindings; these bindings are rare and vary according to the art displayed by the individual binder. The plate given and Marshall's larger print (three-quarters to right) also have the rock buffeted by waves and winds, which forms the reverse of the badges (*Med. Ill.* 1, 341-190 and 342-191), known as *Immota Triumphans*. This device



ENGRAVING BY HERTOCKS OF CHARLES I. (FROM A PICTURE BY FRUITIER) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.





IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS BADGE. *MED. ILL.*, I, 342-191.



PLATE FROM A RARE EDITION OF *EIKON BASILIKE* HAVING THE PROFILE TO LEFT, LENT BY MR. EDWARD ALMACK.





is well seen in a large engraving (executed in Antwerp by Hertocks from a picture by Fruitiers), now in the Print Room of the British Museum ; it has printed in the margin, "Place this figure in *Eikon Basilike*," and was used for a folio edition. Charles himself is said to have made the original rough drawing for the "emblem" picture, and it was engraved by Hollar and others ; paintings were also made, and Pepys mentions having seen such a picture in a church in Bishopsgate<sup>1</sup> in October, 1664, and there is still an example in St. Mary's, Rotherhithe. Of the varying engravings, Mr. Almack tells us in his *Bibliography of the King's Book* that five are three-quarter face and twelve profile, mostly to right, but he speaks of one, profile to *left*, the King kneeling on both knees, the crown of thorns in his right hand. This last frontispiece, which by the kindness of Mr. Almack I am able to show as Plate II, might, I think (allowing for the necessary alterations to suit the scope of a badge, and Rawlins's superior knowledge of the King's features), have served the medallist as a model for the obverse of *Med. Ill.*, I, 342-191, the *Immota Triumphans* badge. This edition was printed in Paris in 1640, and Rawlins was in France at that time. I am showing an example of *Med. Ill.*, I, 342-191, on the same plate.



MEMORIAL OF CHARLES I. DIAMOND ON ANVIL.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 340-187.

<sup>1</sup> Pepys says "went to a church in Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture usually put before the *King's Book*, up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to see up in a church." Mr. Almack says this picture at St. Botolph's was afterwards destroyed, but I have ascertained that the example at St. Mary's, Rotherhithe, is still in good condition.

The reverse already referred to, "The Rock buffeted by the Winds," is a type of the King's fortitude, also commemorated on other badges, such as the two now illustrated, namely, the hammer striking a diamond on an anvil (*Med. Ill.*, I, 340-187), and the salamander amidst flames (*Med. Ill.*, I, 341-188), which by



MEMORIAL OF CHARLES I. SALAMANDER AMONG FLAME.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 341-188.

their inscriptions testify to the veneration in which the late King was held ; these vary in size and do not belong to the tiny secret series.

Nearly all the Stuart badges are cast and chased ; this naturally was convenient in the troublous times of the Civil War, when the King was no longer in possession of the Tower Mint, seized by the Parliamentarians in 1642. Moulds might easily be made from Rawlins's models, and should these moulds be broken or lost, they would readily be reproduced by making a fresh cast from a badge, though of course, in this case, the new issue would prove a little smaller than the original, from the shrinkage of the metal. It is possible also that Charles, great judge of art as he was, preferred the cast badge, for we must admit that the precision gained by the medals of James I. struck abroad by the mill and screw, was more than counterbalanced by the loss of the individuality imparted by the chasing of the master-hand, and also it was impossible with the limited knowledge of the new process then attained, to strike in *very* high relief. Successful as Croker was in the days of Anne in producing portraits struck in high

relief, this demanded great care, and each medal had to be struck again and again ; even in the present days of accurate machinery, the war medals are struck no less than three times, and the French medallists are reviving the practice of casting, even reverting to the *cire perdue* process.

In the days of Charles I. it would have been difficult to produce a badge, excepting by casting, in high relief, such as the rare and beautiful *Med. Ill.*, 1, 357-222, with obverse, Charles in armour ; reverse Henrietta Maria in high lace-trimmed gown. See page 258. A very fine example of this badge, lot 134 at the Murdoch sale, realized the sum of £9 5s. My specimen bears traces of much wear, and the long noses of both King and Queen have suffered in consequence, but we can still appreciate the admirable effect of light and shade given by the depth of the casting.

The art of casting medals was revived from the ancient Romans, or one might almost say, was invented by Pisano in Italy in the fifteenth century. He modelled his portraits in wax, prepared his moulds with the greatest care, and was able to produce those marvellous medals of Malatesta Novello and others, which we see in the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum and in the Wallace Collection, etc. In Queen Elizabeth's time, though her badges were cast, an attempt was made to introduce at the Mint, under the Frenchman Mestrell, the new invention of the mill and screw to supersede the hammered currency, but according to Vertue,<sup>1</sup> "though the Queen and her Council liked well the way of making milled money within her Mint, when she knew that the Monsieur, who coined her money *in* the Mint, did also at the same time counterfeit and make milled money *out* of the Mint, all his friends could not save him, though he had many, but according to the strict laws of this nation, he was condemned to death and did suffer execution," and the hammered coinage was resumed.

The next effort after a milled currency was made by Nicholas Briot, again a Frenchman, who having become acquainted in Germany with an improved method of striking money, and met with no encouragement

<sup>1</sup> Vertue's *Coin Medals, Great Seals, etc.*, p. 24.

in his own country, left his employment in France, and came to England in 1625. He was appointed chief engraver to the Mint in England in 1633, and Master of the Scottish Mint in 1635, having as early as 1628 been granted a privilege to design "the effigy of the King's image." He was most successful, as his fine coinage attests, in the use of his balance, but nearly all his medals were cast, and his unique badge of King Charles (now in the British Museum) with the incuse rose on the reverse, *Med. Ill.*, I, 364-246, is cast and chased. Nicholas Briot produced a fine series of medals, and it is difficult to see why he was not more employed on the King's badges, but little is known of him after the outbreak of the Civil War, *subsequently* to which calamity, the fashion of wearing such tokens of goodwill to the Royalist cause became general, and Briot, though he followed the King to Oxford, and died there in 1646, is said<sup>1</sup> to have meanwhile returned for a time to France (1642 to 1643), and his place seems to have been supplied by Rawlins, who had studied under him. Walpole mentions a report that, growing old, Briot was made a poor Knight of Windsor, and was superseded unwillingly in his work<sup>2</sup>

The practice of coining by the mill and screw was never thoroughly established till the year 1662, when Blondeau, who during the Commonwealth had, with Simon, endeavoured through much opposition, to produce a milled currency, was with the assistance of Roettier, commanded by Charles II. to prepare money by the improved process, but this referred only to the currency, and Charles II.'s badges, like his father's, were nearly all cast and chased.

We must, however, note a few exceptions, one certainly in *Med. Ill.*, I, 453-38, see my specimen, which is struck and composed of two thin shells united by a metal rim; it usually has a ring for suspension, and so should be classed as a badge, though in my example, the ring is absent. It is one of the best portraits of Charles II., and was formerly attributed to Thomas Simon, but now to Rawlins. The reverse has three crowns hanging on the branches of a bare oak tree with the legend TANDEM REVIRESCET. "It

<sup>1</sup> By M. Mazerolle, see Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*.

<sup>2</sup> Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i, p. 257, Wornum's ed. 1888.

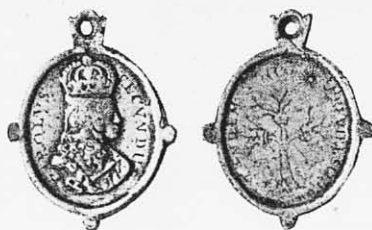
will flourish at last" points to the expected Restoration, and reappears in a smaller size on the little cast badge, *Med. Ill.*, I, 454-41, with



BADGE OF CHARLES II. WITH LEGEND TANDEM . REVIRESCET.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 453-38.

crowned bust of the King for obverse, which I am also showing; it is rough and rather ugly, but rare. This design reminds us of the



SMALL BADGE OF CHARLES II. TANDEM . REVIRESCET.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 454-41.

dying admonition of Sir Thomas Wyndham to his five sons—"Though the crown should hang upon a bush, I charge you forsake it not." The father's behest was almost literally obeyed by Col. Francis Wyndham, when he helped in effecting the escape of Charles II. shortly after the famous Boscobel Oak incident. Three other of these five sons had done their part in dying, fighting for Charles I. The obverse of this small badge is the same as that seen on *Med. Ill.*, I, 440-9 and 441-10, attributed by the new edition of *Medallic Illustrations* to Rawlins.

The fine uncrowned portrait of Charles II. on No. 38, may be seen again on *Med. Ill.*, I, 454-42 with the extremely rare reverse, known as the "Dove and olive branch," of which I reproduce my

example, and also another on which it appears much smaller, *Med. Ill.*, I, 443-15, with the phoenix rising from the flames; reminding



BADGE OF CHARLES II. REVERSE, DOVE AND OLIVE BRANCH.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 454-42.

us of the perpetuity of the monarchical office, one king succeeding another, as the phoenix rises from the funeral pyre of its parent; this symbol had been already used on a badge of Charles I. in a much



BADGE OF CHARLES II. REVERSE, PHOENIX.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 443-15.

more elaborate form. It would be hard to say that any great artist executed the originals of the rougher types such as *Med. Ill.*, I, 454-41 and 440-9 here shown, but Rawlins was a very uneven worker,



BADGE OF CHARLES II. CROWNED.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 440-9.

and no doubt also many inferior copies of his portraits were made for hurried and cheap distribution. A very hasty production of Simon's is the coronation badge *Med. Ill.*, 1, 473-77. I do not possess it, and I therefore show a fine example of the coronation medal, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 472-76, of which it is the rough copy.



CORONATION MEDAL OF CHARLES II.  
*MED. ILL.*, 1, 472-76.

This medal, perhaps the most marvellously finished portrait ever produced by Simon, shows every feature of the King, even in the small figure on the reverse, and is amongst the most beautiful of all coronation memorials. Another fine portrait of Charles II., I should think the work of Simon, is *Med. Ill.*, 1, 445-21. My example has



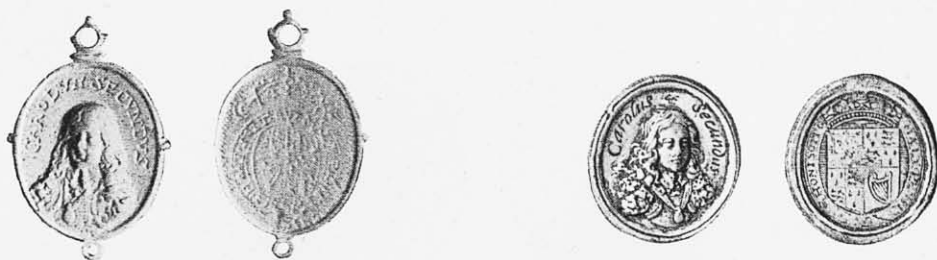
BADGE OF CHARLES II. CROWNED.  
*MED. ILL.*, 1, 445-21.

a plain reverse, but I have seen a specimen with the same bust on both sides, and again with the royal arms within a garter, or on a square shield crowned.

With few exceptions, there is little to admire in the portraiture of Charles II. on his badges; there are, however, a small number,



probably executed by Rawlins during his residence abroad in the early youth of the King, which are not unpleasing. Amongst these we may mention *Med. Ill.*, 1, 439-6, which I am able to illustrate by kind permission of Mr. Berney-Ficklin, and another in my own



BADGES OF CHARLES II., CIRCA 1649.

*MED. ILL.*, 1, 439-6.

*MED. ILL.*, 1, 438-3.

possession, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 438-3. These two badges are in high relief and of fairly good workmanship. The latter, though uncommon, is found with several differing reverses, of which one, showing two angels supporting a crown, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 438-5, reappears with another obverse on *Med. Ill.*, 1, 439-7, and again with a well-known bust of Charles on *Med. Ill.*, 1, 444-18.



BADGES OF CHARLES II. WITH ANGELS SUPPORTING A CROWN.

*MED. ILL.*, 1, 439-7.

REVERSE OF 438-5,  
439-7 AND 444-18.

*MED. ILL.*, 1, 444-18.

I illustrate No. 7 from my collection, and No. 18 from Mr. Berney-Ficklin's. The reverse of the three last-mentioned badges has been described as reminding us of Blondeau's<sup>1</sup> Commonwealth pattern halfcrown; this pattern I cannot trace. The date of the Restoration is given as that of most of Charles II.'s

<sup>1</sup> Ramage's pattern has *one* angel guarding two shields, but this can hardly be meant.



badges. The fact that the King usually appears to be wearing his own very fine head of hair, instead of a heavy and graceless periwig, points to their having been executed at the latest before the year 1663 or 1664, at which time, according to Pepys,<sup>1</sup> it was (on his hair turning grey) that the King adopted the already prevailing fashion. He says in 1663, "I heard the Duke of York say, he was going to wear a periwig and the king as well; I never till this day observed how grey the king was"; and again in 1664,<sup>2</sup> "I saw the King in his periwig; but altered not at all." Nevertheless the fashion was very unbecoming, and Pepys says of James, "The Duke first put on a periwig to-day, but methought his hair cut short in order thereto, did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwig." This senseless custom was much liked by the "Roundheads" (so christened by Henrietta Maria) who were glad to escape from the sneers of the Cavaliers by covering their short locks, whilst their enemies in time, according to Miss Strickland,<sup>3</sup> cut off their own envied lovelocks to put on the imitation "devised by rivals," and even women fell victims to this fashion. The custom of wearing periwigs was however popularized by the elderly courtiers of Louis XIV. of France, in admiration of the boy-king's beautiful flowing curls, and was probably brought to England by our exiles, who had taken refuge at the French Court, and adopted rather than "devised" by the Roundheads.

I have a little cliché, probably intended for insertion in a badge, which must be of later execution than 1663, as the periwig clearly appears in it; although very ugly, it is of some interest, as it is possibly



CLICHÉ OF CHARLES II., CIRCA 1664.  
MED. ILL., I, 448-29A.

<sup>1</sup> Pepys' *Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 112, ed. 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys, vol. ii, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. v, p. 563.

unique. It is from the Montagu collection, and I have followed Mr. Montagu's example in numbering it, *Med. Ill.*, I, 448-29A.

The badges distributed in celebration of Charles II.'s marriage, solemnized in 1662, are mostly so unpleasing and badly executed, that excepting for their historical interest, no one could wish to possess one, and I think the specimen here shown (*Med. Ill.*, I, 483-96) is perhaps the ugliest of all, as the Queen appears in the hideous Portuguese fashions, which she discarded soon after her arrival in England.



MARRIAGE BADGE OF CHARLES II. AND CATHERINE.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 483-96.

Catherine's one beauty, her magnificent mass of chestnut hair, was arranged in a sort of pyramid quite awry above her face, and spread out at the sides in wings—enclosed behind in a net—so that Evelyn on her landing says: "The Queen arrived with a train of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingales, their complexions olivader and sufficiently unagreeable; her Majesty in the same habit, her foretop long and turned aside very strangely—she was yet the handsomest countenance of all the rest, tho' low of stature, prettily shaped with languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little far out—for the rest lovely enough."<sup>1</sup> I fear the "handsomest countenance" was not much to boast of as the ladies to whom Evelyn preferred her are described by De Gramont,<sup>2</sup> as "six frights—her duenna another monster," and he says, "the new Queen gave but little additional brilliancy to the Court." Lord Dartmouth

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's 1827 ed., vol. ii, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> De Gramont, vol. i, p. 136.

speaks of her as short and broad, of a swarthy complexion, and having a front tooth which stood out and held up her upper lip, and Charles himself before he married her, told Colonel Legge that he thought<sup>1</sup> "they had brought him a bat instead of a woman, but it was too late to find fault, and he must make the best of a bad matter."

So plain was Catherine, that such slight consideration as Charles showed her was matter of comment amongst his courtiers; but with all his faults the "Merry Monarch" was, as Burnet says, "the best bred man of his age," and treated his wife with a certain measure of courtesy, if not with any constancy. We must perhaps except the matter of Lady Castlemaine's appointment as Lady-in-Waiting when he pretended to think his marital authority was called in question. Poor Catherine was so anxious to obtain and retain her husband's favour, that she shortly adopted the English fashions, and appeared with her hair unbound, to Pepys' admiration: "the Queen looked, her hair dressed à la negligé, mighty pretty," donning the extremely low gowns with which Sir Peter Lely has made us familiar; to this period we owe some slightly better marriage badges, but they are mostly of poor workmanship. The little heart-shaped boxes remind us by their form of Charles I.'s memorials, but they proudly display on the outside the portraits of the King and Queen, as they appeared in 1662, in all their ugliness, for neither was Charles II. handsome. As a baby he was so plain, that his mother, writing to a friend, refuses to send his picture because he is "so dark and ugly"; and grown to manhood, on being shown a portrait of himself, he exclaimed, "Oddsfish! I am an ugly fellow!" whilst Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, speaks of his "most saturnine harsh countenance" as being a curious contrast to his "merry and merciful disposition." The limits of a badge are such as not to be affected by figure, otherwise we must admit that in this particular, Charles II. was better looking than his father; the first Charles was not above middle height, and a weakness in the legs from which he suffered as a child, was still perceptible in his manhood in a slightly crooked knee, whereas Charles II. was 6 feet 2 inches in height—the proclamation for his arrest after the battle of Worcester,

<sup>1</sup> Note in Burnet, vol. i, p. 315, 1833 ed.

when £1,000 was offered for his apprehension, describing him as "over 2 yards high" and "la Grande Mdle." when he was first in France, speaks of his good figure and carriage.

Although we cannot therefore entirely attribute the marked superiority of the majority of the badges cast for Charles I. over those of Charles II. to the more pleasing appearance of the former King, we must admit that Rawlins in the father had a better model than in the son. We cannot perhaps suppose, that Charles I. and Henrietta Maria were as handsome as Van Dyck, with his idealizing brush, would give us to understand, but the remarkable beauty of the King's expression is perceptible on all his coins and medals; indeed Evelyn in speaking of *Med. Ill.* I, 346-199 by Norbert Roettier, says, that of all the portraits of Charles this medal is "incomparably the most resembling his serene countenance, when in his princely vigour," though I need hardly call attention to the fact that this representation of Charles I. executed by the Dutch artist during his residence in England after the Restoration, does not bear the same stamp of evidence as to the King's appearance, as would a portrait for which he had himself posed as model.

Henrietta, though far less amiable than her plainer daughter-in-law, created a very much more favourable impression on her arrival in England. Holland had written to Charles from Paris, before her marriage, describing her as the sweetest creature in France, and calls her "that young lady, that is for beauty and goodness an angel," and though the vivacity of her temper was well known, it did but add brilliancy to her appearance. At the time of her marriage she was only fifteen, and the smallness of her stature made her look still younger. On her landing she seemed to Charles taller than had been reported, and the story is told that, he scanning her from head to foot, she guessed that he suspected her of wearing high heels, and exclaimed, "Sir, I stand upon mine own feet, I have no help by art, thus high I am, and neither higher, nor lower." Her great beauty lay in her large expressive eyes. Howel writes of her, "She hath eyes that sparkle like stars, and for her physiognomy she may be said to be a mirror of perfection," and another writer in a private letter says, "I went

to Whitehall purposely to see the Queen, and perceived her to be a most absolute delicate lady—all the features of her face much enlivened by her radiant and sparkling black eyes."

But apart from the question of the appearance of the respective royal models, may I suggest that the fact of the usual superiority of the badges cast for the first Charles is probably due to the interest taken by the King himself in the numismatic art. We know that he had a fine collection of coins—even corresponding concerning them with the keeper of his medals during the time of his captivity in Carisbrooke Castle—that he was in the habit of carrying certain medals in his pocket at all times, see note to *Med. Ill.*, 1, 265–59 on the Scottish Coronation medal, "much worn in his Majesty's pocket" (Harl. MS. 4718, f. 23) and two<sup>1</sup> rival gold pieces have been put forward as the last gift of the King to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold. According to some old authorities,<sup>2</sup> the parting present sent by Charles to his son was the "George," containing his mother's portrait. Again Charles II. once spoke of having lost the engraved diamond in the signet ring,<sup>3</sup> which, when the deceased King was on the scaffold, he gave to the Bishop of London "to be delivered to my hands," but be this as it may, the belief that the King's last gift was actually the Five-Broad Piece, generally called the "Juxon Medal" (now in the Gem Room in the British Museum), brought about the fact that this fine specimen of Rawlins's work realized the sum of £770 at the Montagu sale in 1896.

Again we know that to whatever straits Charles I. was reduced, he refused to debase the currency, and the coins of some of his local mints were extremely fine. We must admit that by command<sup>4</sup> of Buckingham, £60,000 worth of debased shillings were issued in 1626, but Sir Robert Cotton presented a paper to the King which at once convinced him that the scheme was ruinous, and he caused the money

<sup>1</sup> The Dominion-of-the-Sea-Medal is the other.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst others, Whitelocke, p. 370, *Memorial of the English affair*.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles II., by Osmond Airy, but Whitelocke says that when Princess Elizabeth came to bid the King goodbye at Whitehall, he gave her two seals with diamonds; it might be one of these Charles meant.

<sup>4</sup> See Disraeli's *Commentaries on Charles I.*, vol. i, p. 194.

to be recalled. The suggestion<sup>1</sup> was again made in 1640, but negatived by the Privy Council, and it is greatly to the credit of the King that he should not have followed the bad example set him by some of his predecessors. Another proof of his love of numismatics is that to him we must attribute the custom of distributing badges, which died out in the reign of his son. He encouraged the arts in every way—unlike George II., who exclaimed, when Hogarth asked for permission to dedicate to him a Shakesperian picture he had just engraved, “No, I hate *bainting* and *boetry* too, neither the one nor the other ever did anybody any good.” Foreign artists flocked to the Court of Charles—Mytens, Van Dyck, Rubens were amongst his eminent painters; the last when coming to England to negotiate a treaty between this country and Spain, declared in a private letter,<sup>2</sup> that his chief inducement in accepting the mission and visiting England, lay in the fact that he had been “credibly informed that the prince of that country is the best judge of art in Europe.” Charles wished to complete the magnificence of the banqueting hall at Whitehall, the ceiling of which had been painted by Rubens, and asked Sir Anthony Van Dyck to decorate the walls, but the fee required was too large.<sup>3</sup> According to Walpole, the latter asked the sum of £80,000, but a later note by Dallaway suggests that for eighty we should read eight, inasmuch as Rubens only received £3,000 for executing his portion of the work.<sup>4</sup>

The rivalry between Charles I. of England and Philip IV. of Spain as collectors of curios became so great, that, it is affirmed, the price of paintings rose to double their former value in consequence of the competition amongst their agents in obtaining rare works of art for their royal masters.

It might be a matter of surprise that so great a lover of the arts as Charles I. should not have given more encouragement to the brothers Simon, but Abraham Simon passed a good deal of time out

<sup>1</sup> Aitkin's *Memoirs of Charles I.*, vol. ii, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Jesse's *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, vol. ii, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i, p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. i, p. 307.



of England in the service of Christina, Queen of Sweden; and Thomas Simon (though according to Vertue, he studied under Nicholas Briot at the Mint) took the Parliamentary side when the Civil War began, whereas Rawlins, also a good artist, though lacking in the masterly finish seen in the portraiture of Simon—followed his royal master to the local mints and remained faithful to the Stuart cause. Thomas Rawlins, best known by his Oxford Crown and the Five-Broad Pattern piece—before referred to—was appointed engraver to the Mint in 1643. He was a many-sided man, playwright, poet, engraver of gems and intaglios, and according to Evelyn, “an excellent artist, but a debased fellow”; but as the engraver had endeavoured to borrow money of the virtuoso, possibly Evelyn may have taken a prejudiced view of the conduct of Rawlins.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Rawlins was born, the *National Biography* tells us (with a query), about 1620, and in the course of fifty years, life showed him, as was the case with most Royalists, much of its seamy side. His Oxford Crown was produced in 1644; of his Forlorn Hope medal in 1643 we have already spoken, and on a series of badges we know that he was employed both before and after the King's death. He had been made *chief* engraver of the Mint in the year 1647, but about 1648, he seems to have taken refuge in France till 1652. After his return from the Continent, he tried without success to keep out of a debtor's prison by making tradesmen's tokens in various parts of England, till the Restoration brought him relief, and he again became chief engraver in the place of Simon, who was compensated with the position of “Engraver of His Majesty's Seals,” Rawlins retaining his office till his death in 1670. The story of the brothers Simon has been given us in some detail by Vertue.<sup>2</sup> He tells us on tradition only, that he believes them to have been born in Yorkshire, and leaves the dates of their birth uncertain—if those given in the *National*

<sup>1</sup> A curious letter dated February 27, 1657-8, from Rawlins to Evelyn, written from “The Hole in St. Martin's,” where the former was imprisoned for debt, is printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Vertue's *Medals, Coins, Great Seal, and Impressions from the works of Thomas Simon*, 1753.

*Biography*<sup>1</sup> with a query for the brothers respectively, as 1622 for Abraham, and 1623 for Thomas are correct, the latter must have been very young when in about 1635 he began his connection with the Mint. If born in 1623, Thomas Simon would be but sixteen when he made his Scottish Rebellion medal, but Pistrucci was no older when his cameos were already sold as antiques by fraudulent dealers. Vertue tells us that Briot is said to have taken Thomas Simon under his tuition on his return through Yorkshire from Scotland, whither he had gone to engrave some medal-dies and coin-dies in 1633, and that afterwards under Sir Edward Harley, the master of the Mint, "he was preferred to be one of the engravers thereof." In the year 1645 he was appointed by the Parliament as joint-engraver with Edward Wade, and subsequently became chief engraver to the Mint, but he "incurred His Majesty's displeasure by imitating the Royal Seal for the use of the Parliament," and whilst Charles employed the services of Rawlins at Oxford and at his local mints, Simon engraved the great seal of the Parliament at the Tower and the dies for many medals for Fairfax, Cromwell, and others. He made the dies for the milled coinage of the Lord Protector, in 1656 to 1658, and on the death of Cromwell, he continued for a time in his office, making at the Restoration some remarkably fine medals and badges (those discussed here and many others), and was employed on Charles II.'s hammered coinage for the first years of his reign; but in 1662 the Roettiers coming over to England from Flanders, the contest arose concerning the milled coinage between Jan Roettier and Simon, which resulted in the production of the magnificent "Petition Crown." This work of art, if it failed in its object of convincing Charles of the superiority of the English artist to the Dutchman, has certainly obtained the verdict of this generation—witness the fact that when three examples of this very rare<sup>2</sup> pattern came into the market (curiously enough within a few months of each other), in 1903, they realized respectively the

<sup>1</sup> *The National Biography* says A. and T. Simon were the sons of Peter and Anne Simon of Guernsey, married in London in 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Berge on November 22, 1853 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xvi, p. 133), noted fifteen known specimens (thirteen silver, two pewter).



large sums of £420, £365, and £310. Even in 1832 before the fancy prices given for curios in these days were reached, one of these crowns fetched over £225, but in 1889 the maximum price of £500 was bid. It is probable that Charles II., who was not so good a judge of the arts as his father, was more actuated in his decision, by questions of religion and politics than by the merits of the case; not that I wish to disparage the fine work of Roettier, of whom Evelyn says, "that excellent graver belonging to the Mint who emulates even the ancients in both metal and stone."<sup>1</sup> Charles II. naturally reinstated Rawlins, his father's faithful servant, in his old employment, but the making of the new coinage he entrusted to Jan Roettier, whilst Simon, retained in the capacity of medallist, did some fine work for the King up to the year 1665.

George Vertue, the biographer of the Simons, informs us that although he took great pains to ascertain the exact date and place of Thomas Simon's death, he was unsuccessful, "having searched many wills and places of burial." He, however, tells us tradition affirms that the great artist died "in the year of the great sickness," *i.e.*, the plague—and as we know the date on which his will was proved at the Consistory Court of Canterbury, namely, in the month of August, 1655, besides learning from Pepys that cases of plague were in June already to be found in the vicinity of St. Clements in the City of London—the parish where Simon resided—we may assume that the tradition is correct and that Thomas Simon died of "the great sickness" soon after the outbreak thereof, though not before June 30th, a claim for payment of work done by him up to that date being still extant.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to say exactly how much Thomas Simon was indebted to the eccentric and clever Abraham for the designs of some of his medals and coins; although the signature T.S. appears on pieces which may have been the joint work of the two brothers, this might be because of Thomas's official position; that either was capable of

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, p. 163, and viii, p. 22.

working alone is abundantly proved,<sup>1</sup> but it is said that Abraham often made the original wax sketch, Thomas the finished portrait from it, Abraham excelling in portraiture, Thomas above all men in die-sinking, engraving, and chasing. We know that Abraham was in the habit of carrying in his pocket a small piece of wax-covered glass, and whenever a face struck his fancy, he hastily modelled a sketch. The story is told by Vertue of his placing himself in a prominent position in the royal chapel during a visit he made to France whilst in the train of Christina of Sweden, in order to sketch Louis XIII., when his curious occupation and appearance (for, contrary to the fashion of that Court, he always wore a beard and rough travelling dress) so excited the King, that he had the artist arrested. On being questioned by Louis, he said, "Sire, what are you afraid of, to see a man with his own hair and beard, which the king, your father, would have been ashamed to have been seen without, for fear of being thought a boy, and no wise man?" The curious personality of Abraham Simon, more striking in those days than it would be now, is presented to us on *Med. Ill.*, 1, 512-154 by Stuart. See Plate III.

This portrait is engraved by Vertue on Plate XXXV of *Medals, Coins, etc.*, together with one of Thomas Simon, *Med. Ill.*, 1, 513-155; see Plate III. They are of interest as showing the appearance of the brothers, though Stuart was not a contemporary artist. Vertue tells us that "many eminent artists drew Abraham's picture in his lifetime"—he does not give their names, but Peter Lely and Godfrey Kneller were of the number. Vertue says, "this medal of his own portrait is engraved from a model of his own making in wax, amongst the collections of Sir Hans Sloane." This model is now in the British Museum, where I have examined it, and it is reproduced on Plate III. In it is clearly seen the medal and chain always worn by Abraham Simon—given to him by Christina of Sweden; it is a rough sketch, very spirited, probably very like, much more characteristic, older-looking and less formal than Stuart's medallion, and though Vertue's plate has a line engraving on the field, the latter is in

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn speaks of "a virtuoso fantastical Symons who had the talent of embossing so to ye life." Evelyn's *Diary*, 8 June, 1653.



ABRAHAM SIMON'S WAX MEDALLION OF HIMSELF, BRITISH MUSEUM.



*The Ingenious Artists,  
Brothers,  
Abraham SIMON  
& Thomas SIMON.  
An<sup>o</sup> 1663.*



PLATE XXXV OF GEORGE VERTUE'S *MEDALS, COINS, ETC.*, FROM THE WORKS OF SIMON.



ABRAHAM SIMON, BY STUART.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 512-154.



THOMAS SIMON, BY STUART.  
*MED. ILL.*, I, 512-155.



other respects far more like Stuart's production than Simon's original sketch. Vertue gives no clue as to the origin of Thomas's picture, but writes under the two engravings, *The Ingenious Artists Brothers Abraham and Thomas Simon. An<sup>o</sup> 1663.* Now whence did Vertue get this date? Stuart's medallions are not dated, and it has hitherto remained an open question whether Stuart saw and copied Vertue's plate, that being taken from a dated medal unknown, or whether Vertue merely gave the portraits of both brothers by Stuart, possibly under the impression that they were actually executed in 1663 (for Stuart's work deceived many), or whether both had access to the same contemporary medals of the brothers Simon. Little is known of Stuart, but it is said that he has been identified<sup>1</sup> with an artist, who did some good work for the Society for Promoting Arts and Commerce in the year 1759, which inclined us to the belief that probably—the plate being dated 1751, and the book printed in 1753—Vertue executed his engraving *before* Stuart made the medals—consequently that originals must have been known to Geo. Vertue.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv, p. 221, Mr. Nightingale describes and illustrates these medallions from the collection of Mr. W. D. Haggard, stating that the owner had traced their existence in "the possession of one family for about a century back." Seeing from the illustration and description that these specimens appeared infinitely superior to those usually met with and probably antecedent to Stuart, I endeavoured to follow them, and, through the kind co-operation of Mr. Grueber, have had the pleasure of examining them in the British Museum. They are thin silver plates of repoussé work, and though not dated, appear to be of about the time of Simon. May we suppose these to be the originals copied by Vertue and Stuart? Illustrations of these finer works will be found on Plate L of *Medallic Illustrations*, shortly to be issued.

The life of Abraham Simon was full of vicissitudes; he was trained for the Church, but gave up the prospect and went to Sweden, with what intention is not known, but by his wax portraiture he obtained the notice of Christina, the Queen, who was herself a

<sup>1</sup> See *Med. Ill.*, 2, p. 741, and Hollis's *Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 87.

connoisseur, and he became her agent, collecting works of art in various parts of Europe. He went in her retinue, as gentleman-in-waiting, to France, but finding little employment after the Queen left Sweden, he removed to Holland for a time. At the Restoration he returned to England and worked for the King, for whose portrait, made for the medal of the "Royal Oak," he received £100, but on asking the same sum shortly afterwards for a model of the Duke of York, and only £50 being offered him, Vertue tells us that "pretending something further to be done for improvement thereof, he got the model into his own hands again, and squeezing it together entirely defaced it." This hasty action deprived him of Court employment; he fell into poverty, and little more is heard of him till his death in 1692.

Having told what little I know of the makers of the Stuart badges, it now remains to me only to call attention to the fact, that the Restoration once accomplished, the need to excite the sympathies of the nation having passed temporarily away, the fashion of distributing these memorials also ceased, and though the custom of striking medals was ever on the ascendant, strange to say, neither James II. after the Revolution—nor his son "James III." as his adherents proudly called him—issued badges in any quantities. They continued the practice of touching for the "King's Evil," a custom which began with Edward the Confessor, and was pursued uninterruptedly by all monarchs, with the exceptions of William and Mary, until the end of Anne's reign. The piece of money used for suspension round the neck of the sufferer was the angel, but from the days of Charles II., this gold coin being no longer current,<sup>1</sup> a special medalet was struck, the example I illustrate *Med. Ill.*, 1, 477-86, being the first type.

Those of James II. are smaller, and he was the first king who substituted silver for gold; this he did in 1685. The practice was continued by the Stuarts to the third generation, Charles Edward in the name of Charles III. and Cardinal York as Henry IX. exercising

<sup>1</sup> A warrant issued in the reign of James I. for the special coining of angels as touch pieces shows that, although they were current coin, they were also made ready pierced for the purpose of suspension.

the Royal privilege ; it is even said that during the life of his father, the younger Chevalier performed cures at Edinburgh, and a story is



TOUCH PIECE OF CHARLES II.

*MED. ILL.*, I, 477-86.

told that an ardent supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty, on bringing his son to George the First, in hopes that the King might touch him—received the contemptuous answer—"Go to——the Pretender." The result of a visit to Prince James in his exile being, we are told, satisfactory, the believer in the royal touch changed his politics. These little touch pieces being made for a special purpose and not bearing the "King's effigy," should not really come into our present discussion ; they are, however, so far as I know with few exceptions, the only medalets made for suspension, putting forth claims to royalty, issued by the exiled Stuarts, though there are, as I have said, many very fine medals struck for them by the Roettiers and others.

There is in the collection of Mr. Berney Ficklin, a rude badge made to commemorate the marriage of James Francis Edward and Clementina Sobieske, at the same time bearing a memorial of the death of Charles I. It has on one side the engraved portrait of King Charles and "Remember," and on the other, two hands joined and the date 1719. This badge was illustrated in the *Connoisseur* of August, 1903. Again there is a representation of Queen Anne with a reverse of Charles I., probably issued to excite interest in the cause of James after the death of the Queen, and two curious and rough metal badges have been successively illustrated in the *Numismatic Circular* of September, 1899, and October, 1905, differing from each other, but both portraying the young Chevalier, and evidently intended for distribution in the rising of 1745. Apart from the danger, in those days, of preserving such relics, we can hardly wonder that



anything so ugly should only have survived in these solitary specimens ; though they may at the time have been distributed in large numbers, the loyalty which might have treasured them was a dangerous luxury, and the love of art would have led to their destruction rather than to their preservation.

It now only remains to me to tender my thanks to Mr. Berney Ficklin, Mr. Thorn Drury, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Andrew, Mr. S. M. Spink, Mr. Talbot Ready, and the other exhibitors, who have so largely contributed to the interest of our discussion on the Stuart portraits—specially to those who have kindly lent me their badges or pictures for illustration. When not otherwise specified, I have had recourse to my own collection. Last, but not least, may I express my warmest thanks very specially to the President, to the Secretary, and also to several other members of the Society for the kindness and patience with which they have constantly helped me in my difficulties, and the courtesy with which I have been received by them, as the first lady member admitted within their ranks.



# THE OBSIDIONAL MONEY OF THE GREAT REBELLION.

1642-1649.

BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D.

**T**HE period of the Civil war, 1642-1649, or as it has been termed by Clarendon, "The Great Rebellion," is a section of our national history unsurpassed in interest and the accomplishment of great purposes. Throughout this time intestine warfare was carried on with varying results between the party of the King, or the Cavaliers, and the supporters of Parliamentary Reform. From the austerities of their style of dress and habits the latter became known as the Puritan party or Roundheads; and this struggle, whatever its merits, by overthrowing the feudal system, initiated that liberty and sense of justice, which are among the proudest attributes of the English nation to-day.

Into the circumstances which led by insensible steps to the outbreak of the civil war, it is not within our province to enquire: it is sufficient here to remark that the questions in dispute between the King and Parliament were such, that both parties despairing of any settlement or compromise, determined to put the matter to the arbitrament of the sword and to "let loose the dogs of war."

Upon August 22, 1642, Charles erected his standard at Nottingham, a banner inscribed with the legend, "Religio Protestans Leges Angliae Libertas Parlamenti," an inscription expressing sentiments which in the opinion of the opposition were somewhat open to question. The first engagement, a cavalry skirmish, took place at Powick Bridge, near Worcester, September 25, 1642, where the Royalists under Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, were

successful, and Colonel Sandys, the leader of the Parliamentary horse, was among the slain. This initial success raised the hopes of the King's party, but to be damped by their somewhat Pyrrhic victory of Edgehill, October 23, 1642.

In the course of the following year were contested the battles of Chalgrove Field, June 18, where the patriot Hampden was mortally wounded; Atherton Moor, June 30; Lansdown, July 5; and Roundway Down, Devizes, July 13; in all of which engagements the party of the King was victorious. On July 26, the city of Bristol was carried by storm by the Crown forces under the command of Prince Rupert, and this stronghold proved a most important acquisition, since at that period Bristol was the first seaport in the kingdom. In the same year, September 20, was fought the first battle of Newbury, in which combat Lords Falkland, Sunderland and Carnarvon were among the slain, the former of whom thus attained to that peace he sighed for. The campaign of 1644 opened with the defeat, at Nantwich, in Cheshire, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, January 25, 1643-1644, of a body of Irish troops, which having landed at Mostyn, in North Wales, had overrun Cheshire on behalf of the King. England was, however, invaded from the north by the Scots at the instance of the Parliament, who were with difficulty kept in check by the Royalists under the command of the Marquis of Newcastle. At this time Fairfax returning from Cheshire, defeated Colonel Bellasis at Selby, and Newcastle, fearing to be surrounded by the two converging forces, retreated to York, where he was at once besieged. Prince Rupert marched to his aid, relieving on his way several beleaguered garrisons, among others that of Lathom House.

Acting upon the urgent commands of Charles, whose headquarters were then at Oxford, but contrary to the advice of Newcastle, with whose forces he had effected a junction, Rupert, who meant fighting, led forth the army to the moor near Long Marston, upon July 2, and joined battle with the levies of the Parliament, under the joint command of Fairfax and Cromwell. The results of this combat were disastrous to the cause of the King, as the fruits of apparent victory in the earlier stage of the action, were lost, owing to the

rashness of Rupert. On the morrow he withdrew his shattered forces into Lancashire and on July 16, York opened its gates to the victors.

One of the results of this battle was the withdrawal of the Marquis of Newcastle from the strife; this nobleman, seeing the hopelessness of the Royalist cause, and disgusted that his advice had been disregarded, retired to Scarborough, whence he passed over to the Continent, and remained there until the Restoration.

Previous to the battle of Marston Moor, Waller had been routed at Copredy Bridge near Banbury on June 29, by the Royalists, who then marched westwards against the forces of Essex. The latter's army falling back, was cornered in Cornwall and compelled to capitulate, with the exception of the horse, which under Balfour passed safely through the Royalist lines in a mist and so escaped. Previously however to this surrender, Essex, who had abandoned his army, escaped by boat to Plymouth. After this Parliamentary reverse, there was fought, October 27, the second battle of Newbury, the results of which combat were upon the whole adverse to the cause of Charles.

In the beginning of the following year, January 30, 1644-45, a conference was arranged at Uxbridge, for an attempted settlement of the matters in dispute between the King and the Parliament, but the negotiations fell through and civil war was at once renewed.

As a consequence of the self-denying ordinance passed by the House of Lords, April 3, 1645, Essex, Manchester, Warwick and many others, relinquished their commands, and the chief military control passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Fairfax. From this point onward misfortune dogged the Royalist cause. On June 14, 1645, Charles sustained a crushing defeat at Naseby, at the hands of Fairfax and Cromwell, a result due, as ever, to the impetuosity of Rupert. The King in this battle lost nearly a thousand killed and some five thousand prisoners, together with what proved even more damaging to his cause, namely, his private correspondence, which was subsequently published by the Parliament. Charles retreated to the West, in the vain hope of raising more troops in Wales, and at the same time Rupert threw himself into Bristol.

Fairfax following into the south-west, rapidly captured in

succession the towns of Bridgwater, Bath and Sherbourne, and immediately proceeded to the investment of Bristol, which city capitulated after a very feeble resistance, September 11, 1645. So annoyed was Charles at Rupert's unlooked-for surrender of this stronghold of the west, that he recalled all his commissions, and it may be said that the fall of Bristol was the circumstance which finally decided the fortunes of the war. Meanwhile, upon the surrender of Carlisle, June 25, the Scots army had marched south and besieged Hereford, but was obliged to fall back into Yorkshire before the advance of the forces of Charles, who passed north to relieve Chester. Here at Rowton Heath, September 24, he suffered yet another defeat, which resulted in the immediate reduction of the west by the Parliamentary arms under Fairfax.

Charles, immediately after this battle, once more returned to Oxford, which, early in 1646, was invested by Colonel Rainsborough. On April 27, the King, disguised as a servant, effected his escape, and making his way to Newark, gave himself up to the Scottish army, which at the time, May 5, was besieging that town.

Newark, together with all other strongholds held for the Crown, was surrendered by command of the King, and the Scots fell back by easy stages upon Newcastle. At this city the King, upon January 30, 1647, was handed over to the English Commissioners, in return for a payment of £400,000, claimed as arrears of pay for the Scottish troops, and this transaction led to the saying :—

“Traitor Scot

“Sold his King for a groat.”

Charles was removed to Homeby House in Northamptonshire, but after the raid of Joyce, he was conducted to Hampton Court. In November, he was induced to secretly retire to the Isle of Wight, where he was detained at Carisbrook Castle by Colonel Hammond, the governor, and later conveyed to Hurst Castle, where he remained a prisoner.

At this period, 1648, vain efforts were made to induce the King to accept the terms offered by the Parliament, which however Charles

refused. Risings now occurred in Wales, Essex and the North, in which latter locality the Duke of Hamilton was at the head of an invasion in July, and to which the King was privy. These attempts were however readily suppressed, Cromwell defeating in turn Langdale at Preston, and Hamilton a few days later. Ten days subsequently, namely on August 27, Fairfax captured Colchester, the headquarters of the Royalists in Essex, and this practically terminated the campaign.

For his alleged complicity in these events, it was determined to bring the King to trial. On December 23, he was brought to Windsor, thence to St. James, and lastly to Whitehall, January 19, 1649. Having been arraigned before a specially constituted tribunal, he was condemned to death on January 27, and three days later was beheaded in front of the banqueting chamber at Whitehall, being subsequently buried during a snow storm at Windsor.

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Upon the commencement of the civil war, extraordinary enthusiasm was shown by both sides, nobles and gentry gladly contributing their jewels and plate in order to supply the sinews of war, whilst the partisans of the Parliament were not to be outdone in their efforts, as will be apparent from the following lines culled from Butler's *Hudibras* :—

“Did saints, for this, bring in their plate,  
“And crowd as if they came too late.  
“For when they thought the cause had need on’t,  
“Happy was he that could be rid on’t.  
“Did they coin trenchers, bowls and flagons,  
“In’t officers of horse and dragoons.  
“And into pikes and musquetteers,  
“Stamp beakers, cups and porringers?  
“A thimble, bodkin and a spoon,  
“Did start up living men as soon  
“As in the furnace they were thrown,  
“Just like the dragon’s teeth being sown.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hudibras*, Pt. I, c. 2, l. 562 (revised).



FIG. I.



Upon July 12, 1642, the two Houses of Parliament made an order to prohibit the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from contributing their plate to the cause of the King. Information was however sent to Charles of the rich store of plate at these places, and the readiness of the authorities to contribute the same to further his aims, and, as a result of this, the King dispatched to the Vice-Chancellor of each University two representatives with letters of authority, so that the transfer of these riches might be duly effected. The University of Oxford and the majority of its colleges sent their plate, which was safely conveyed to the King; but that of the University of Cambridge was not sent, although many of the individual colleges contributed theirs. The treasures of St. John's and Magdalen, however, never reached their destination, but were seized by Cromwell whilst in transit to Nottingham. A portion of the University plate was used by weight at that town for the purpose of paying the troops, and much was converted into coins at Shrewsbury, at which place the King established a mint. Here coins of large size were issued, namely:—pounds, half-pounds and crowns in silver, one of which was respectively presented, to each colonel, sub-officer and private soldier. The wholesale destruction of silver plate at this period is no doubt largely responsible for the extreme rarity of pre-Carolian silver, which, in turn, accounts for the high prices now realised by any silver plate antecedent to 1640.

Following the overthrow of the Royalist cause at Naseby, the struggle to a large degree devolved into a succession of defensive measures on the part of the Cavaliers, who, on behalf of the Crown, defended numerous castles and towns throughout the land. It is during this period of 1645–1649 that the greater number of the siege-coins we are about to pass in review were struck, the majority being issued during the earlier years. Siege money was struck at the following places in England, namely:—Carlisle, Beeston Castle, Scarborough, Lathom House, Newark, Colchester and Pontefract Castle. These coins were doubtless used for paying the defending garrisons, and would probably also be accepted as currency by the neighbouring country-side. The majority of the coins are of the rudest

execution, since the necessities of the time did not admit of careful production, and in all probability no competent die-sinkers or moneyers would be available.

The coins were usually struck upon irregular pieces of plate, cut from trenchers, platters, cups, etc., of silver, in place of being struck upon flans specially prepared by melting down the plate. This is only what one would expect, under the trying circumstances in which the various garrisons found themselves placed. That this was the case is clearly proved by the many examples existing, upon which traces of the original decoration are still visible, in some instances even, particularly upon examples issued at Scarborough, the rim of the dish being still to be seen at the edge of the piece.

Additional evidence of this direct use of silver plate for the production of coin blanks is afforded by the existence of four siege-coins bearing hall-marks, which will be referred to presently in detail, and I believe that at Carlisle and Pontefract only was the silver melted down, prior to being struck into coins. It is recorded that during the second siege of Pontefract, Sir Gervase Cutler contributed £1,000 worth of family plate, in order to defray the expenses of the garrison.

We will first consider the various siege-coins struck in England during the civil war, and then pass on to review those obsidional pieces and other moneys of necessity issued in Ireland about the same period, taking the coins in their chronological sequence.

#### CARLISLE.

Carlisle was defended by the Royalist forces under Sir Thomas Glemham from October, 1644, until June 25, 1645, when it was surrendered to the commander of the investing Scottish army, David Leslie, afterwards Lord Newark. The city was never assaulted, the siege being rather in the nature of a blockade, and the surrender was brought about in part by the scarcity of food, and in part by the hopelessness of relief. For after the defeat of the King's forces at



Naseby, June 14, 1645, the garrison, realising that further resistance was vain, opened negotiations for the surrender of the city, and the

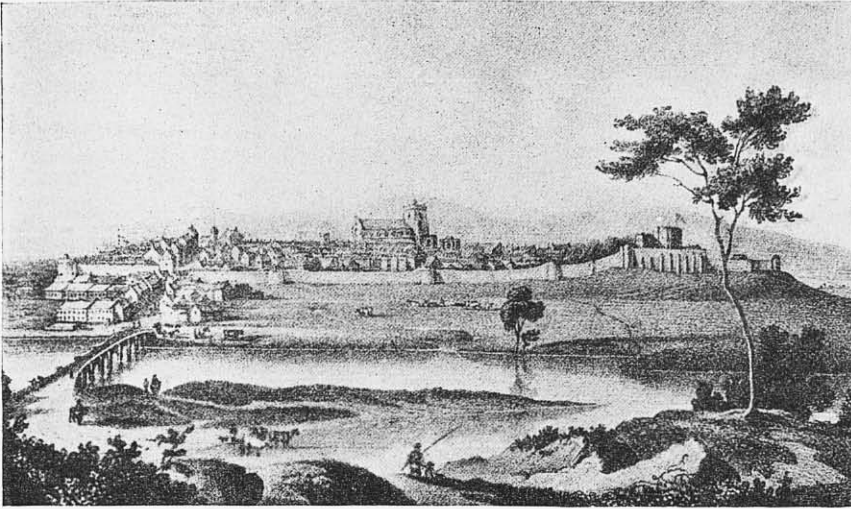


FIG. 2.—VIEW OF CARLISLE FROM STANWIX, *cir.* 1700.

defenders, who numbered some seven hundred, were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, June 25, 1645.

For much information relative to the events which occurred at this place, we are indebted to one of the citizens named Tullie, whose *Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle* still exists. From this work we learn that about Christmas, 1644, the corn in the town was taken from the inhabitants and placed in stores, and, he adds, "a good while after, an order was published to every citizen to bring in their plate to be coyned, which they did chearfully."

From this domestic plate siege-coins of two denominations were struck, viz. :—three-shilling pieces and shillings, the minting of which appears to have been carried out under the control of the Corporation.

The following is a list of the plate obtained for the purposes of coining, amounting in all to 1,162 ozs., which, at five shillings per ounce, was equivalent to £280 11s. 10½*d.*, a considerable sum at that period. In preparing the rough metal for minting, there was lost, by melting, refining, etc., 86 ozs. which thus left

1,076 ozs. available for striking the coins. The metal so obtained

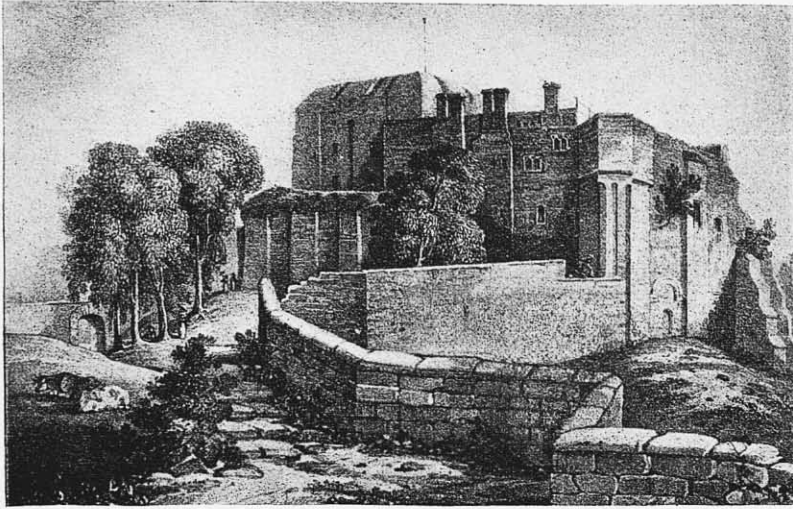


FIG. 3.—CARLISLE CASTLE AND CITY WALLS, *circ.* 1700.

was struck at the rate of six shillings to the ounce, which thus produced £323 worth of coins, or in other words 6,460 shillings,

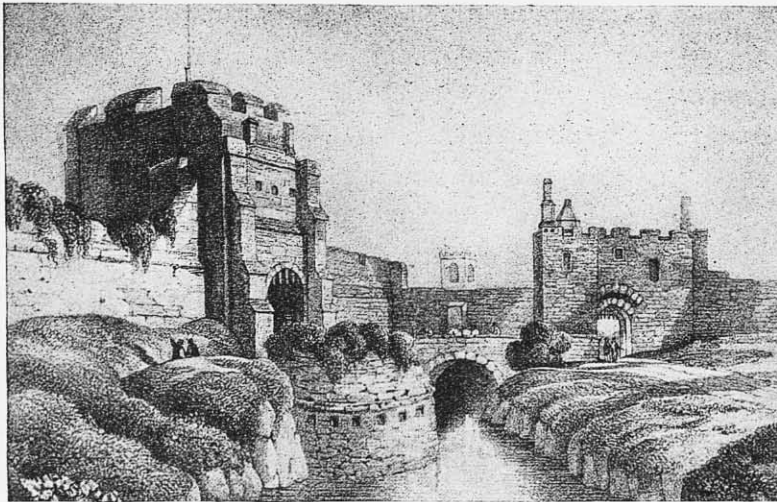


FIG. 4.—CARLISLE. THE HALF MOON BATTERY, BRIDGE AND MOAT, *circ.* 1700.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Messrs. Burnham, printers of Carlisle, for permission to reproduce the three illustrations of old Carlisle.

and it is not improbable that this would be divided into 1,000 three-shilling pieces, and the balance into 3,460 shillings. From another source we learn that the coins were actually issued on May 30, 1645, and consequently they would only be in circulation for the space of about one month.

May the 13th } A list of All the Plaite Brought in to be  
1645 } Coynd with the weight thereof.

	oz
Will: Atkinson. Alder one Winde Mill Boule. a Trencher } salt & three spoones wt... .. } 012— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Widdow Craister one beare boule one beaker one wine } boule and six spoones wt... .. } 024— $\frac{1}{4}$ —0	
Julian Aglionby one Boule wt... .. 008— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Edmond Kidd 2 Bowles wt... .. 015— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Thomas Kidd one Boule wt... .. 007—0— $\frac{1}{8}$	
Will: Wilson Tanner one Bowle one Beaker wt... .. 014— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Thomas Lowrie 2 spoones wt... .. 002—0—0	
Robert Sewell one spoone wt... .. 001—0— $\frac{1}{8}$	
Collnell Kirkebride one bowle 4 spoones wt... .. 013—0—0	
Mary Carlile one bowle and 8 spoones wt... .. 015— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Edward Dalton one bowle one Tumbler & 2 peeces of } broken plate wt... .. } 022—0— $\frac{1}{8}$	
Mrs. Chambers 2 beare boules and one wine boule wt... 034— $\frac{1}{4}$ —0	
Mr Glaisters 3 beare bowles & 6 spoones wt... .. 034— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Widdow Baines Junior one bowle 2 spoones wt... .. 011— $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$	
Thomas Jackson one bowle & 2 spoones wt... .. 007— $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$	
Thomas Monke one bowle wt... .. 008—0—0	
Josph Jefferson one bowle wt... .. 010—0—0	
Mr Edward Orpheur one bowle 4 spoones wt... .. 014— $\frac{1}{4}$ —0	
John Orbell 2 bowles one gilt bowle and 10 spoones wt... 040— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Widdow Orpheur 4 spoons wt... .. 005— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Mr Edward Fountaine one bowle one salt and 2 spoones wt 017— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Mr Richard Wilson 1 gilt bowle wt... .. 008— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Thomas Craggill 2 wine bowles and 3 silver spoones wt... 015—0—0	
Henry Monke one beaker 4 spoones wt... .. 011— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0	
Thomas Tallentyre one bowle 4 spoones wt... .. 013— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Captaine Aglionby one bowle wt... .. 010— $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$	
Sr Thomas Glemham 2 Candlesticks wt... .. 044— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	
Mr George Barwicke one bowle 6 spoones wt... .. 017—0— $\frac{1}{8}$	
Robert James one bowle wt... .. 008— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0	

Isabell Holliday one sugardish wt ... ..	oz 011— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0
Sr Henry Fletcher one tankard one salt 1 tumbler } 2 wine bowles 6 spoones wt ... ..	055— $\frac{3}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$
Capt: Cape 2 beare bowles 2 gilt salts one Colledge pott } one Can gilt one gilt beaker wt . . .	089—0—0
Mr Fredericke Tonstall one dozen $\frac{1}{2}$ of plate wt ... ..	145—0—0
Mrs Tullie 5 spoones wt ... ..	006— $\frac{1}{4}$ —0
John Tomlinson one bowle wt ... ..	008—0—0
Edward James one bowle wt... ..	008— $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$
Sr Will: Dalston one greate salt one lesser salt one bowle } 8 spoones wt ... ..	063— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0
Mr Leo: Dykes one bowle one Tankerd 6 spoones wt ... ..	030— $\frac{3}{4}$ —0
Mr Lewis West 1 bowle wt ... ..	009— $\frac{3}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$
Sr Tho: Dacre 2 bowles wt ... ..	019— $\frac{1}{2}$ —0
Capt Johnson one Tankard one salt wt ... ..	030—0—0
The Citties plate 2 Flaggons 2 gilt bowles one gilt salt } 2 beare bowles wt ... ..	233—0—0
<hr/>	
Received in plate 1162 oz— $\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$ at 5 <sup>s</sup> per oz Delivered } to Mr Dykes 300 <sup>li</sup> resting in o <sup>r</sup> hands 23 <sup>li</sup> —0—3 } stamped out of 1076 oz.— $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$ at 6 <sup>s</sup> per oz ..	1162— $\frac{1}{4}$ — $\frac{1}{8}$ 323—0—3
Gayned by Coyning at 6 <sup>s</sup> per oz ... ..	42—8—4
Lost in meltyng and working ... ..	21—10—0


(Endorsed)

May the 13<sup>th</sup> 1645.

A note of

plate Coynd.

As previously mentioned, coins of two sizes were issued at Carlisle, and of each denomination two distinct varieties are found. Each piece bears two reverse readings, which reverses are common to both values, and read respectively in two and three lines. These coins may be described as follows:—

1. Three shillings. *Obverse*.— C • R   
• III • S beneath a large crown, within a double circle, the outer beaded, the inner linear.



• OBS :

*Reverse*.— • : CARL : within a similar double circle. Weight, 238 grains.

• 1645 •



2. Three shillings. *Obverse*.— C • R   
• III • s


*Reverse*.—<sup>s</sup>  
OB CARL  
• 1645 • within a double circle. Weight, 239 grains.  




FIG. 5.—CARLISLE THREE-SHILLING PIECE.

3. Shilling. *Obverse*.—• C : R •• beneath a crown, and within the usual double circle.

*Reverse*.—Similar to No. 1. Weight, 79·5 grains.



FIG. 6.—CARLISLE SHILLING.

4. Shilling *Obverse*.—Similar to No. 3.

*Reverse*.—Similar to No. 2. Weight, 80 grains.

All the above were struck upon circular and octagonal blanks.

#### BEESTON CASTLE.

Beeston Castle, in Cheshire, stands upon a hill nearly four hundred feet high, and commands one of the three approaches to Chester; it was therefore at the time we are considering a position of very considerable importance. Occupied by three hundred Parlia-

mentarian troops, February 21, 1643, it was held by them until December 13, when it was surprised by Captain Sandford, who with a

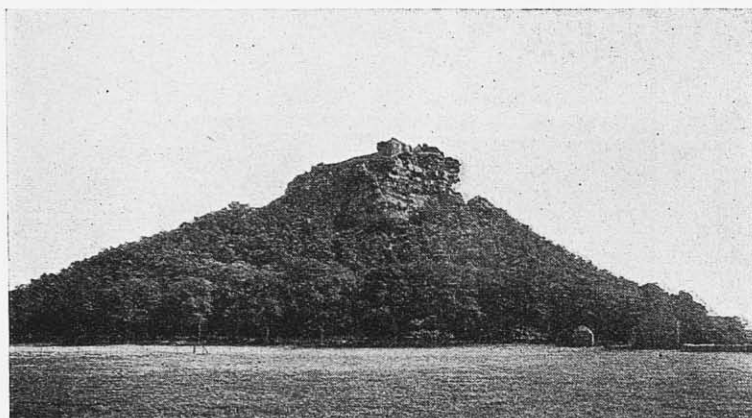


FIG. 7.—BEESTON HILL AND CASTLE.

handful of men scaled the walls and captured the stronghold, the commander, Captain Steel, being subsequently shot by his party on account of his supposed treachery. The castle remained in the hands of the Royalists, unattacked, until October 20 of the following year, 1644, on which date it was besieged and remained invested until March 17, 1645, when it was relieved by Prince Rupert.

In the course of the following month it was, however, again besieged, and, after a brilliant defence, was surrendered by the commander, Captain Valet, to Sir William Brerton, but the garrison who numbered fifty-six, were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and retired to Denbigh, a place at that time held on behalf of the King. Upon the surrender it was discovered by the victors that no food remained in the stronghold, with the exception of a meat pasty and some live pea-fowl.

There is no documentary evidence extant to assist us in assigning the following coins to Beeston, but I think it will be agreed that there is a marked resemblance between the pictures of the castle gateway and the view which occurs upon the coins, more especially perhaps, in the case of Fig. 13. The coins issued from Beeston Castle are struck upon irregular segments of silver, evidently cut from trenchers, dishes,

etc. They are unifacial and bear impressed upon them a somewhat crude representation of the castle gateway, within a beaded indent ;

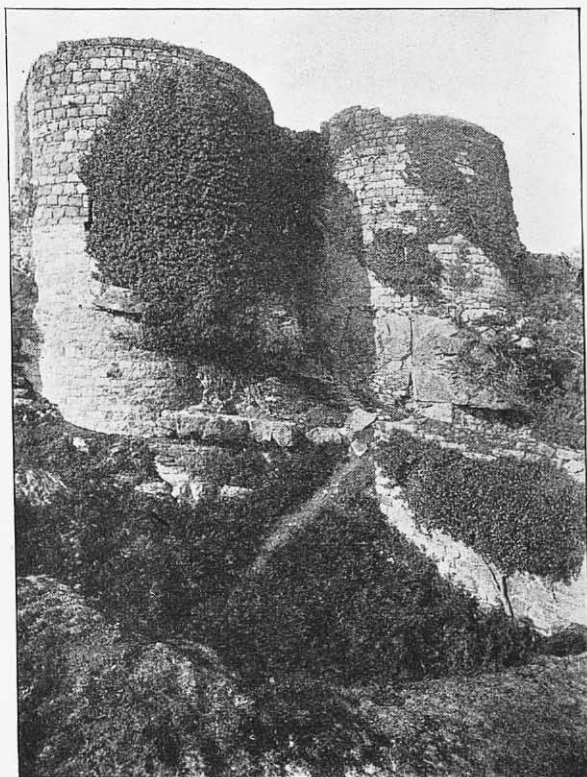


FIG. 8.—THE GATEWAY OF BEESTON CASTLE.<sup>1</sup>

whilst the value, which is expressed in Roman numerals, is punched in separately beneath.

Owing to the coins having been struck upon rough sections of plate, and therefore being of varying weights and intrinsic values, pieces of very numerous denominations occur, as will be seen in the subjoined list of coins.

The following pieces are found, viz. :—

<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
2 0	1 3	1 0	7
1 6	1 2	11	6
1 4	1 1	10	

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Larkin, F.R.C.S., for Figs. 7 and 8.



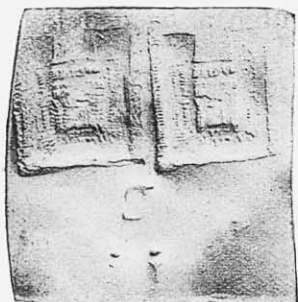


FIG. 9.—TWO-SHILLING PIECE.

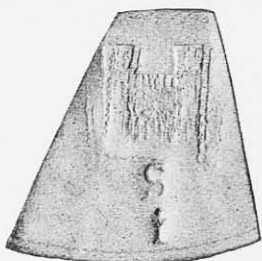
FIG. 10.—ONE SHILLING  
AND FOURPENCE.FIG. 11.—ONE SHILLING  
AND A PENNY.

FIG. 12.—SHILLING.



FIG. 13.—TENPENCE.



FIG. 14.—SEVENPENCE.

## BEESTON SIEGE-PIECES.

No doubt other denominations would be struck, but if such was the case, they have not survived to our time.

The values of these coins vary in proportion to the weights: for example, the two-shilling piece weighs 208 grains, and the seven-penny piece 53·5 grains.

## UNCERTAIN TWO-SHILLING PIECE.

The example of a siege-piece of the value of two shillings, having upon it the representation of a castle gateway with two tall flanking towers, is of much interest, since the coin is formed from the bowl of a spoon. In addition to the value II (punched in separately) this piece bears the leopard's head, the hall-mark of the period, impressed at a point opposite the juncture of the stem with the bowl, when in its



original state. It evidently was part of a seal-head or Apostle spoon, which spoons are always hall-marked thus, with the leopard's head

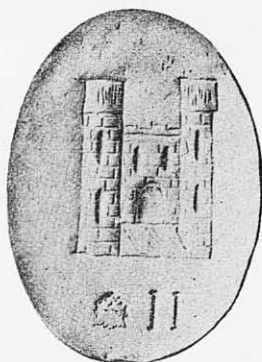


FIG. 15.—UNCERTAIN TWO-SHILLING PIECE BEARING A HALL-MARK.

within the bowl. This coin, which weighs 155·5 grains, was successively in the Webb and Murdoch cabinets. In regard to its attribution, I cannot agree that this piece emanated from Beeston Castle, since the resemblance between it and the pieces usually attributed to that place is not sufficiently close to justify the supposition.

#### SCARBOROUGH CASTLE.

Scarborough Castle, which was held by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, surrendered, July 22, 1645, to Sir Mathew Bointon, after having withstood all the rigours of a twelve months' siege.

As at Beeston, pieces of most unusual denominations were issued from this stronghold, being struck upon irregular pieces of silver, which obviously were obtained by cutting up trenchers, dishes and other articles of domestic plate. This fact is clearly proved to have been the case by some few examples which have come down to us, upon which the raised and reeded rim of the original article still survives. Figs. 16 and 20 are good examples of this evidence.

The siege-coins struck at Scarborough have impressed upon them a rough representation of Scarborough Castle, showing the main entrance and five towers, whilst beneath is the value punched in separately.



FIG. 16.—SCARBOROUGH CROWN.

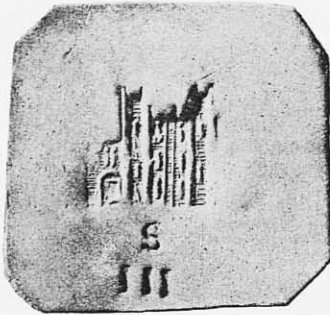


FIG. 17.—SCARBOROUGH THREE-SHILLING PIECE.



FIG. 18.—SCARBOROUGH TWO-SHILLINGS-AND-TENPENCE.

The reverse of these coins is blank, save for the few specimens which bear engraved upon them the words **OBS** *Scarborough* which **1645** engraving, however, may possibly not be contemporary with the siege, but may have been added subsequently, as a memorial, about the date of the Restoration.

There appear to have been two dies in use for the striking of these coins; one gives us a somewhat sketchy picture of the castle with two of the towers much raised, Figs. 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25, whereas the other portrays it with a greater wealth of detail

and in addition has S.C. beneath, in faintly raised capitals (Figs. 16 and 21).

It may be easily gathered that, owing to the lack of the necessary tools for sinking the dies and of the necessary engines for striking the pieces, these coins are of the rudest execution, and since the values are dependent upon the weight of the piece of metal upon which the design happened to be struck, specimens of the most varied denominations occur.



FIG. 19.—TWO-SHILLINGS-AND-SIXPENCE.



FIG. 20.—TWO-SHILLINGS-AND-FOURPENCE.



FIG. 21.—TWO-SHILLING PIECE.

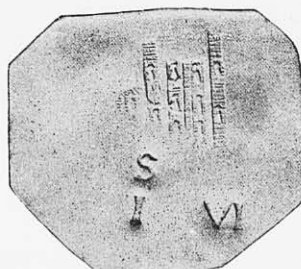


FIG. 22.—ONE-SHILLING-AND-SIXPENCE.  
SCARBOROUGH SIEGE-PIECES.

In all, coins of thirteen different values are known, though doubtless other sizes must have been issued. The weights and values are as follows :—

<i>s. d.</i>	<i>grs.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>grs.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>grs.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>grs.</i>
5 0	292	2 10	206	2 0	170	1 3	102
3 4		2 6	188	1 9	134	1 0	108
3 0		2 4		1 6		6	48
				4d.	40 grs.		



FIG. 23.—ONE SHILLING.

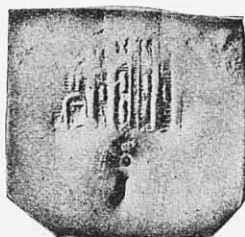


FIG. 24.—ONE SHILLING.



FIG. 25.—FOURPENCE.

## SCARBOROUGH SIEGE-PIECES.

To the same town may be attributed the following piece which was exhibited to the British Numismatic Society by Mr. Baldwin in January, 1905.—A Tower shilling of Charles I., mint-mark, plume, countermarked upon the reverse with a large S in ornamental script.



FIG. 26.—COUNTERMARKED SHILLING ATTRIBUTED TO SCARBOROUGH.

## NEWARK.

Newark-on-Trent, after having withstood several successive sieges, was upon May 6, 1646, surrendered by the command of Charles I. to the Scottish army, at that time besieging the town, and two days afterwards it was transferred to the Commissioners of the English Parliament.

Coins were issued here dated 1645 and 1646; of the former year we have pieces of the values of half-a-crown, shilling and ninepence, whilst of the latter year we have, in addition to these denominations, the sixpence. The general design of the coins is the same, the obverse having within a beaded border a crown between the letters **C R** and the value expressed beneath in Roman numerals; whilst

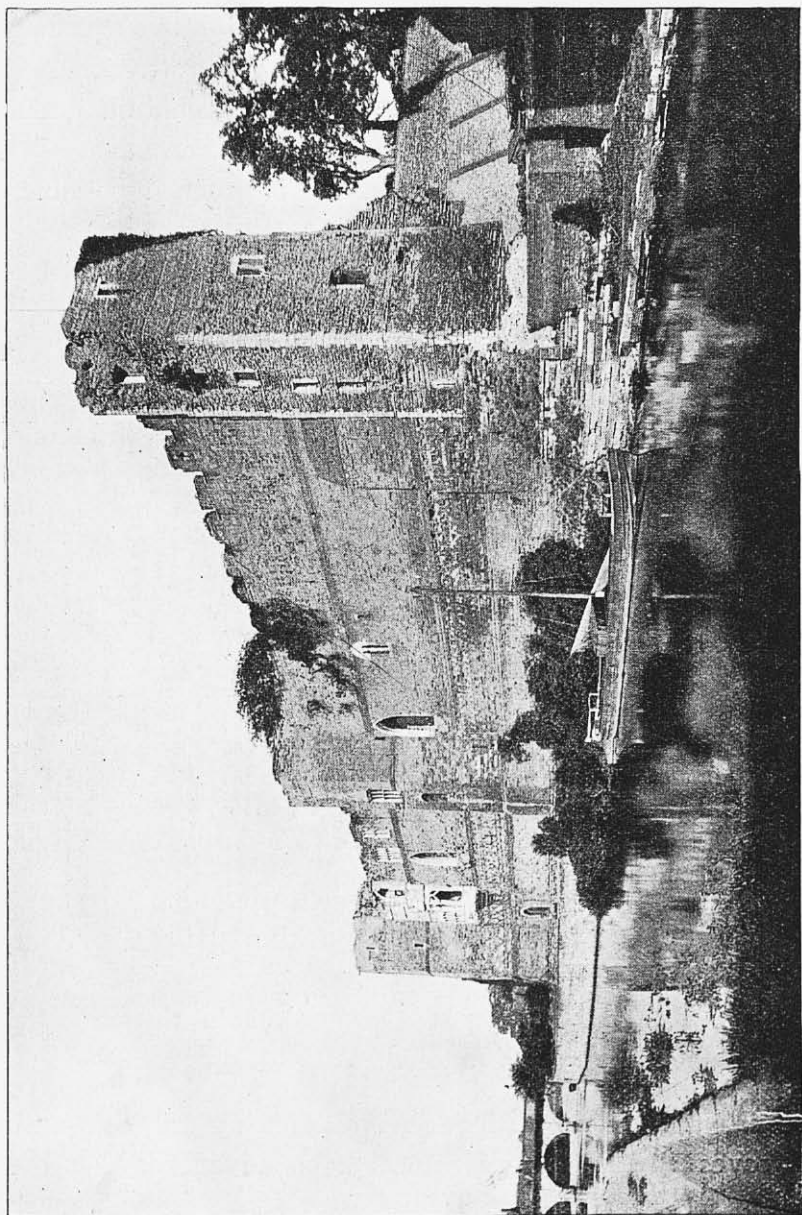


FIG. 27.—NEWARK CASTLE FROM THE TRENT.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This illustration is kindly lent by Mr. Cornelius Brown, author of the *History of Newark*.

upon the reverse is the legend in three lines **OBS NEWARK** or **NEWARKE**, with the date beneath, in Arabic figures.

All the coins issued from Newark are struck upon lozenge-shaped flans, which were apparently cut direct from the dishes, trenchers and other varieties of silver plate in the town, or which could be obtained from Royalist adherents in the neighbouring country districts.

We will now consider these coins in detail, in order, if possible, to determine their probable chronological sequence.



FIG. 28.—NEWARK SHILLING.

The first piece to appear would be the shilling, which bears upon the obverse a most curiously shaped crown, the jewelled band of which is straight across the front, whilst the reverse reads **OBS NEWARKE 1645**

The obverse of this coin is struck from two separate dies, viz. :

- (a) Nine dots in the left arch of the crown ; nine dots in the right arch ; C R and XII, in thin letters. Weight 94 grains. Fig. 28.
- (b) Nine dots in the left arch ; eight dots in the right arch ; C R and XII, in thick letters. Weight, 93 grains.

The occurrence of two distinct obverse dies for this coin, in my opinion, disproves the theory which has been advanced, that these pieces are forgeries ; more especially is this evident since we find that there are shillings and ninepences, which are admittedly genuine, combined with the selfsame reverse die.

The second coin to appear would doubtless be the shilling with

the same reverse reading, **NEWARKE**, but with a new obverse, the crown on which has a high arch and a richly jewelled band. It weighs 87 grains.

No doubt about the same time the ninepences reading **NEWARKE** would be issued, which pieces occur struck from two different obverse dies, viz. :

- (a) Eleven dots in the left arch ; eleven dots in the right arch of the crown, which has a richly jewelled band. Weight, 69 grains.
- (b) Eleven dots in the left arch ; nine dots in the right arch of the crown, which has a simple jewelled band. Weight, 68 grains.

Following this would be issued the shilling which reads **OBS : NEWARK 1645** which reading now appears for the first time.

The crown upon the obverse has ten dots in the left arch and eight dots in the right arch of the crown, the jewelled band of which is of a very simple character. This piece weighs 92 grains

Upon one of the shillings of this date the R upon the obverse is retrograde ; it therefore reads **С Я**.

Subsequently the ninepence (a) which reads **OBS : NEWARK 1645** would appear.

The obverse die of this coin is identical with that of the ninepence (b) previously described, and has upon the crown eleven and nine dots in the left and right arches respectively. It weighs 64 grains.

United with the same obverse die we find another reverse in use. It is the same as that of the half-crown of this year, which is proved by the occurrence of a small dot beneath the 4 of the date, 1645. This ninepence (d) weighs 63 grains.

The last denomination to be struck in 1645 was the half-crown, the obverse of which shows us a crown with a crenellated arrangement of jewels on the band, whilst the reverse is from the same die as the **NEWARK** ninepence (d) of the same date. This coin, which weighs



221 grains, is of comparative rarity, and this would point to the fact of its having been struck very late in 1645, probably in March, O.S.



FIG. 29.—NEWARK HALF-CROWN.

With regard to the coins struck in 1646, it is evident that the three higher values would be issued simultaneously, and no doubt towards the end of the siege, probably in April, the sixpence would appear, which would account for its greater rarity. In considering the date of these coins it is necessary to remember that the year then began on March 25.

The issues of 1646 are as follows, the denominations being marked as before:—

Half-crown. *Obverse*.—From the same die as the half-crown of 1645.

*Reverse*.—From the same die as the shilling (*b*) and ninepences of 1646, as is proved by the occurrence of a flaw in the 6 of the date. Weight, 234 grains. Compare Fig. 30.

Shillings. (*a*) *Obverse*.—A crown with a simply jewelled band, having ten dots in the left arch and eight dots in the right arch.

**OBS :**

*Reverse*.—**NEWARK** in somewhat thin letters. Weight, 86 grains.  
**1646**



FIG. 30.—NEWARK SHILLING, 1646.



(b) *Obverse*.—A crown with a richly jewelled band, having ten dots in the left arch and ten dots in the right arch.

**OBS :**

*Reverse*.—**NEWARK** in thick letters, from the same die as the half-crown.  
**1646**

Weight, 90 grains. Fig. 30.

Ninepence. (a) *Obverse*.—From the same die as the ninepence (c) of 1645, having eleven dots in the left and nine dots in the right arches respectively.

*Reverse*.—From the same die as the shilling (b) and the half-crown of 1646  
Weight, 67 grains.

(b) *Obverse*.—A crown having the band elaborately jewelled, ten dots in the left arch and ten dots in the right arch.

*Reverse*.—From the same die as the shilling (b) and the half-crown of 1646.  
Weight, 68 grains.



FIG. 31.—NEWARK SIXPENCE.

Sixpence. *Obverse*.—An elaborate crown between the letters **C R**.

**OBS :**

*Reverse*.—**NEWARK** Weight, 46 grains.  
**1646**

Not a few examples of the shilling, ninepence, and sixpence of 1646 are found gilt, and these were doubtless struck upon flans cut



FIG. 32.—NEWARK NINEPENCE BEARING THE ROYAL ARMS ON THE FLAN

from a service of gilt plate, such as the "one guilt boule," mentioned in the list of Corporation plate presently quoted.

Some specimens of the shilling and ninepence of 1646 exist which have the Royal arms upon the reverse of the flan, and it appears to me that the coins so marked formed part of some Regal service of plate, which was thus sacrificed to pay the expenses of the siege. It will be seen that Fig. 32 also shows the original border of the piece from which it was cut.

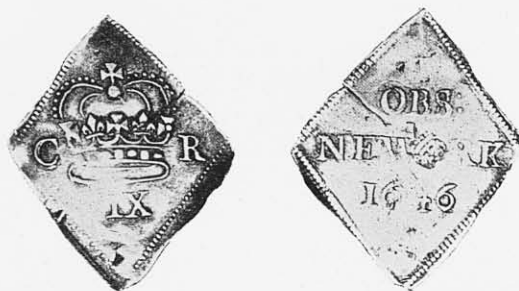


FIG. 33.—NEWARK NINEPENCE BEARING A HALL-MARK.

Two other coins struck at Newark deserve special recognition. Of these the first is a ninepence, in the collection of coins the property of the Corporation of Liverpool, upon which, beneath the **A** of **NEWARK**, appears a leopard's head, the hall-mark of the period. The second piece is a shilling, in the possession of Dr. Appleby of Newark, which coin bears upon the reverse a capital M, within a dotted indent, which appears to be a silversmith's private stamp, and indicates the source whence the piece of plate originally came.

There was in the Montagu Collection a specimen of a shilling bearing only an impression of the obverse die, the reverse being blank ; the coin is therefore undated.

It would appear that the Corporation of Newark, unlike that of Carlisle, did not contribute its plate for conversion into coin, or at least, all of it, as the subjoined extract from a letter from the author of the *History of Newark* to Dr. Appleby will show :—

The articles of surrender of Newark are dated May 6, 1646. A meeting of the Corporation was held May 15, 1646, for the election of an

Alderman in place of Mr. Richards, deceased, "and the better regulating of the towne in the time of visitation" (of the plague which prevailed at that time).

Immediately after the minutes of this meeting, but in a different hand and without date is the entry :—

"Plate deliuered to Mr Edward Standishe, Alderman, by consent to be sold for the townes use, and to supplie their p'sent want of money at the surrender of the towne.

Imprimis thirteene A'pple [Apostle] spoones

Itm twoe high Beere Bowles

Itm twoe wine bowles

Itm one guilt wine boule

Itm five Trencher salts

Itm one great stooped salt

The whole p'cell weighing [     ]."

The weight unfortunately is left blank.

#### UNCERTAIN SHILLING.

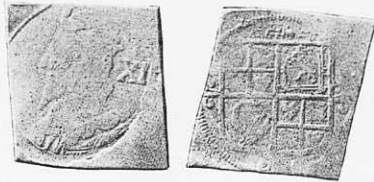


FIG. 34.—UNCERTAIN SHILLING.

The die from which the following piece of siege-money, of the value of one shilling, was struck, very closely resembles that of the Tower shillings of Charles I., but whence the coin was issued we have no means of determining. It is struck upon a lozenge-shaped flan, resembling in form those of the Newark pieces, and weighs 61 grains. It may be described as follows :—

*Obverse.*—Crowned bust of King to left, wearing a lace collar, **XII** behind the head.

*Reverse.*—The royal arms quarterly, upon a cross fourchée, within a dotted circle.

It may be that this piece was struck from the dies of a Tower shilling, from which the legends had been deleted.

## LATHOM HOUSE.



FIG. 35.—LATHOM SHILLING.

The following siege coin, which is preserved at the British Museum, and weighs 125·9 grains, may possibly have been struck at Lathom House in Lancashire, whilst that position was defended by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, against Generals Fairfax and Egerton, from 1643 to 1644. This piece, which is struck upon a piece of trencher plate and is unifaceal, may be thus described.

Shilling. *Obverse*.—**C R** within a dotted circular indent, counter stamped

**II**  
**X** within an oblong compartment, which doubtless indicates the value.

*Reverse*.—Blank. Fig. 35.

## COLCHESTER.

Colchester, the headquarters of the Royalists in the eastern counties during the rising of 1648, was besieged by Fairfax from June 13 to August 17, and throughout this time was defended by Lords Capel and Norwich, associated with Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, all of whom, with the exception of Norwich, were subsequently executed.



FIG. 37.—COLCHESTER GOLD HALF-UNITE.





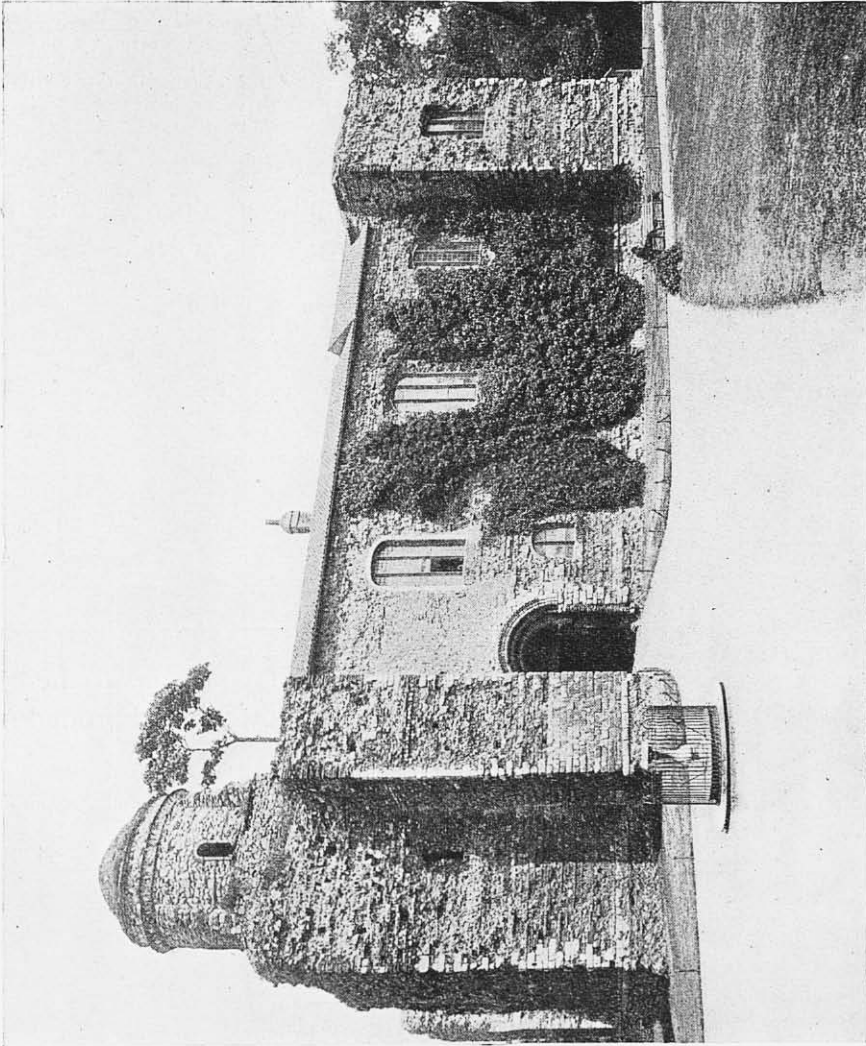
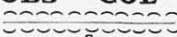


FIG. 38.—COLCHESTER CASTLE.



Coins were struck at this town in two metals, viz., gold and silver, and there exist the half-unite in the former and the shilling and ninepence in the latter metal. They are as follows :—

Half-unite. *Obverse*.—An embossed representation of the gateway of

Colchester between the crowned letters **C R** ; beneath, **OBS • COL •**  
  
**16<sup>s</sup>48**

*Reverse*.—Incuse, the impression of the obverse die. Weight, 65·9 grains.

Fig. 37.

The shilling and ninepence, which occur struck upon circular and octagonal flans, are both from the same die and can only be differentiated by their weights, since the former weighs 94 grains and the latter only 66.

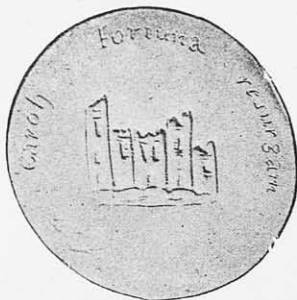


FIG. 39.—COLCHESTER SHILLING, ROUND. FIG. 40.—COLCHESTER SHILLING, OCTAGONAL.

These coins, which are unifacial, have stamped upon them a representation of Colchester Castle, with five towers, and around are

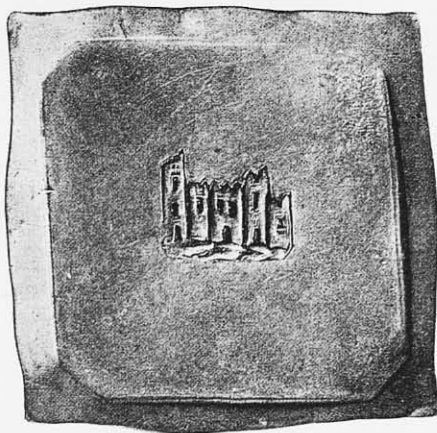


FIG. 41.—MODERN IMPRESSION FROM DIE OF COLCHESTER SHILLING.

the words, *Carolj : Fortuna : resurgam.*, in script characters. The reverse shows incuse traces of the obverse impression. The original die for the above silver pieces, which measured about  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches square, was discovered about 1780, and for a time was in the possession of Dr. Gifford, when restrikes were made in silver, which can only be distinguished from the contemporary pieces, by the fact that the reverses are quite plain (Fig. 41). It has been said that the die was subsequently deposited in the Bristol Public Library, but nothing is now known as to its whereabouts. The contemporary plan, here reproduced, very clearly explains the dispositions of the investing forces (Fig. 36).

#### PONTEFRACT CASTLE.

Pontefract, at this period also known as Pomfret, Castle was seized on June 2, 1648, on behalf of the king, by a colonel in the forces of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, one John Morris or Maurice, who, with the aid of a few soldiers disguised as peasants, overcame the small garrison of this most important station, the key to the North.

The castle was invested by Cromwell in the following autumn, who, however, left General Lambert to conduct the regular investment, the plan of which will be seen from the accompanying diagram, executed at the time of the siege. Pontefract successfully resisted all attacks and only yielded March 22, 1649, *i.e.*, nearly two months after the execution of Charles I. Following the surrender, several officers, who had been excepted from "The Act of Grace," were executed, including the commander, Colonel John Morris, who might have escaped from prison, but loyally remained to succour a fallen comrade.

An item of interest relating to this siege, the third and last sustained by Pontefract during the course of the Civil War, is that according to some authorities it was here that Cromwell's veterans were first known as "Ironsides," a name, perhaps, by which they are best remembered at the present time. The siege-coins struck at Pomfret may be grouped into two main divisions; the one issued during the reign of Charles I. ; the other subsequently to his execution,

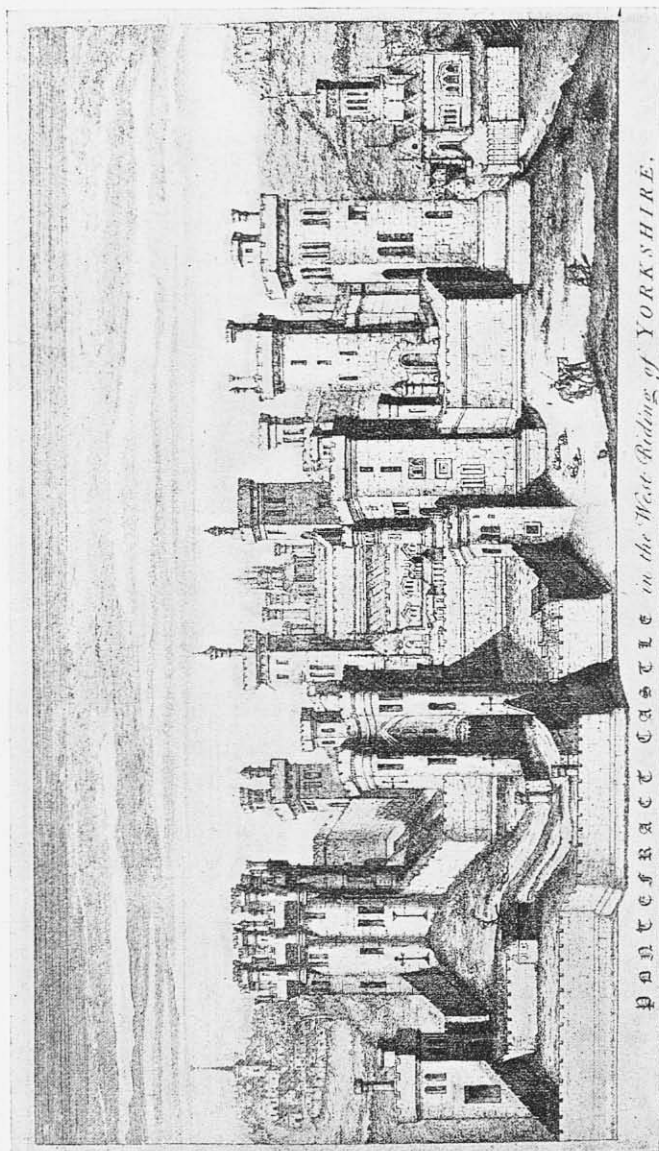


FIG. 42.—PONTEFRAC T CASTLE, PRIOR TO THE SIEGE OF 1648.

and in the name of his successor, for the garrison immediately acknowledged his son as King Charles II.

Of the coins of Charles I. there occur two values, viz., the two-shilling piece and the shilling. Of the latter denomination there exist two distinct varieties. These coins may be described as follows:—

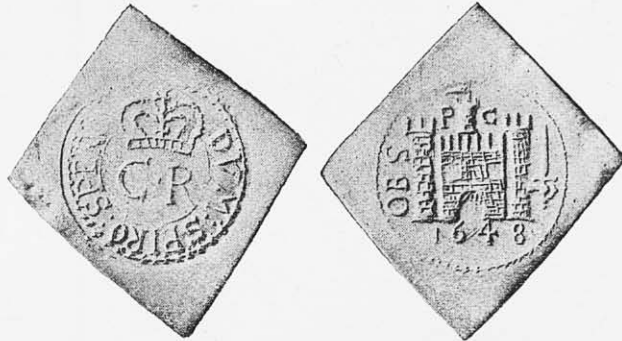


FIG. 43.—PONTEFRACT TWO-SHILLING PIECE.

Two-shillings. *Obverse*.—**C • R** beneath a large crown; around are the words **DVM : SPIRO : SPERO**.

*Reverse*.—The gateway of the castle, with a flag flying from a central tower, **P C** above, **OBS** vertical to left, whilst a hand holding a sword protrudes from the right hand tower. Beneath is the date 1648.

This coin, which weighs 148·7 grains, is struck upon a lozenge-shaped flan (Fig. 43).



FIG. 44.—PONTEFRACT SHILLING.

Shilling I. *Obverse*.—As on the two-shilling piece.

*Reverse*.—As on the two-shilling piece.

This piece, which weighs 85 grains, occurs struck upon lozenge-shaped, circular and octagonal flans (Fig. 44). For the striking of the coin two obverse dies were in use, one having **C R** in large, and the other in small letters.

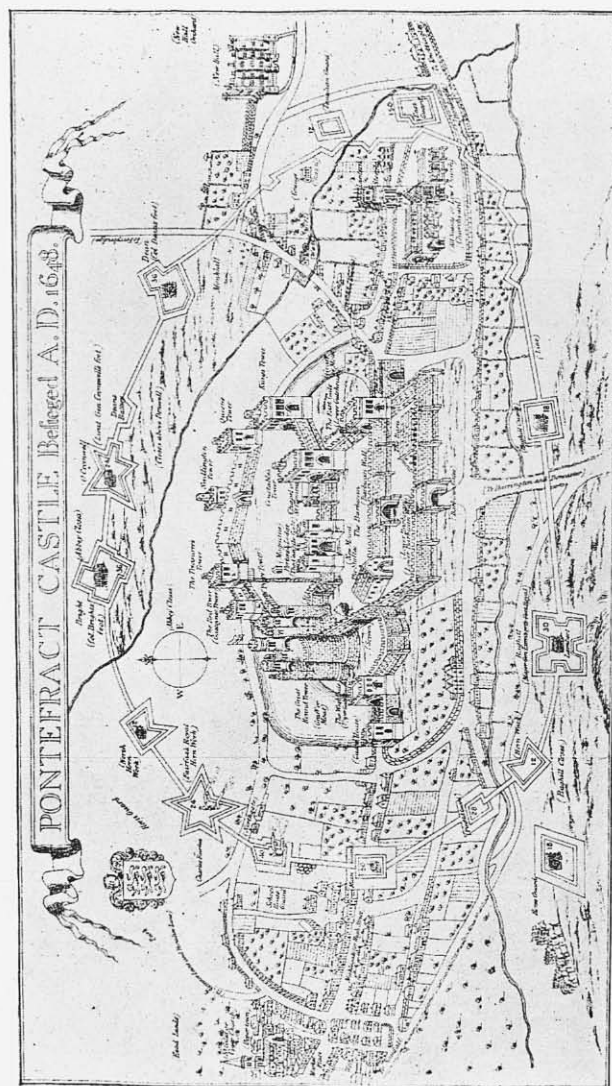


FIG. 45.—PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF PONTEFRAC CASTLE, 1648.

During excavations carried out at Pontefract Castle in 1882, a trial piece of the above shilling was discovered in the castle kitchen. This piece, which is somewhat corroded and indistinct, is preserved in the castle museum. It is struck in lead and has upon both sides an impression of the reverse die.



FIG. 46.—PONTEFRACT SHILLING.

Shilling II. *Obverse*.—**C • R** beneath a crown with jewelled band ; around is **DVM : SPIRO : SPERO**.

*Reverse*.—The castle gateway as before, but without the flag upon the central tower. **OBS** to the left. **XII** to the right, and the date 1648 beneath.

This coin, which weighs 80 grains, is struck upon both circular and lozenge-shaped flans (Fig. 46).

Of the coins struck on behalf of Charles II. two denominations are found, viz., the unite and the shilling, the former being struck in gold and the latter in silver. Of the shilling there occur four distinct varieties.



FIG. 47.—PONTEFRACT GOLD UNITE, STRUCK FOR CHARLES II., 1648.

Unite. *Obverse*.—Beneath a large crown with jewelled band, **C • R**; around **DVM : SPIRO : SPERO.**

*Reverse*.—The castle gateway with a flag upon the central tower between **P C**; **OBS** vertical, to the left of the castle, a cannon projecting from the right hand tower; around are the words, **CAROLVS : SECVNDVS : 1648.**

This unique coin is struck from circular dies, upon an octagonal flan (Fig. 47). It weighs only 138·5 grains, although the full weight of the unite at this period was 140·5 grains. The recent history of this coin is that it was presented by Bath King-of-arms, F. H. Barnewall, to Sir Thomas G. Cullum, Bart., and was for a number of years on exhibition in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. His grandson, Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum, exhibited it at the Stuart Exhibition of 1885, after which it passed into the collection of the late Mr. Montagu. At the sale of his collection, it was purchased for the late Mr. Murdoch, from whose cabinet, at its dispersal, it came into the possession of Messrs. Spink.

Shilling I. *Obverse and Reverse*.—From the same dies as the unite.



FIG. 48.—PONTEFRACT SHILLING, STRUCK FOR CHARLES II., SECOND ISSUE, 1648.

Shilling II. *Obverse*.—Beneath a crown with jewelled band, **HANC : DE VS : DEDIT** 1648

Around, **CAROLVS : II : D : G : MAG : B : ET : H : REX.**

*Reverse*.—The castle gateway with flag on the central tower, on either side of which, **P C**, **OBS** to the left, a cannon projecting from the right hand tower, and around, **POST : MORTEM : PATRIS : PRO : FILIO :** The mint mark, which precedes the legend, is a pistol.

This coin, which is in the collection of Miss Helen Farquhar, is to the best of my knowledge unique, and weighs 79 grains (Fig. 48).





FIG. 49.—PONTEFRACT SHILLING, STRUCK FOR CHARLES II., THIRD ISSUE, 1648.

Shilling III. *Obverse*.—Beneath a crown with a jewelled band, **HANC : DE VS : DEDIT 1648**

Around, **CAROL : II : D : G : MAG : B : F : ET : H : R :**  
*Reverse*.—The castle gateway, with flag upon the central tower, **P C**, on either side of the flag, **OBS** to the left, a cannon projecting from the right hand tower ; around, **POST : MORTEM : PATRIS : PRO : FILIO :** The mint mark, which precedes the legend, is a coronet.

This piece, which is unique, is struck upon an octagonal flan weighing 80 grains. It is in the collection of the city of Liverpool, previous to which it was in the cabinet of the Rev. Henry Christmas.



FIG. 50.—PONTEFRACT SHILLING OF CHARLES II., LAST ISSUE.

Shilling IV. *Obverse*.—Beneath a large crown with a furred band, **HANC : DE VS : DEDIT 1648**

**ET : H : REX.**

*Reverse*.—The castle gateway, with flag upon the central tower, **P C**, on either side of the flag, **OBS** to the left, a cannon protruding from the right hand tower ; around, **POST : MORTEM : PATRIS : PRO : FILIO.**

This piece, which weighs 83 grains, always occurs struck upon octagonal blanks (Fig. 50). A unique proof of this coin, preserved in the National Collection, exists in gold. As it weighs only 94 grains, it is impossible for it to have been intended to circulate as a unite, for it would have been 36·5 grains under the standard weight.

The subjoined lines, extracted from a contemporary journal, are of considerable interest, being as they are the only extant printed notice we have of English obsidional money.

The Kingdom's Faithful and Impartial Scout,

*February 2-9, 1648-9.*

Monday, February 5th.

The intelligence from Pontefract is this, "The besieged have lately made two sallies forth, but repulsed without any great loss to us. In the last they killed but one man of ours, and we took two of theirs prisoners, one of which had a small parcel of silver in his pocket; somewhat square. On the one side thereof was stamped a castle with **P O** for Pontefract, and on the other side was the crown with **C R** on each side of it.

These pieces were made of plate, which they get out of the country, and pass among them for coyn.

With the description of the coins struck at Pontefract we arrive at the close of the series of siege coins issued in England during the Civil War, and I will now pass on to the consideration of the various obsidional coins and moneys of necessity current in Ireland about the same period, viz., 1641-1649.

## IRISH SIEGE-COINS.

In the month of October, 1641, the native Irish, under Phelim O'Neill, rose in open rebellion against the English, whom, on October 23, 1641, they massacred to the number of forty thousand, sparing neither age, rank, nor sex.

## KILKENNY.

Banding themselves together, they proceeded to establish their seat of government at Kilkenny, under the title of "The Confederated

Catholics," and immediately arrogated to themselves many regal prerogatives, including the striking of money, proposing at the same time to establish an order of knighthood in honour of St. Patrick. The pieces so minted by the Confederated Catholics are of copper and silver; of the former metal there exist halfpence and farthings, whilst of the latter a half-crown alone would appear to have been issued at this period. The copper pieces were minted under the terms of the proclamation of "The Confederated Catholics," assembled at Kilkenny, November 15, 1642, which ordered, "that there shall be 4,000 lbs. of red copper coyned to farthings and halfpence with the harp and the crown on one side and two *Scepters* on the other."

It is obvious that the design of these pieces was obtained from the regal farthing tokens of this reign to which they are as superior in weight as they are inferior in execution. They are as follows:—

#### HALFPENNY.

No. I. *Obverse*.—**CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI.** Within a circle two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

*Reverse*.—**FRAN : ET : HIBER : REX.** Within a circle, a crowned harp between **C R.**

The mint mark which occurs upon both sides is a harp.



FIG. 51.—KILKENNY HALFPENNY.

No. II. *Obverse*.—**CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI.** Within a circle, two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

*Reverse*.—**FRA : ET : HIB : REX.** Within a circle, a crowned harp. No mint marks. Fig. 51.

The weight of these halfpence varies considerably, 75 grains being about the average. Owing to the coarseness of design and roughness of their execution, it is only rarely that specimens are to be met with which show the complete design, though there were in the collection of the late Mr. R. A. Hoblyn three pieces, two octagonal and one circular, which displayed the entire impression.



FIG. 52.—KILKENNY HALFPENCE VARIOUSLY COUNTERMARKED

As a consequence of those imperfections forgeries became very frequent, and we now meet with examples variously countermarked in order to distinguish the genuine pieces from the contemporary forgeries. The following countermarks exist; five castles arranged like a cinquefoil; a shield bearing a castle over the letter K, and lastly a capital K within a shield-shaped indent (Fig. 52).



FIG. 53.—KILKENNY FARTHING.

#### FARTHING.

*Obverse.*—**CARO : D : G : MAG : BRI.** Two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

*Reverse.*—**FRA : ET : HIB : REX.** A crowned harp between **C R.** No mint mark. Weight, 34 grains. Fig. 53.

These farthings, as was the case with the halfpence, are very badly struck, and it is very infrequently that we meet with specimens bearing the entire design.

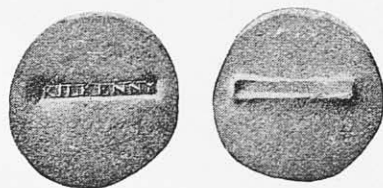


FIG. 54.—COPPER COIN COUNTERMARKED KILKENNY.

In addition to the copper currency struck at this town we also find not a few pieces of copper, countermarked KILKENNY in order to render them current at this place (Fig. 54).

By the excellent researches of Dr. Aquilla Smith we are now satisfactorily enabled also to assign to Kilkenny those silver pieces which from their rudeness of execution are known as "Blacksmith's Halfcrowns." They were struck at Kilkenny to the amount of £4,000 under the following ordinance of "The Confederated Catholics." November 15, 1642, "the plate of this kingdom be coined with the ordinarie stamp used in the moneyes now currant."

Hence it would appear that the coin so issued is the piece described below.



FIG. 55.—BLACKSMITH'S HALFCROWN.

#### HALFCROWN.

*Obverse.*—**CAROLVS • D • G • MA • BR • FRA • ET • HI • REX •**

Rude equestrian figure of the King, to the left, with a sword over his right shoulder. Upon the housings of the wooden-like horse is a broad cross and upon its head is a plume. Mint mark, cross.

*Reverse.*—**CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO •** The Royal Arms upon a garnished shield between **C R**. Mint mark, a harp. Weight, 2226 grains. Fig. 55.

Many varieties exist which differ in respect to the obverse reading, of which the following occur :—

**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FRA • ET • HIB • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FRA • ET • HIB • RE •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FR • ET • HIB • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BR • FR • ET • HI • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MA • BR • FR • ET • HI • REX •**

For the reverse three distinct dies were employed which vary the letters **C R**, as follows : **C R**, **C Я**, **C Б**. The design for these ill-executed coins was evidently obtained from the Tower Halfcrown of Charles I.

There is in the collection of Mr. C. A. Watters an Ormond sixpence, countermarked upon the reverse with a **k** within a shield-shaped indent, and this piece was doubtless so stamped in order to render it current at Kilkenny during the war 1641–1643.

#### *Ordinance.*

October 27th, 1642. It is this day ordered by the assembly, that there shall be a seal in this kingdom, for sealing and attesting such matters as shall be ordered, etc.

October 29th, 1642. It is this day ordered, that every person or persons whatsoever, talking or discoursing in writing or otherwise of the enemies, shall not call them by the name or names of English or Protestants, but shall call them by the name of Puritanical or Malignant party.

November 1st, 1642. It is this day ordered, by this great assembly that the (undernamed) committee shall consider of and lay down a model of civil government within this kingdom, etc.

November 15th, 1642. It is this day ordered, that all the generals, etc., shall lay down a model for the martial government to be established in this kingdom, etc.

Ordered, that the plate of this kingdom be coined with the ordinarie stamp used in the moneyes now currant.

Ordered. The supreme council shall nominate and appoint one or more agents to be employed to his majesty, hereby to inform his majesty's highness of the motives and causes of raising this holy war, and other the grievances of this kingdom at this present.

It is this day ordered by this assembly, that coin and plate shall be raised and established in this kingdom, according to the rates and

values hereafter mentioned, and that there shall be forthwith coined the sume of four thousand pound, to pass currant in and through this kingdom, according to a proclamation, or act published, by direction of this assembly in the city of Kilkenny, and not otherwise, etc.

November 19th, 1642. The supreme council to take care, that the king's revenue be daily gathered up, for the making of a common stock for the use of the Kingdom.

November 21st, 1642. It is ordered, That the right honourable the earl of Castlehaven, and such others as his lordship shall call to his assistance, shall present unto the supreme council of this kingdom an institution and order of knighthood, concerning the honour of Saint Patrick, and the glory of this kingdom, which the supreme council may confirm and ratify so far as they see cause.

### INCHQUIN MONEY.

On January 5, 1642-3, an Act empowered Lord Inchquin, Vice-President of Munster, to issue silver coins of various denominations, struck from plate, which the well affected were directed to bring to the mint at Dublin, and for which plate five shillings per ounce was offered. Payment of this, however, was to be deferred, but interest at the rate of eight per centum per annum was to be paid as an inducement to the people to bring in their riches.

The coins issued in accordance with the above-mentioned proclamation are now known as "Inchquin money," and may be grouped into three main classes according to their design.

The first issue consists of coins struck in gold and in silver, which pieces, upon both obverse and reverse, have the weight of the coins indicated in pennyweights and grains, within a circle.

### GOLD.

Double pistole. *Obverse*.— $\frac{8 \text{ dw}^t}{14 \text{ gr}}$ : within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 205 grains.

Of this piece only two specimens are known.





FIG. 56.—INCHQUIN PISTOLE IN GOLD.

Pistole I. *Obverse*.— $4 \text{ dw}^t$ :  
 $7 \text{ gr}$ : within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 103 grains. Fig. 56.

II. *Obverse*.— $4 \text{ dw}^t$ :  
 $6 \text{ gr}$ : within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.— $4 \text{ dw}^t$ :  
 $7 \text{ gr}$ : within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear. Weight, 102 grains.

## SILVER.

Crown I. *Obverse*.— $\text{dw}^t \dots \text{gr}$   
 $19 \dots 8$  within two circles, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 462 grains.



FIG. 57.—INCHQUIN CROWN.

II. *Obverse*.— $\text{dw}^t$   
 $19 \dots \dots 8$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 463 grains. Fig. 57.

III. *Obverse*.— $\text{dw}^t \dots \text{gr}$   
 $19 \dots 8$  within a double beaded circle.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 461 grains.

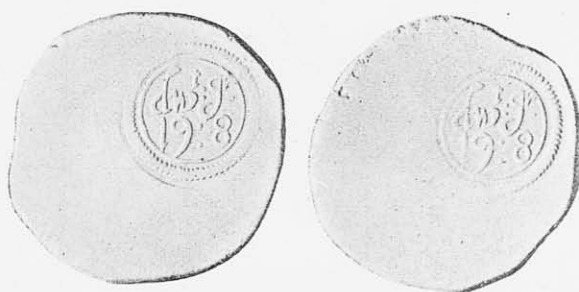


FIG. 58.—INCHQUIN CROWN.

IV. *Obverse*.— $\frac{dw^t:gr}{19:8}$  within two circles, the outer beaded, the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 460 grains. Fig. 58.



FIG. 59.—INCHQUIN CROWN, RETROGRADE.

V. *Obverse*.— $\frac{re_9:twb}{8:el}$  within two circles, the outer beaded, the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 464 grains.

It will be observed that the values on the dies for this piece are engraved in a retrograde manner which was doubtless due to an oversight on the part of the engraver. Fig. 59.

Halfcrown I. *Obverse*.— $\frac{dw^t:gr}{9:16}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 231 grains.



FIG. 60.—INCHQUIN HALF-CROWN.

II. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt.}}{9} : \frac{\text{gr.}}{16}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 230 grains. Fig. 60.

Shilling I. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt.}}{3} : \frac{\text{gr.}}{21}$  within a triple circle, the outer beaded, the two inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 93 grains.

II. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt.}}{3} : \frac{\text{gr.}}{21}$  within triple beaded circles.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 92 grains.

An example of this coin having the reverse blank occurs in the National Collection.



FIG. 61.—INCHQUIN NINEPENNY.

Ninepenny. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt.}}{2} : \frac{\text{gr.}}{20}$  within a triple circle, the outer beaded, the two inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 67 grains. Fig. 61.

Sixpenny. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt.}}{1} : \frac{\text{gr.}}{22}$  within a double beaded circle.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 46 grains.



FIG. 62.—INCHQUIN GROAT.

Groat. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt} : \text{gr.}}{1 : 6}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 29 grains. Fig. 62.

The second issue similarly bears upon the obverse the weight of the coin, but the value upon the reverse is expressed by the number of annulets present.

# SILVER.

Ninepence. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt} : \text{gr.}}{2 : 20}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear, nine annulets. Weight, 68 grains.



FIG. 63.—INCHQUIN SIXPENCE, SECOND ISSUE.

Sixpence. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt} : \text{gr.}}{1 : 22}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear, six annulets. Weight, 46 grains. Fig. 63.

Groat. *Obverse*.— $\frac{\text{dwt} : \text{gr.}}{1 : 6}$  within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear, four annulets. Weight, 30 grains.

Threepence. *Obverse*.— $\frac{8^r}{22}$ : within a beaded circle.

*Reverse*.—Within a double beaded circle, three annulets. Weight, 21 grains.

Of the threepenny piece only three examples are now known.

Upon the third and last coinage the value is expressed in Roman numerals both upon the obverse and reverse and the issue, which consists of crowns and half-crowns, is as follows :—



FIG. 64.—INCHQUIN CROWN, THIRD ISSUE.

Crown. *Obverse*.—**V.s** within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 463 grains. Fig. 64.



FIG. 65.—INCHQUIN CROWN, RETROGRADE, THIRD ISSUE.

Several varieties of this coin exist: for example, the die for the coin illustrated in Fig. 65 has been engraved in a retrograde manner.



FIG. 66.—INCHQUIN HALF-CROWN, THIRD ISSUE.

Half-crown. *Obverse*.—<sup>S • D</sup>**II • VI** within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse*.—Similar to the obverse. Weight, 230 grains. Fig. 66.

*Ordinance.*

Whereas we the lords-justices, and councill, for the reasons expressed in an act, or order of this board, dated the fifth day of this moneth, declared, that we find it of absolute necessity for the reliefe of the officers of army, that (in this case of extremity wherein we now stand, and in the said act or order of this board is more fully expressed) all manner of persons of what condition or qualitie soever dwelling in the city or suburbs of Dublin, as well within the liberties as without, within ten daies next after publication of the said order, doe deliver or cause to be delivered half or more of his, her or their plate to William Bladen, of Dublin, alderman, and John Pue, one of the sheriffes of the same city, taking their hand for receipt thereof, to the end use may be made thereof for the present reliefe of the said officers. And this board by the said order did give the word and assurance of his majestie and this state, that as soone as the treasure shall arrive forth of England, due satisfaction shall be made after the rate of five shillings the ounce, for such plate as it true tuch, and the true value of such as it not of such tuch to the owner thereof, together with consideration for forbearance for the same, after the rate of eight pound per cent. per Annum; or otherwise, that the parliament in England according to their severall manifests in England in that behalf, shall and will see the same accordingly paid, and for as much as we conceive that there are divers of his majesties good subjects in the county of Dublin who have the like good affections for his majestie and his service, as the said inhabitants of the city and suburbs of Dublin have, and therefore we conceive they would be loath to be deprived or forclosed of the same meanes, and on the same security, for expressing those their good affections for his majestie and his service upon this occasion; we therefore, as well to doe them the favour to give them opportunity to express their readines and forwardnes in this particular, as for the furtherance and advancement of his majesties service therein, have thought fit hereby to declare and order, that they the said good subjects in the countie of Dublin, and every of them, that shall bring in halfe or more of his, her or their plate, for the necessarie service aforesaid shall be received and admitted so to doe, with the same favour and respect, and on the same securitie that those dwelling in the cittie and suburbs of Dublin are or

shall be, and with this enlargement of time and manner of doing it to both, that they may within ten dayes next after the date hereof, deliver or cause to be delivered to the said William Bladen, and John Pue, halfe or more of his, her, and their plate as aforesaid, taking their hands for receipt thereof, that the said William Bladen and John Pue doe meet every day (except the sabbath day) at the dwelling house of the said William Bladen, scituate in Castle-street, in Dublin, and there continue every forenoon from nine till eleven of the clock, and every afternoon from two till four of the clock, there to receive the said plate, and to give acknowledgements of the receipts thereof expressing the parties name from whom it comes, and the waight tuch, and value thereof, and it being intended that due satisfaction shall be made for the said plate to the owners thereof, after the rate of five shillings the ounce, for such plate as is true tuch, and the true value of such as is not of such tuch, together with consideration for forbearance of the same after the rate of eight pounds per cent. per annum we thinke fit that the said William Bladen, and John Pue doe call to their assistance Gilbert Tongues and Peter Vandenhoven, who with the said William Bladen and John Pue are to view the said plate, and the value thereof at the deliverie thereof as aforesaid, and to observe and try the tuch of every parcell of plate, so to be delivered as aforesaid, and by writing under their hands, and to be written under the acknowledgement to be given by the said William Bladen and John Pue for receipt thereof, to certifie the tuch and value of every such parcell of Plate. And we do hereby give the word and assurance of his majestie and this state, that as soone as treasure shall arrive forth of England, due satisfaction shall be made to the respective owners of such plate, after the rate of five shillings the ounce, for such plate as shall be so certiffied as aforesaid, to be true tuch, and the true value according as the same shall be certiffied as aforesaid of such as is not of such tuch together with consideration for forbearance for the same as aforesaid ; or otherwise, that the parliament in England, according to their several manifests in England in that behalfe shall and will see the same accordingly paid. And we doubt not that all persons who are able, will now express such cheerfulness and forwardnesse herein, as may testifie the true sense they have of the present occasion, and the desires they have to advance the publike service, for the good and safety of this kingdome, and of their own persons and estates therein, which his majestie and this state will take in good part at their hands, and will retaine a memory thereof for their advantage. And we require the maior and sheriffes of the city of Dublin forthwith to cause this our order to be published and proclaimed in, and throughout the said cittie, and suburbs of Dublin,



that all persons concerned therein may take notice thereof. Given at his majesties castle of Dublin the 14th day of January, 1642.

## ORMOND MONEY.

Upon May 25, 1643, the King wrote from Oxford, where he then was, to the Lords Justices of Ireland, referring to the coining of silver money from plate. The contents of this letter subsequently appeared as a proclamation on July 8, 1643, namely :—

We the lords-justices and counsell having received his majesties most gracious letters of the 25th of May, 1643, under his highness hand and signature, the tenor whereof is as hereafter followeth, viz.:

Charles R.

Right trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, we greet you all; we taking into our princely consideration, that by reason of this most barbarous and bloody rebellion in Ireland, our good subjects there are reduced to that extreme penurie, that now (as their last helpe and refuge) they are inforced and desirous to have such little plate as they have left them, to be coined for their reliefe, into some small peeces of monie that might passe currant in exchange both there and in our kingdome of England, and that the quantity of plate or bullion there so to be melted down and coined, is of so small and inconsiderate value, that it is not worth the charges of erecting a mint there, according to our former intentions, which would likewise take up more time then their present and pressing necessities will perinit, we are therefore graciously pleased for the releefe of our good subjects there, to require and authorize you, to issue forth one or more commission or commissions, under the great seale of that our realme, unto such persons or person as you shall thinke fit, thereby authorizing him or them to melt down such plate, coyne, bullion or silver, as shall be brought unto him or them, into small peeces, to the value of five shillings, halfe-crowns, twelve-pences, six-pences, or of any less value, which several small peeces they shall make the same waight, value and allay, as our moneys now currant in England of those value respectively are, and shall stamp the same on the one side, with these letters (scilicet) C. R. for Carolus Rex, with a crown over those letters, and on the other side with the values of the said severall peeces respectively, and the same so made and stamped to redeliver to the bringers of the plate, coyne bellion or silver, so melted downe; and as further authorize you hereby to make all such peeces, as shall be so made, to be currant

by proclamation there, we intending to make the same currant in this our kingdome, and that you appoint such allowances unto the said person or persons, for their so coyning of the said peeces, as you shall thinke convenient, and that you take of them good and sufficient security for their true melting, making and deliverie of the said peeces in weight, value and allay, as good as our moneys of the like value now currant in England are, so that no fraud or abuse be done to our people herein; and for your so doeing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant. Given under our signet, and at our court of Oxford the twentiefifth day of May, 1643.

By his majesties command,  
Edward Nicholas.

And whereas by his majesties commission under the great seale of this kingdom, bearing date the seventh day of this month, in the nineteenth yeare of his majesties raigne, Sir John Veale, knight, Peter Vandenhoven and Gilbert Tongues, gold-smiths, are authorized to melt, or cause to be melted downe, such plate, coine, bullion or silver, as shall be brought unto them, into small peeces, according to his majesties said directions, and whereof an eight part is to be in Groats, Three-pences and Two-pences; and whereas the said Sir John Veale, Peter Vandenhoven and Gilbert Tongues, have entred into recognizance, of two thousand pounds sterling, for the true making of the said peeces of the same weighe, value and allay, as his majesties moneys, now currant in England, of those values respectively are, and for the redelivery of such peeces unto the bringers of plate, coyne, bullion, or silver, whereof the same shall be made, they first receiving for the coyning thereof, the summe of three shillings for every pound weight, every pound weight being three pound of sterling money, according to the weight of the tower of London, so to be melted down or coyned, and so after the same rate for a greater or lesser proportion, and no more. Now we the Lords Justices and counsell, according to his majesties good pleasure, so to us signified as aforesaid, doe, by this proclamation in his majesties name, publish and declare, that all such peeces, as shall be by them the said Sir John Veale, Peter Vandenhoven, and Gilbert Tongues, melted or caused to be melted down, or coyned, according to his majesties said letters, and commission, doe and shall presently after the publishing of this proclamation, be currant money of and in this kingdom, and doe and shall passe as currant money in all exchanges and payments, as well of debts, as for any wares, merchandises or other commodities whatsoever. And we require the maior and sheriffs of the city of Dublin to cause

this proclamation to be forthwith published and proclaimed throughout this city and suburbs. Given at his majesties castle of Dublin, the eight of July, 1643.

The coins issued under the terms of the above proclamation are now known as Ormond money, the Viceroy at that period 1643, being James, Marquis of Ormond.

Pieces of seven denominations, viz., crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, threepenny pieces and half-groats were struck, the last of which is of considerable rarity.

The general design of these coins, which weigh from 456 to 15 grains, according to their denomination, is as follows :—

*Obverse.*—**C • R** beneath a crown, within a double circle, the outer being beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse.*—Within a similar double circle, the value expressed in Roman numerals.



FIG. 67.—ORMOND CROWN WITH ORNAMENTED S.

Crown I. *Obverse.*—**C • R**.

*Reverse.*—<sup>S</sup>**V**, a spiral termination to the **S**. Fig. 67.

II. *Obverse.*—**C • R**.

*Reverse.*—<sup>S</sup>**V**, the **S** plain. Fig. 68.

III. *Obverse.*—**C ▲ R**.

*Reverse.*—<sup>S</sup>**V**, the **S** small.



FIG. 68.—ORMOND CROWN WITH PLAIN S.

IV. *Obverse*.—C ♦ R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S</sup>V, the S has curved ends. Weight, 456 grains.

Half-crown I. *Obverse*.—C • R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>II VI.



FIG. 69.—ORMOND HALF-CROWN.

II. *Obverse*.—C ▲ R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>II VI. Fig. 69.

III. *Obverse*.—C ▲ R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>II ★ VI, spiral ends to S.

IV. *Obverse*.—C ▲ R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>II VI, as III, but figures shorter.

V. *Obverse*.—C ▲ R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>II VI, figures thinner. Weight, 227 grains. Fig. 70.



FIG. 70.—ORMOND HALF-CROWN, PLAIN TYPE.

Shilling I. *Obverse*.—C • R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>XII. Fig. 71.



FIG. 71.—ORMOND SHILLING.

II. *Obverse*.—C • R, letters smaller.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>X•II, a pellet after X.

III. *Obverse*.—C • R, letters small.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>XII, large figures.



FIG. 72.—ORMOND SHILLING BEARING HALL-MARK.

There is in the cabinet of Mr. C. A. Watters an example of No. II, struck upon a flan, obviously cut direct from a piece of plate, since in addition to the design it bears on the flan the lion passant

together with the letter **h**, the date letter of Goldsmiths' Hall, London, for the year 1625. This coin is of considerable interest since it proves that all the plate was not melted down for the purpose of the coinage in the terms of the proclamation, but that in many cases the flans were cut direct from the plate.<sup>1</sup> Fig. 72.



FIG. 73.—ORMOND SIXPENCE DOUBLE STRUCK.

Sixpence I. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**VI**. Fig. 73.

II. *Obverse*.—**C • R**, large letters.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**VI**, figures large.



FIG. 74.—ORMOND SIXPENCE.

III. *Obverse*.—**C R**, large letters, no dot.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**VI**, large figures. Weight, 46 grains.



FIG. 75.—ORMOND SIXPENCE BEARING HALL-MARK.

<sup>1</sup> See also the Ormond sixpence, Fig. 75.

There is in the national collection a sixpence weighing 43 grains which bears upon the reverse the lion passant, a portion of an English hall-mark.<sup>1</sup> Fig. 75.

The Ormond sixpence in the collection of Mr. C. A. Watters which is countermarked upon the reverse with a **k** within a shield-shaped indent was, as already suggested, no doubt so stamped by the "Confederated Catholics" at Kilkenny in 1643, to render it current at that place.<sup>2</sup>

Groat I. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**IIII**, in thick letters.

II. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**IIII**, in thick letters.

III. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**IIII**, in thin letters.

IV. *Obverse*.—**C • R**, large letters.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**IIII**, **D** large. Weight, 30 grains.

Threepence I. *Obverse*.—**C • R •**

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**III**, small letters.

II. *Obverse*.—**C ▲ R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**III**, small letters.

III. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**III**, large.

IV. *Obverse*.—**C • R**.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>**III**, **III** large, **D** small. Weight, 22 grains.



FIG. 76.—ORMOND HALF-GROAT.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Ormond shilling, Fig. 72.

<sup>2</sup> See page 332.



Half-groat I. *Obverse*.—C • R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>I • I, large. Fig. 76.

II. *Obverse*.—C R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>II, large.

III. *Obverse*.—C • R.

*Reverse*.—<sup>D</sup>II, II large, D small. Weight, 14 grains.

Not a few examples of the Ormond coinage are to be found in copper thickly plated with silver; these were no doubt contemporary forgeries.

In the collection of Mr. Lionel Fletcher are two silver flans, unstruck, weighing about 85 grains, which appear to have been prepared for the making of Ormond shillings.

#### REBEL MONEY.

During the year 1643, but previously to September 15, when peace was declared, the pieces known as "Rebel money" would probably be issued, and it is supposed that they were struck by the "Confederated Catholics" at Kilkenny. These coins were apparently designed in imitation of the pieces issued from Dublin by James, Marquis of Ormond, which, as regards the reverse at least, they somewhat resemble.<sup>1</sup>

The issue consisted of coins of two denominations, viz., crowns and half-crowns.

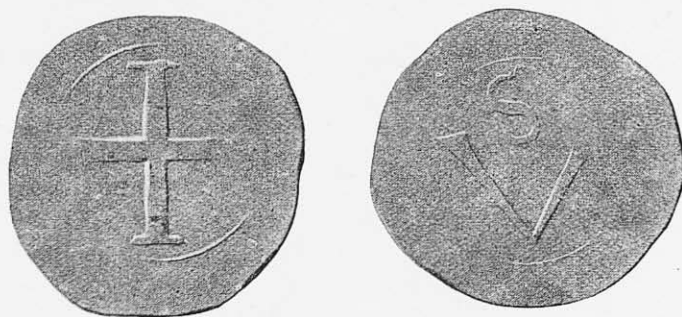


FIG. 77.—THE REBEL CROWN.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* page 343.

Crown. *Obverse*.—A large cross potent within a double circle, the outer being beaded and the inner linear ; mint mark, a star.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S</sup>V, the S having spiral ends within a similar double circle. Weight, 376 grains. Fig. 77.

On the coin illustrated the outer circle is omitted on both obverse and reverse.

A variety of the crown occurs with mint mark j ellet on the obverse.



FIG. 78.—THE REBEL HALF-CROWN.

Half-crown. *Obverse*.—A cross potent within a double circle, the outer being beaded and the inner linear ; mint mark, a star.

*Reverse*.—<sup>S D</sup>IIVI, within a similar double circle. Weight, 188 grains. Fig. 78.

It will be remembered that the Blacksmith's half-crown issued by the "Confederated Catholics" at Kilkenny in 1642, bore upon the obverse a cross potent as a mint mark.<sup>1</sup>

During the years 1646–1647, the following towns, viz., Bandon, Kinsale, Youghal and Cork, were defended for the King by his adherents in Munster. Coins were issued at all these strongholds which may be thus described.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* page 331.

## BANDON.



FIG. 79.—BANDON FARTHING.

Farthing. *Obverse*.—**B • B**, within a circle of lozenges.

*Reverse*.—Three castles, one and two, within a similar circle. Weight, 30 grains. Fig. 79.

This coin, which occurs struck upon an octagonal copper flan, is of very rude execution, and the letters **B B**, upon the obverse no doubt indicate Bandon Bridge, which was the original name of the town.

## KINSALE.



FIG. 80.—KINSALE FARTHING.

Farthing I. *Obverse*.—**K • S** within a circle of pellets.

*Reverse*.—A chequered shield. Weight, 35 grains. Fig. 80.

II. *Obverse*.—**K • S** within a dotted circle.

*Reverse*.—A shield bearing fourteen pellets. Weight, 50 grains.

The coins are both struck upon square copper flans and are of the rudest execution.

## YOUGHAL.

## FARTHING.

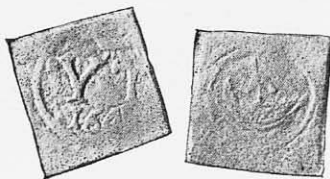


FIG. 81.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, beneath which is the date 1646, and above is a bird facing to the left; the whole within a double linear circle.

Weight, 14 grains.

*Reverse*.—A galley, enclosed within a double linear circle. Fig. 81.



FIG. 82.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, above which is a bird within a double linear circle.

Weight, 15 grains.

*Reverse*.—A galley enclosed by a double dotted circle. Fig. 82.



FIG. 83.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 3. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, beneath which is the date 1646. Weight, 54 grains.

*Reverse*.—A galley enclosed by double linear circles. Fig. 83.



FIG. 84.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 4. *Obverse*.—**Y T**, beneath which is the date 1646, and above is a bird facing to the right.

*Reverse*.—A galley enclosed by double linear circles. Weight, 27 grains.

Fig. 84.



FIG. 85.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 5. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, beneath which is the date 1646, and above a branch  
Weight, 23 grains.

*Reverse*.—A galley surrounded by a double linear circle. Fig. 85.



FIG. 86.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 6. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, within a dotted circle. Weight, 9 grains.

*Reverse*.—A fish surrounded by a dotted circle. Fig. 86.

No. 7. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, within two circles of pellets. Weight, 20 grains.

*Reverse*.—A galley on shield enclosed by a circle of triangular dots.



FIG. 87.—YOUGHAL FARTHING.

No. 8. *Obverse*.—**Y • T**, in an elaborated circle enclosed by a circle of small triangles. Weight, 25 grains.

*Reverse*.—A shield bearing a galley, within a circle of triangles. Fig. 87.

With the exception of the last piece all the preceding coins are of rude execution, and, save Fig. 86, which is circular, are, as is also the last, struck upon rectangular brass flans.

#### TWOPENCE.

*Obverse*.—**II**  
**1645**

*Reverse*.—A galley enclosed within a double circle.

This coin is also struck upon a rectangular brass flan.

It will be noted that the arms of the city of Youghal are a punning allusion to the name of the town, viz., a yawl or galley.

#### THREEPENCE.

*Obverse*.—**D**  
**III**, within a circle of dots.

*Reverse*.—**CR**  
**1646**, enclosed by dotted circle.

This piece is struck in pewter.

## UNCERTAIN VALUE.

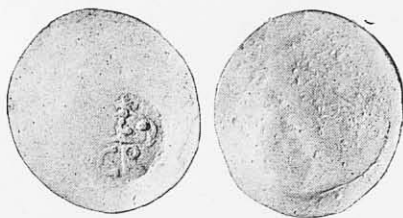


FIG. 88.—COPPER COIN ATTRIBUTED TO YOUGHAL.

*Obverse.*—**C • R** beneath a crown, within a circular indent.

*Reverse.*—Blank. Fig. 88.

The flan is formed from an indecipherable copper coin of Continental origin and is countermarked upon one side only. I have classed this coin with the Youghal pieces on account of its resemblance to the last piece described. The design of the countermark is very similar to the Ormond money issued in 1643.

## CORK.

In the course of the year 1647, the city of Cork was besieged and coins were struck at this place in the month of May during the stay of Lord Inchquin.

Pieces exist of four denominations, viz., shilling, sixpence, halfpenny and farthings, of which latter three varieties occur.

## SHILLING.



FIG. 89.—CORK SHILLING.

*Obverse.*—**CORK 1647** within a double circle, the outer beaded and the inner linear.

*Reverse.*—Large **XII** within beaded circle. Weight, 68 grains. Fig. 89.

## SIXPENCE.



FIG. 90.—CORK SIXPENCE.

*Reverse.*—As on the shilling, but beaded circle only.

*Obverse.*—Large **VI** within a beaded circle. Weight, 34 grains. Fig. 90.

For this piece there were two reverse dies.

## FARTHINGS.



FIG. 91.—CORK FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse.*—**CORK** within a dotted circle.

*Reverse.*—A castle within a dotted circle.

This coin is struck on a square flan, and weighs 35 grains.  
Fig. 91.

No. 2. *Obverse.*—**CORK** within a beaded circle.

*Reverse.*—A ship issuing from between two towers.

This piece is struck upon a square flan, and weighs 41½ grains.



FIG. 92.—CORK FARTHING.

No. 3. *Obverse.*—*Corke* (in italics) beneath the head of a lion, whilst below are two branches, all within a dotted circle.

*Reverse.*—Blank.

This coin, which occurs in brass, weighs 57 grains. Fig. 92.

## HALFPENNY.

*Obverse.*—**CORK**, within a dotted circle, enclosing a linear.

*Reverse.*—A castle.

This piece, which is in the Fletcher Collection, occurs struck upon a rectangular flan of copper, and weighs 84 grains.



FIG. 93.—FOREIGN COPPER COIN COUNTERMARKED CORKE.

We also find contemporary coins, both silver and copper, counterstamped **CORK** or **CORKE**, and they were no doubt so overstruck for currency during the siege. Figs. 93 and 94.



FIG. 94.—SHILLING OF ELIZABETH COUNTERMARKED CORKE.

## DUBLIN.

## AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES I.

Subsequently to the execution of Charles I., money of necessity was issued in Ireland though at what date and whence, no information now exists. Two pieces occur, namely, crown and half-crown, which are believed to have been struck at Dublin in 1649 by James, Marquis of Ormond, who proclaimed Charles II. as King in Ireland.





FIG. 95.—DUBLIN CROWN OF CHARLES II.

Crown. *Obverse*.—**CAR • II • D : G • MAG • BRIT**, m. m. lys surrounding an arched crown.

*Reverse*.—**FRA • ET • HYB • REX • F D** and enclosing <sup>S</sup>V within a linear circle, m. m. lys. Weight, 329 grains. Fig. 95.



FIG. 96.—DUBLIN HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES II.

Half-crown. *Obverse and Reverse*.—As on the crown, but <sup>S</sup>II • <sup>D</sup>VI for value. Weight, 164 grains. Fig. 96.

There are two dies for the reverse of the half-crown.

With the description of these Irish siege-coins we complete the record so far as our present knowledge extends, of the various coins issued during the great Civil War.


In conclusion I desire to thank all those who have rendered me so much assistance in preparing this work for publication, and in particular I would thank the following :—

The Proprietors of the *Connoisseur* for the use of Figs. 5, 9, 10, 13, 19, 22, 29, 33, 35, 38-40, 45, 48-50; Messrs. Spink and Son for Figs. 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 44, 47; Mr. John Murray for the loan of the map of England illustrating the Civil War; Messrs. Longmans for the plan of the siege of Colchester, and Messrs. Thurnam of Carlisle for the three contemporary views of that city. I also wish to thank Mr. Cornelius Brown for the block which portrays Newark Castle and also Dr. Appleby of Newark for the use of his coins in illustrating the coins issued at that city. Finally I must express my grateful thanks to those members of the British Numismatic Society who so generously contributed to the exhibition of Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion on January 18, 1905, on which date I read this paper to the Society.



## THE MAIL COACH AND ITS HALFPENNIES.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

HE Government of this country is, perhaps, in nothing more conservative than in the designs which it adopts for its coinage. These designs have for centuries consisted largely of a heraldic nature, and even as far back as the reign of Queen Anne the desirability of a change was publicly manifested. Indeed, Dean Swift went so far as to suggest to the Government "that a Society be formed for finding out proper subjects, and that the coins should bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable events of Her Majesty's reign." "By this means," wrote the Dean, "old coins that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will perpetuate the glories of Her Majesty's reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive a gratitude for great public services and excite the emulation of posterity." The only result of these useful suggestions, however, was the issue of a few patterns, and it was left to private enterprise to make up for the deficiencies of the Government in this matter. On the tokens struck by various individuals and corporate bodies in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries to supplement the very scanty issues of regal coins, many allusions to public events, as well as to local institutions and industries, are to be found. Of these tokens those which form the subject of this article are amongst the most interesting, commemorating, as they do, reforms in that great social institution, the Post Office, second only in importance to the changes effected by Sir Rowland Hill when he instituted the penny post. There are three varieties of the Mail Coach Halfpenny, which may be described as follows :—

1. *Obverse*.—A mail coach drawn to the right by four galloping horses driven by a coachman with a whip in his hand. At the back of the vehicle is shown the guard, and a passenger's head appears at the window of the door, on the panel of which is the Royal monogram "G.R."



FIG. 1.—MAIL COACH TOKEN. TYPE I.

*Legend*.—Above, MAIL COACH HALFPENNY; below, PAYABLE IN LONDON in the exergue, TO TRADE EXPEDITION & TO PROPERTY PROTECTION in three lines.

*Reverse*.—An inscription, TO J. PALMER, ESQ, THIS IS INSCRIBED AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE FOR BENEFITS RECE<sup>d</sup> FROM THE ESTABLISHMEN[T] OF MAIL COACHES, in eight lines, with the letters *J.P.* beneath, the whole being encircled by crossed and tied palm branches.

*Borders*.—Ribbed. *Edge*.—Plain.



FIG. 2.—MAIL COACH TOKEN. TYPE II.

2. *Obverse*.—Similar to No. 1, but from a different die.

*Reverse*.—A similar inscription to that on No. 1, but the date, 1797, takes the place of the initials *J.P.*

*Borders*.—Ribbed. *Edge*.—Plain.



FIG. 3.—MAIL COACH TOKEN. TYPE III.

3. *Obverse*.—As before.

*Legend*.—HALFPENNY PAYABLE IN LONDON, above the coach ;  
TO TRADE EXPEDITI<sup>N</sup> & TO PROPERTY PRO-  
TECTION, in the exergue below the coach.

*Reverse*.—The letters *JHP* in monogram within crossed and tied palm branches.

*Legend*.—TO J. PALMER, Esq, THIS IS INSCRIBED ✠

*Borders*.—Ribbed. *Edge*.—Plain.

As their descriptions indicate, these tokens were issued as a result of the introduction of the carriage of the mails by coach. The post itself is, of course, a very old institution. Perhaps the first record which we have of it is in the reign of Hezekiah, for we read, in 2 Chron. ch. xxx, that “the posts went with the letters from the King and his Princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the commandment of the King.” The word posts here signified runners, that is, men specially set apart to deliver despatches by running. The first recorded “riding” post was established by Cyrus, King of Persia. In Mediæval Europe, Charlemagne first established a post in A.D. 807, but the institution did not survive him. Subsequently, the Hanseatic cities established a letter post in the thirteenth century ; whilst in the fifteenth century Louis XI. of France revived the system of Charlemagne by organising a body of 230 couriers to convey state despatches. In England, although some attempt had been made to introduce a postal system in the fourteenth century, Edward IV. was the first to establish a regular “riding post,” and the service was improved by Henry VIII. who appointed a “Master of the Postes.” This official is the prototype of the modern Postmaster-General. It was not until the time of the Stuarts that a post was regularly established

for the convenience of the public as well as for state purposes. Prior to this time private letters, and they were not many, were carried by private means. The method of carrying the mails at this period was by post-boys on horseback, the letters being contained in a valise strapped to the animal's back behind the rider. In some instances, however, the mails were conveyed in carts. As time went on, the postal service became most unsatisfactory both as regards speed and security, and, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the mail had the reputation of being the slowest conveyance in the Kingdom. In this respect it was in striking contrast to the stage coach, since what coaches did in one day took the post-boys between two and three days.

Stage coaches were introduced into this country about the middle of the seventeenth century, but it was many years before they were cheap enough to come within the means of any but those in circumstances of considerable affluence. Indeed, not until late in the eighteenth century were they sufficiently cheap to be patronised by the poorer classes, who, as their fathers did before them, had to walk or ride in the long cumbrous waggons which were the first stages. The early stage coach usually held six, but sometimes accommodated eight passengers, who were screened from the weather by leather curtains, as it was not until 1680 that plate glass was sufficiently cheap to be used for windows. Behind the body of the vehicle and between the two great wheels was attached a basket for luggage, but sometimes this was also utilised for outside passengers who rode at a reduced fare. The position of these must have been extremely cramped and uncomfortable, sitting, as they did, in a very limited space and up to their knees in straw. About the third quarter of the eighteenth century increased accommodation was provided by seats being fixed on the roof of the coaches, and it was not very long after this period that the coaches began to assume the build and style of the present time.

In spite of the inconveniences attending the use of these early vehicles they soon became a popular means of conveyance with the wealthy. Indeed, in spite of spills, villainous roads and still more villainous "Knights of the Road," the aristocracy became so fond of coach riding that a bill was brought into Parliament "to prevent the

effeminacy of men riding in coaches." In spite of this, however, those who could afford the means continued to abandon the saddle for long distances, and naturally declined to walk.

As the speed of the coaches improved, people frequently forwarded parcels and letters by them instead of by post, although it was much more expensive, and, at last, John Palmer of Bath, to whom the Mail Coach halfpennies are inscribed, perceived that if the stage coaches carried the mails, a great improvement upon the unsatisfactory system of posting, then in vogue, would be effected. Originally a brewer, and subsequently founder and manager of a theatre at Bath, Palmer was distinguished by his untiring energy and perseverance. In his capacity as theatre manager he had frequently suffered the annoyance of being deprived of the services of some great "star" owing to the uncertainty and tardiness of the post or to the loss of letters. Moreover, having frequently to travel to London and other centres of fashionable resort, the superiority of the speed of the stage over the post became manifest to him. This suggested the ideas that the mails, instead of being entrusted to some idle post-boy mounted on an indifferent or worn out hack, and who was frequently robbed without the ability or, indeed, the inclination to defend himself, should, in future, be carried by coach, and that the coach should be furnished with an armed guard as a protection against highwaymen. In formulating these ideas, Palmer further suggested that strict punctuality should be observed, that each postmaster should be on the spot to receive the mails as soon as the coach arrived, and that if it failed to keep to time a man should be despatched on horseback to ascertain the cause of the delay, so that, if the coach had been stopped by highwaymen, an immediate pursuit could be instituted. It may be that the new scheme was not altogether Palmer's idea, as the mail coach was introduced into America as early as 1773, and many loyal postmasters of New England fled to the old country after the Revolution, possibly carrying with them the notion of a mail coach. However that may be, in 1783 or early in 1784, Palmer's suggestions were submitted to Pitt, at that time Prime Minister, and, although strenuously opposed by the Post Office officials, the plan was allowed a trial which proved entirely satisfactory. Early



in August, 1784, the first regular mail coach began to run. The course was between London and Bristol, and five inn-keepers held the contract at threepence a mile. The run was accomplished at the rate of about seven miles per hour, resulting in an unqualified success, and before two years had elapsed mail coaches were also established in the eastern and northern counties. The advantages of the new system were at once apparent to the public, and, in spite of the fact that the postage rates were slightly increased in order to meet the additional expenses of the scheme, the number of letters posted gradually rose until the revenue was benefited beyond all expectations. So great were the improvements in speed and security that, for once, the public bore the additional charges ungrudgingly. Prior to 1784 scarcely a week passed without the mail being robbed in some part of the country; and the post-boy riding between Bristol and London is recorded to have been plundered every week for five weeks. Roused by so flagrant a scandal the Post Office was prevailed upon to build what was called a robber proof mail-cart, which, however, had not long commenced its journeys before it was stopped by some facetious highwaymen and its contents rifled. On the other hand, from 1784 to 1792 not a single mail coach was stopped, to say nothing of being robbed.

As regards the speed of the mail coaches, six or seven miles per hour was at first maintained, but subsequently in the palmy days of coaching, a speed of nine or ten miles per hour, including all stoppages and kept up for long distances, was secured. So great was this speed considered, that apoplexy was popularly supposed to be induced by the rapid motion. It is said, too, that the mail coaches were so punctual that people were in the habit of timing their watches by them.

As a result of the success of his system for conveying the mails, Palmer was rewarded with the special and almost independent appointment of Controller-General of the Post Office at a salary of £1,500 per annum, with an allowance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon any excess receipts over £240,000, which was the revenue at the time of his appointment. During his stay in office Palmer effected many internal reforms, amongst others the introduction of a separate newspaper office. On his advice, also, England was divided into six instead of three postal

districts, with a spare surveyor for emergencies. Hitherto the salary of a surveyor had been £300 per annum, but Palmer reduced this to £100 per annum with an allowance of a guinea a day when absent from headquarters. Thus the surveyors were stimulated to visit the towns in their districts. Many other, more or less, important reforms were effected by Palmer, sometimes with and sometimes without the authority of the Postmasters-General, for two of these acted together at this time. The reformer appears to have been possessed of a somewhat fiery and energetic disposition which could ill brook interference, and this frequently brought him into conflict with the Postmasters-General, especially when any of his reforms were opposed. His principle seemed to have been, that any improvement which suggested itself to him should, in the interests of the public, be brought into force at once, and so he frequently effected a change first, and sought the requisite authority afterwards. These acts were strongly resented by the Postmasters-General, and finally relations between them and Palmer became so strained that the matter was brought under the notice of Pitt, who in 1792 reluctantly consented to what was, in effect, the dismissal of the Controller-General. There was no doubt that the Postmasters-General had some just grounds for the course they adopted in this matter, but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Palmer entered the Post Office late in life, and could not, therefore, readily change those habits of independent action to which he had been so long accustomed in his former occupations. He was granted a pension of £3,000 per annum, but, in consideration of the inadequacy of this reward, his son subsequently obtained a grant from Parliament of £50,000. John Palmer died in 1818.

It is remarkable that not long after the introduction of mail coaches, various improvements in them, and also of the roads on which they travelled, were effected, which went far towards making Palmer's scheme a continued success. At first the mail coaches were faultily constructed and break-downs were of almost daily occurrence, but these were rendered very much less frequent by the improvements in carriage construction which culminated, at the opening of the

nineteenth century, in the introduction of elliptic springs for carriages, thus dispensing with the heavy combined wood and iron perches and cross beds which had, up to that time, been invariably used. In consequence, many complicated parts in wheeled vehicles were dispensed with, and coaches, etc., became lighter and easier. Their safety, comfort and accommodation were proportionately increased, and the cost of construction was considerably lessened.

Then again, passengers on the old stage coaches were subject to various annoyances and delays owing to the state of the roads, and in some extreme cases, days were lost by reason of floods and other impediments. This state of affairs was largely improved by John Loudon MacAdam's new system of dressing the roads. He substituted, on roads formerly constructed of gravel and round, or carelessly broken stones of poor quality, surfaces of granite, flints and other hard stones carefully broken into small angular pieces which, after the passage of heavy traffic, dovetailed into each other and formed a hard and even surface. The process was, of course, gradual, but most of the post roads were macadamised before 1820. MacAdam received a grant of £10,000 from the national funds, and the appointment of Surveyor-General of Metropolitan roads in consideration of his services.

Again, a few months after the introduction of mail coaches they were exempted, by Act of Parliament, from toll, and inn-keepers and others were induced therefore to contract for the carriage of the mails on merely nominal terms.

Mail coaches existed for about sixty years, and they attained to the height of their prosperity in the reign of William IV. It was during this time that they became so favourite a subject with English painters, engravers and lithographers, who depicted on canvas and stone the mail coaches of the day in every conceivable position and circumstance except, perhaps, in the act of overturning or breaking down; and we still very frequently come across paintings and engravings of mail coaches starting from, or arriving at, the prominent inns of the country; of coaches winding through the lanes, along the high roads or across the commons and heaths; and of coaches in the rain,

sleet or snow, when often, at the end of a journey, the driver and guard had to be lifted off their perches because of the numbness engendered by excessive cold. There is little doubt that Dickens gleaned the name of *Pickwick* from the West of England coach, known as the "*Pickwick*," and owned by the firm of Moses *Pickwick and Co.*, of "*The White Hart Inn*," Stall Street, Bath; and the guard of a coach called the "*Monarch*" is said to have been the prototype of Sam Weller.

With the introduction of railways, mail coaches gradually fell into desuetude. The change commenced with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830, when the mails of the district were consigned to the new company for carriage. Nevertheless, the railway system developed but slowly, and for the first few years exerted little influence on the Post Office, for as late as in 1838 the high roads still held their traffic. Indeed, some new coaches were even put upon them. Several reasons account for this. In the first place the new method of carriage was not popular, and the cost of conveyance of the mails was also very much more than by coach. Again, rail accidents were more frequent and fatal than coach breakdowns, and it was not an unusual sight to see a disabled locomotive being towed by horses to the nearest station, in the same way as, in recent times, motor-cars have been similarly and ignominiously treated. In the early days of railways an accident was fraught with more serious consequences than a coach upset, and a famous beau of this time, in language as picturesque as his dress, summed up the matter as follows:—"You got upset in a mail-coach—and there you were. You get upset in a rail-car and—d——e, where are you?"

The early rail-cars went through much the same process of development as the early road coaches. They were at first merely wagons, not unlike the open goods wagon of to-day, very often seatless; the passengers being protected by an awning which, in exposed districts, and when most wanted, was sometimes carried away by a boisterous wind. As time went on, the carriages were improved by being entirely covered in and fitted with more comfortable seats. The railway carriage owed much to the road coach it displaced. It was

even named after the manner of the stage conveyance. The guard, with his horn and in his scarlet cloak, was retained and still continued to occupy a prominent position, perched aloft at the back of the last passenger "coach." The old methods of booking, seating and of carrying luggage were also closely followed. The racks and arm slings were introduced into the carriages, the gauge of the wheels was retained and the language of the "road" was transferred almost word for word to the requirements of its metal rival.

Intense rivalry naturally existed between the owners of coaches and the early railway companies, but not long after the commencement of the reign of Queen Victoria it became evident to the former that their occupation was rapidly going. Still, the old time coach has not entirely been driven off the roads. It is even now a popular summer vehicle in the country, and takes many a joyous company through the dales and over the hills of the north and west. Nevertheless, the halcyon days of coaching have long since passed away, and with this decay many of Palmer's reforms have been forgotten, and his name has ceased to be a household word. That the people of his time recognised the benefits which he was the means of bestowing upon them is abundantly evident from the tokens which form the subject of this article, and so long as these exist the name of Palmer will not entirely pass out of memory.

The Mail Coach Halfpennies were issued in large numbers and are comparatively common to-day. Of the three, however, No. 2 is the scarcest. Little can be said in favour of the design and execution of these tokens as the coach, horses and figures of driver and guard are crudely drawn, and the lettering and arrangement of the inscriptions are very defective. The reverse of No. 3 is, perhaps, neater than the other designs. The appearance of all the tokens is, however, often adversely affected by bad and uneven striking. They were engraved by Wyon and manufactured by Mynd, both of Birmingham, but were primarily intended for circulation in London. In all probability they were also readily accepted at the inns along the mail coach routes, which were so greatly benefited by the improved system of coaching introduced by Palmer.

## NOTES ON THE PRIVATE TOKENS, THEIR ISSUERS AND DIE-SINKERS.

(Continued.)

BY S. H. HAMER.

IN introducing the first part of this paper on "Private Tokens,"<sup>1</sup> I explained, that the earliest specimens were issued by David Alves Rebello of Hackney, not for currency nor for sale to collectors, but as gifts to his friends, and as they could not be purchased, the only course for a collector, who was not a personal friend yet desired to obtain a specimen, was to issue a private token of his own to offer in exchange for it. This led advanced collectors to have dies sunk and private tokens struck, but as the number issued was always small, they are now rare, some being specially so.

The first part of this paper dealt with those issued in the counties, in their alphabetic order, as far as Staffordshire. The next to be considered therefore are those of—

### SUFFOLK.

James Conder, a draper of Tavern Street, Ipswich, issued one ton of halfpenny tokens for currency. He was a collector, and wrote a work entitled *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens and Medalets*. The preface was written by James Wright of Dundee, to whom I shall refer later.

In 1795, James Conder had a pair of dies sunk by J. Milton, for a penny-size private token.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, p. 299.



*Obverse*.—Within a ribbed border, a bust to left, wearing an ecclesiastical cap with a button on the top, the die-sinker's initials *J.M.* under the bust.

*Legend*.—CARDINAL WOLSEY BORN AT IPS<sup>h</sup> 1471.

*Reverse*.—Within a ribbed border, a view of a city gate, a wall on each side.

*Legend*.—JA. CONDER · IPSWICH · 1795. *Exergue*.—WOL<sup>vs</sup> GATE.

*Edge*.—Plain, in collar.

Charles Pye's record is that six tokens were struck in silver, and four in copper, when the obverse die failed. Then six impressions in tin were taken, but of the obverse die only.

A new obverse die of similar design was sunk, but without the button on the cap, and the legend is continuous and complete, the letter *M* under the bust.

*Reverse*.—From the same die as the last.

*Edge*.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 1.

From these dies, Pye states that six tokens were struck in silver and 200 in copper.

In 1796, Conder had the worn reverse die, which he used for his currency tokens, softened, and the date 1796 added; whether the die cracked in the second hardening, or was cracked before, I do not know; but probably it would be with the second hardening.

With the obverse die used for the last token, viz., Wolsey's head, and this reverse die, he had a small number struck on penny flans.

*Edge*.—I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER  
ONE PENNY.

These dies were also used on thinner "flans," halfpenny size, some having a milled edge, and some plain.

In 1797 he had a new reverse die sunk.

*Legend*.—CONDER'S IPSWICH PENNY 1798.

This is remarkable in having his wife's initial with his own, viz., *J.M.C.*, which letters form the central design. In no other instance does



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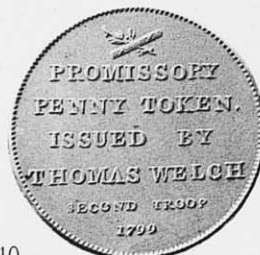
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this occur on a private token; though it was a common occurrence upon the seventeenth century tokens. With this new reverse die and the Wolsey's-head obverse die, he had some tokens struck.

He also had another die sunk representing the Town Hall, formerly St. Mildred's Church.

*Legend.*—TOWN · HALL · IPS<sup>h</sup>. *Exergue.*—FORMERLY ST MILDREDS CHURCH.

The reverse being from the die bearing his and his wife's initials of 1797 (Fig. 2). And to make yet another variety, he used the die, with the view of the ancient gateway, bearing date 1795, and the reverse die, as last, viz., with initials, and date 1797.

The use of two dies, as obverse and reverse, bearing two different dates of issue, cannot be regarded as appropriate for a private or any other token; the same remark applies to the penny and halfpenny tokens, for which he used his worn-out currency die, after adding the date 1796.

Pye records that both of these as rare, and I cannot regard either as being issued for currency, but rather as being struck to make varieties; the mere fact of the edge-reading being a promise to pay one penny is, as we have seen, no proof of its being used for currency.

James Conder was born at Mile End, London, in 1761; he married Mary, fifth daughter of G. Notcutt, haberdasher, of the Butter-Market, Ipswich, and settled in that town as a draper; he devoted considerable attention to topographical and antiquarian studies. Of his work, *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens and Medalets*, the large paper copies printed on one side only, are scarce, and particularly so are those with "Appendix Second" extending to page 348. The title-page bears date 1798, but some large paper copies are dated 1799; one of my copies, in four volumes, interleaved and extra illustrated by its late owner, Mr. J. Clark, with engravings cut from "Pye," "Virtuoso's Companion," and "Batty's Copper Coinage," has not the Appendix continued beyond page 320. This work was, until 1892, the standard reference book, when it was superseded by that written by Mr. James Atkins.

Conder's collection was sold at Sotheby's on June 5, 1855; many rare tokens are recorded in the Sale Catalogue, but the prices realised were very much below what would obtain at the present time.

No other penny-size private tokens were issued in this county.

Thomas Miller issued a halfpenny-size token which is not usually described as a private token, but which certainly was struck for such; the specially high relief of the obverse made it unsuitable for circulation as currency, and the cost of striking each token would have been more than the face value.

*Obverse.*—Within a raised narrow rim, a profile bust of issuer to right, his hair in a queue.

*Legend.*—T · MILLER ★ BOOKSELLER ★ BUNGAY ★ The die-sinker's name, JAMES, on the truncation of bust.

*Reverse.*—Within a similar rim, a beehive, over which is a radiation; below, a manuscript and books, the upper book being open; a laurel branch on each side.

*Legend.*—INDUSTRY · ENTERPRISE · STABILITY · CONTENT  
1795.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 3.

Pye states, "21 struck, dies broke."

The Rev. W. R. Hay in his manuscript notes has the following:

Mr. Daniel Bonhote (Attorney) of Bungay, in a letter dated 3rd of March, 1797, says that the die of this broke after twenty-one had been worked off.

Mr. Miller therefore set a high price on them, beginning at 18s. apiece, and rising to two guineas and a half, the present price (1797). This information Mr. Bonhote had from Thomas Jenkinson Woodward, Esq., J.P., of Bungay, who has a very good collection.

Thomas Miller's obituary notice appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1804. He was born August 14th, 1731, and at the usual age was apprenticed to a grocer at Norwich. In 1755 he started in business for himself, but a fondness for reading and literature induced him to include that of book-selling, which he carried on for nearly fifty years, the last thirty of which were almost entirely devoted to the

latter business. Unfortunately, the local demand was not equal to the stock of rarities which he kept; he also had a large number of rare portraits, and a good collection of Roman and English coins. He died June 25, 1804.

## WARWICKSHIRE.

In connection with this county, as elsewhere, there are some specimens which may have been issued as private tokens, or may have been struck to sell to collectors, but as to which there is no definite evidence either way. I mention them as possibly having been intended for private distribution, for they certainly were not intended for currency. I will deal with these first.

*Obverse*.—A view of part of Kenilworth Castle.

*Legend*.—FIRMUM IN VITA NIHIL. *Exergue*.—MDCCXCVI.

The legend evidently has reference to the fact that, notwithstanding the thickness of the walls, which in some places measure 16 feet, the building has become a ruin.

*Reverse*.—*P.K.* (for Peter Kempson) in ornamented capitals.

*Legend*.—WARWICKSHIRE PROMISSORY PENNY, on a broad raised rim.

*Edge*.—I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY >◊< Struck in collar.

The high relief of the design of the obverse would render this unsuitable for currency. The reverse is remarkably neat. T. Wyon, senior, was in all probability the die-sinker, as he was employed by Kempson.

Benjamin Jacob, chaser, engraver, auctioneer and appraiser, Hockley Road, Birmingham, issued nine dozen penny tokens. As the number was so small, and also as they were not struck until the year after the government issue of copper twopenny and penny-pieces, the probability is that they were not intended for currency.

*Obverse*.—A man with a pair of scales in his right hand, standing behind a counter, upon and around which, sundry articles are displayed.

*Legend*.—PENNY TOKEN. *Exergue*.—1798.

*Reverse*.—B<sup>s</sup> JACOB AUCTIONEER IRONMONGER. &c WELCH CROSS BIRMINGHAM. In five lines. A hand holding an auctioneer's hammer separating the fourth and fifth. Fig. 4.

*Edge*.—Plain, in collar.

Willetts was the die-sinker, Kempson the manufacturer.

A token not included in Pye's 1801 edition is :—

*Obverse*.—An obelisk partly overgrown with ivy.

*Legend*.—CRESCIT IN IMMENSVM within a plain circle enclosed by a circle of large pellets.

*Reverse*.—Within a sunk and finely dotted circle a bouquet of flowers; similarly below, within a sunk oval *SW* in ornamented script capitals, a small branch below the *W*. The date 1796 being between, and separated by the circle and the oval.

*Legend*.—PROMISSORY PENNY TOKEN. The whole within a dotted circle and outer rim.

*Edge*.—I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY. Struck in collar. Fig. 5.

Thomas Sharp infers that the initials are those of Thomas Wyon. If this were a token manufactured for sale to collectors, we can scarcely imagine why the initials of the die-sinker should occupy so prominent a position in the design; and in the absence of evidence to the contrary I have placed it and the two preceding pieces together, as having some claim to our consideration whilst treating with the subject of these private tokens.

What has by some been designated a "Shop," or "Advertisement Ticket," is, I think, because of its neatness of design, and extreme rarity, a token, or medal. It is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, struck in white metal, and was issued by James Bisset of Birmingham.

*Obverse*.—A shield of arms; to the left, a rose, to the right, a thistle; crest, decayed trunk of an oak tree with some branches and leaves; below the shield, a displayed ribbon with the motto, ABSCISSA VIRESCO and masonic emblems, viz., a square and pair of compasses.

*Legend.*—BISSET FANCY MINIATURE PAINTER. BIRMINGHAM. The whole within a plain narrow rim or border.

*Reverse.*—Within a radiated garter, bearing the motto, LABOR IPSE VOLUPTAS. The inscription, ELEGANT MUSEUM. ADMISSION GRATIS, in four lines, the first and last curved.

*Upper legend.*—\* IMPERIAL PAINTINGS ON GLASS &c.

*Lower legend.*—CURIOUS SPARS, & PÉTRIFACTIONS. All within a rim as the obverse.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 6.

C. Pye describes this as a “shop-card in tin,” but illustrates the halfpenny-size token; neither of these tokens or medals, by whatever name we record them, have any statement of value or date; hence one has quite as much claim to be styled a token as the other.

*Obverse.*—Within a circle a view of the interior of a building.

*Exergue.*—NEW ST.

*Upper Legend.*—BISSET'S MUSEUM.

*Lower Legend.*—& FANCY PICTURE MANUFACTORY. The whole surrounded by a dotted circle which runs into the letters of the upper legend. These are rather larger than those of the lower legend.

*Reverse.*—Within a circle an array of ornaments.

*Exergue.*—BIRMINGHAM.

*Upper Legend.*—ALABASTER SPAR & PETRIFICATION.

*Lower Legend.*—WAREHOUSE. Surrounded by a dotted circle; a die-flaw appears below “WAR.”

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 7.

Atkins has this note :—“Very Rare. This obv. die appears to have failed when only a very few impressions had been taken, upon which the following was executed to take its place” :—

*Obverse.*—Similar design to the preceding, but with small pictures surrounding the temple; the first letter of NEW ST is over the TU, whereas in the rare variety it is over the R; the last letter is over the M, but in the rare variety it is over the A; there are other points of difference, noticeably, a small die-flaw under the first M of MUSEUM.

*Reverse.*—As last. Fig. 8.

Of the common variety, three cwts. were struck, Wyon being the die-sinker, Lutwyche the manufacturer; Pye also refers to the rare variety, but gives no intimation as to which was the original design.

I have recorded them in the order that Sharp and Atkins describe them, but whether this is correct remains to be seen. If the obverse die without the pictures was discarded by reason of the small die-failure, why was not also the reverse die, the flaw in this instance being much longer? I have two of the common specimens, both of which are finer on the reverse than the rare variety. The suggestion is that after the common tokens were struck, a new die was prepared, which, when hardened, showed a die-flaw under the M, hence one impression only was taken. Or, if it actually was the original die, it may have been laid aside till the order was completed; Pye makes no reference to it being such, he only states that "there is a scarce variety without small pictures on the R in Mr. Young's Collection."

In the interleaved copy of "*Virtuoso's Companion*," Vol. I, appears a manuscript note by the original owner, the Rev. W. R. Hay. "Mr. Thompson, or Mr. Levi, have an impression, & as Bisset told me, the only one struck from a die without y<sup>e</sup> pictures." Mr. Thompson was the issuer of the Evesham Penny Token and member of Parliament for that town; he was the natural son of Mr. Levi, both were collectors, as appears by the manuscript list of collectors given in Mr. Hay's copy of C. Pye's work, published in 1795.

Conder places the token with the "pictures" first. Sharp has the following note after describing the one without the pictures, "Very rare, a new obv. die being made. From Young's Collection. No other specimen is known."

At the Chetwynd Sale, Lot 30, contained fifty-eight tokens, commencing with Hastings on page 91, and continuing to Warwick, No. 33, on page 96; these were bought by Williams for 9s., Bisset without the pictures, and two or three other rare tokens being among the number; probably this was the low water mark of all time.

The specimen came to me from Mr. J. S. Dodsworth, of Bradford, who bought it several years ago.

James Bisset was born at Perth in 1760. He came to Birmingham in 1776, and was ultimately apprenticed to T. Bellamy to learn the art of painting on japanned ware. In his

Memoirs (published by Mr. T. B. Dudley of Leamington, 1904), he states, "My daily task was two gross of snuff boxes, or six dozen of small painted waiters, but I have very frequently painted three gross of boxes in a day, or when we have been much hurried to get up orders, I have, in the course of twelve hours per day, painted upwards of twenty gross of snuff boxes in one week, with roses, anemonies, and various coloured flowers, with three tints to every flower, and three to every leaf." The book is, from first to last, most interesting.

Bisset was deputy chairman at a meeting held at the Royal Hotel, Birmingham, on July 14, 1791, and, referring to the Birmingham Riots, he said, "I, in the most unequivocal manner, declare that I never saw a meeting conducted with more loyalty and decorum, and no cause whatever was given to create any disturbance."

He invented a novel kind of painting on glass for which he had a large demand, and as a Russian nobleman had placed an order for a set for the Empress, he called them "Imperial." He writes, "I could work quickly, and could earn at any time, with great ease, a guinea per hour."

He wrote a work of which the following appears on the title-page:—  
"A Poetic Survey round Birmingham; with a brief description of the different curiosities and manufactories of the place. Intended as a guide to strangers.

By J. Bisset, Author of *The Orphan Boy*, *The flights of fancy*, etc.

Accompanied by a Magnificent Directory; with the names, professions, etc., superbly engraved in emblematic plates. Price 6s. With Proof-plates 10s. 6d.—Coloured one Guinea, or printed in colours 2£ 2s." The "Address to the Reader" is signed "J.B. Museum, Birmingham Jany 1, 1800."

In the "Memoirs" alluded to he states, "I published a very grand Copperplate Directory of the town of Birmingham, the engravings of which cost me five hundred guineas. I lost by the undertaking at least £200."

In 1814, he published "A Descriptive guide of Leamington Priors"; with many illustrations, and bound in at the end of the book some advertisement pages of Birmingham manufacturers, etc., there



being a view of Edward Thomason's Manufactory, Church Street, Birmingham. In 1828 he published a smaller work entitled, "The Origin, Rise, and Progress of Leamington Spa; a poetic effusion by J. Bisset"; this was in his sixty-eighth year.

His Memoirs were written in "two days, without a reference to any note or memorandum." He died August 17, 1832, and was buried at Leamington, having removed there from Birmingham in 1813.

Thomas Welch of Birmingham had the following private tokens struck :—

*Obverse.*—A shield of arms, crest and motto, the latter used as a legend.

*Legend.*—JUNGANTUR LEX ET JUSTITIA. *Exergue.*—MDCCXCV.

*Reverse.*—An ornamented cipher, J.W.

*Legend.*—BIRMINGHAM PROMISSORY TOKEN. on a broad raised rim. A couple of quill pens crossed, separating the beginning and end of legend.

*Edge.*—× ON DEMAND I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE PENNY × Fig. 9.

Seventy-two tokens were struck, Wyon being the die-sinker, and Kempson the manufacturer.

*Obverse.*—A mounted yeoman at speed with sword upraised.

*Legend.*—WARWICKSHIRE YEOMANRY <sup>HANCOCK</sup> (inverted). The last being the die-sinker's name. *Exergue.*—ENROLLED JUNE 25 · 1794.

*Reverse.*—In six lines: PROMISSORY PENNY TOKEN. ISSUED BY THOMAS WELCH SECOND TROOP 1799.

*Edge.*—ARMED TO PROTECT OUR LIVES PROPERTY AND CONSTITUTION AGAINST FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC ENIMIES, divided in three sections by military trophies, each section being in two lines.

Only three impressions were taken with this edge, as the collar broke, the most perfect one was bought at Welch's sale by G. Barker for 22s.

Another collar was then made, the word "PRESERVE" being substituted for "PROTECT." With this, twenty-four were struck. Also twenty-four with plain edge in collar.

With the original obverse, and a new reverse having a fasces and a laurel branch crossed above the inscription, the style of lettering being rather different from the last; four were struck with the edge reading "ARMED TO PRESERVE," etc., and twenty-four with plain edge in collar (Fig. 10).

Mr. Atkins records an artist's proof, which is struck on a blank having :—

*Edge.*—ON DEMAND I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER  
ONE PENNY.

I have a proof in white-metal of the unfinished obverse die.

In 1800 he had another pair of dies sunk, and with these had thirty-six pieces struck.

*Obverse.*—A male bust draped to left, the hair in a queue; below, in small letters: FROM A MODEL BY I. G. HANCOCK SEN.

*Legend.*—THE WORK OF JOHN GREGORY HANCOCK AGED  
9 YEARS · ♂ ·

*Reverse.*—Within a dotted border in nine lines: TO ENCOURAGE A  
RARE INSTANCE OF GENIUS THIS COIN WAS STRUCK  
FOR T. WELCH BIRMINGHAM 1800.

*Edge.*—PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE ON DEMAND × † × † ×  
† × † × † × † × Fig. 11.

There are a few proofs of the unfinished obverse die, with the edge reading ON DEMAND I PROMISE TO PAY THE BEARER ONE PENNY × ×, one or two being in a more finished state than the others.

I have heard it suggested that Thomas Welch was of the firm of Welch, Startin and Company, merchants, and agents to the Bristol Fire Office, Snowhill. (See *Universal British Directory*, 1790.)

Thomas Welch's collection of tokens was sold by King (junior), at Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, on September 17 to 20, 1801. The Catalogue states, "This Collection of Provincial Coins is unquestionably the completest ever formed, and contains almost every

coin, either engraved or described in a Work lately engraved by C. Pye, and published by L. B. Seeley, Ave Maria Lane, London, to which Publication the Numbers refer. There are several unique pieces. Many very fine Proofs of scarce coins, many unfinished Proofs of Private and other scarce Tokens, and almost every Coin is in the highest state of Preservation." The total sum realised was £138 16s. 6d., but times and prices have changed since then.

Welch watched the progress of the die-sinkers and secured the scarcer specimens direct from the manufacturer; he kept particulars of the quantity struck, and supplied most of the information, which is found in the index to Pye, 1801 edition.

Pye was indebted to Welch and also to Barker, for the loan of many rare specimens from which he engraved the illustrations in his work. Sharp states that Welch wrote the preface, or advertisement to Pye's work.

It is much to be regretted that during the token issuing period of the nineteenth century, no one rendered similar service to collectors, as Welch with his records, and Pye with his engravings.

George Hollington Barker, of No. 7, The Square, Birmingham, a well-known solicitor, had dies sunk for a private token, halfpenny size.

*Obverse.*—A shield of arms and crest; below, in ornamented script capitals  
*G. H. B.*

*Legend.*—BIRMINGHAM HALFPENNY.

*Reverse.*—Within a sunk oval, a statant figure representing Justice, with scales and sword, dividing the legend and date, FACTA ÆQUATO  
EXAMINE PENDIT MDCC XCVII.

Three were struck with edge-reading PAYABLE ON DEMAND, the first word separated from the others by ornamental work. There is a silver proof with this edge. Also fifteen others in copper, and twelve in tin, which are with plain edge in collar

Then another reverse die was sunk, similar in all respects to the first except that the word "PENDIT" is omitted, and "LIBRAT" substituted (Fig. 12).



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Twenty-four were struck in copper, plain edge in collar. There is also a proof in silver, with plain edge in collar.

Pye states that there are several impressions from the unfinished obverse and reverse dies; but I have not heard of more than one impression from each.

Hancock was the die-sinker, Kempson the manufacturer.

George Barker, F.R.S., son of the last-named collector, was also a successful Birmingham solicitor. He was prominently connected with the Triennial Musical Festivals, and one of the founders of the Philosophical Institution. But for his untiring zeal, the London and Birmingham Railway in all probability would not have been established so soon by many years, as was the case.

In his honour a public subscription was raised by men of all shades of political opinion (contributions being limited to £5), with the result that £560 6s. 2d. was obtained and expended as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Elkinton, Mason and Company			
for Plate ... ..	349	19	6
Soho Plate Company for Plate...	54	0	0
Peter Hollis, Esq., for Bust, etc. ...	105	0	0
Expenses of Printing, Advertising, etc.	51	6	8

The bust is placed in the board room of the General Hospital, and is described as "An imperishable memorial, as well of the sense entertained of the high merits of the subject, as of the fidelity, genius, and skilful execution of the artist."

The presentation plate consisted of the following: a centre ornament, two wine coolers, and two claret jugs.

On the centre ornament was the following inscription:—

Presented to George Barker, Esqr., F.R.S., by many of his fellow townsmen and friends, who, though of various opinions on religious, civil and political subjects, have cordially united in manifesting by this, and other tokens of acknowledgment, their personal attachment and esteem, as well as their deep and lasting gratitude for his unremitted

exertions, during a long course of years, in aid of the charitable and scientific institutions of the town of Birmingham.

These sentiments, his bust in marble, placed in the board room of the General Hospital, will continue publicly to testify, A.D. 1844.

On the wine coolers and claret jugs :—

Presented to George Barker, Esqr., F.R.S., of Birmingham, by fellow townsmen and friends, in token of attachment and respect for public services and private worth, A.D. 1844.

On the bust in the board room of the General Hospital, Birmingham :—

George Barker, F.R.S.

In public acknowledgment of his great services to the General Hospital and the town of Birmingham, MDCCCXLIV.

The design of the two claret jugs is worth notice in passing, viz. : an almost plain vase of antique pattern, having as a handle, a snake, the head of which is attached to the top of the vase, the lower part being coiled round and hanging down the body of the vase. Doubtless this feature of the design was not recognised as being typical of that which “at last bitest, like a serpent and stingeth like an adder.” The presentation was made at his house in Monument Lane, on Tuesday evening, December 31, 1844.

He died December 6, 1845, aged 70. From this fact it would appear that he was born in 1775, and therefore was, in all probability, the youngest issuer of private tokens, as by the time he was 22 years of age, viz., in the year 1797, he issued his first, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—A shield of arms, similar to that on his father's token, but without the crest; below the shield the motto, LEGI REGI FIDELIS.

*Reverse.*—*B.S.* in ornamented script capitals; below, 1797.

*Legend.*—BIRMINGHAM HALFPENNY. FOR EXCHANGE, on a broad raised rim.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 13.



Of these, thirty-six were struck in all, three having an incuse lettered edge, viz. : "Payable by George Barker." A few were struck in silver, the rest in copper. Webb was the die-sinker.

In 1799, he issued another :—

*Obverse.*—Head of Mercury to left.

*Upper legend.*—FURTUM INGENIOSUS AD OMNE.

*Lower legend.*—BIRMINGHAM HALFPENNY.

*Reverse.*—A pyramid in ruins, beside it a fallen statue ; above, three hands clasped separating the inscription.

*Legend.*—FÆDUS SIC OMNIA. *Exergue.*—MIHI SORTE DATUM. MDCCXCIX.

*Edge.*—PAYABLE BY GEORGE BARKER + + incuse, struck in collar. Fig. 14.

Of these, twelve were struck in copper, and twelve in white-metal, the latter with plain edge in collar.

I have also an impression in silver, with plain edge, unfortunately not well struck. Hancock was the die-sinker.

This and the token of 1797 were both struck at Kempson's manufactory, and both are of remarkably fine work.

In the year 1800, John Gregory Hancock, junior, son of J. G. Hancock, the noted die-sinker of Snow Hill, Birmingham (who is rightly described as "Artist" in the *Universal British Directory*), engraved the dies for two medals, or, possibly, they may have been intended for private tokens ; and as their issue probably led to the production of the tokens of the penny-size, issued by George Barker, and the penny of 1800, issued by Thomas Welch (previously described), I refer to them here :—

*Obverse.*—In high relief, profile bust to left.

*Legend.*—W. SHAKE SPEARE. In small letters, partly before the bust, J. G. HANCOCK AGED 7 YS.

*Reverse.*—In seven lines, THIS IS MY WORK IOHN GREGORY HANCOCK AGED 7 YEARS. 1800. *Exergue.*—In three lines, INDUSTRY PRODUCETH WEALTH.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar.



In some instances the word PRODUCETH is mis-spelt PRODUSETH (Fig. 15). Possibly this was the original die, and after a few specimens were struck, it was softened and corrected. I have arrived at this opinion after a very careful examination of the letters forming the inscription, in which I cannot find any difference whatever; otherwise I should have concluded that an entirely new die had been sunk.

The other piece is :—

*Obverse.*—In high relief, profile bust to right, wearing a wig.

*Legend.*—SIR ORIGINAL. In small letters in front of bust, I.G.H.  
(inverted).

*Reverse.*—As last from the corrected die.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 16.

Hancock's statement that he was "aged 7 years" must have been an error, for he was born June 24, 1791. Hence if the work was done early in the year 1800, he would be between 8 and 9 years of age, and might reasonably have been described as "aged 8 years." People often make mistakes as to the year in which they were born, or their age at some particular time, but not one in a thousand would mistake the date of the year.

To proceed with the description of the penny-size private tokens of George Barker, the dies for which were sunk by young Hancock. The first is a proof from the unfinished obverse die, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—Profile bust to left, undraped and without wig.

*Legend.*—"WILLIAM PITT EARL OF CHATHAM."

*Lower legend.*—"I. G. HANCOCK SCULP AGED — YEARS."

Of this, four impressions only were taken in tin.

The obverse die was then finished by adding the wig, the drapery to the bust, and the figure "8" in the blank space.

*Reverse.*—In ten lines, THIS UNPARALLED (*sic*) PRODUCTION  
OF EARLY GENIUS WAS STRUCK UNDER THE IN-  
SPECTION OF GEO: BARKER. 1800.

*Edge.*—Plain, in collar. Fig. 17.

Pye states that "in consequence of a mistake being made in young Hancock's age, and also on the reverse, only eight were struck in copper."

The obverse die was then softened and the artist's name and age erased, substituting, on a label, BORN 1708, DIED 1778 (this of course referring to the Earl of Chatham).

A new reverse die was sunk, viz. :—

A bee-hive and bees ; below, in seven lines, THE WORK OF IOHN GREGORY HANCOCK AGED NINE YEARS. 1800.

*Legend.*—PENNY TOKEN FOR EXCHANGE, beneath all, a couple of branches crossed.

With these dies six were struck in copper with edge reading, BY GEORGE BARKER BIRMINGHAM · × · and twelve in tin, with plain edge in collar.

Dies for another penny token were sunk, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—A female bust to right, representing Britannia.

*Upper legend.*—DIVA BRITANNIÆ.

*Lower legend.*—FAUTRIX ARTIUM.

*Reverse.*—In seven lines, THE WORK OF IOHN GREGORY HANCOCK AGED NINE YEARS. 1800 \*

*Upper legend.*—UTILE DULCI.

*Lower legend.*—FOR EXCHANGE.

Lettered edge in split collar, BY GEORGE BARKER BIRMINGHAM MDCCC \* Fig. 18.

Of these, twenty-four were struck in copper. Two impressions are known of the obverse die only, struck on a smaller flan, edge reading I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY ×

Pye has a note as follows : " This and the four tokens immediately preceding are so well executed, that many persons have doubted their being J. G. H., junior's work. This has induced his father to make an affidavit, that they were entirely engraved by his son ; and the gentlemen for whom they were made, declare they are perfectly convinced of the truth of this affidavit. By the parish register of

St. Phillips, Birmingham, it appears that J. G. H., junior, was born the 24th of June, 1791."

Unfortunately, there is no information whatever as to the life and subsequent work of this talented youth.

There are two impressions from an unfinished die, intended as an obverse or reverse, for a private token for J. G. Hancock, viz. :—

View of the interior of a workshop, showing the "cushion" for cutting dies on a bench, to which latter is attached a vice : on the left, a model of the human body without head or legs, and below it, a mask, to the right of a large window, is a smaller figure at full length with an arm upraised.

One of the two impressions has the reverse blank ; the other has the following inscription marked with punches :—

DESIGN . FOR . I . D . HANCOCK'S TOKEN . 1800.

Both the above were in Mr. W. Norman's sale, July 13, 1903.

John Gregory Hancock, senior, was a most artistic and prolific die-sinker.

Thomas Sharp states, that of the tokens " struck at Birmingham, those of Hancock stand pre-eminent ; indeed, it is only necessary to refer to the greater portion of the Anglesey Pennies and Halfpennies, to the Blything Hundred, Brimscombe Port, Caermarthen, Coalbrookdale, Edinburgh, Exeter, Hull, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Macclesfield, Rochdale, Shrewsbury, Southampton, and Wilkinson halfpence, for proof of this, besides several beautiful private tokens."

It should be remembered that Hancock and the other die-sinkers cut and prepared the dies, which were used by the manufacturers ; the work of striking the tokens by means of the press being usually done by others than the die-sinkers. To do justice to the memory of these artists would require a biography of each, and with the exceptions of a memoir of Thomas Wyon, junior, by Humphreys, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1818, pp. 179-185, and another of William, the son of Peter Wyon, published in 1837, none, so far as I am aware, are in existence.

John Clark, described as a perfumer and toyman of Bull Street, Birmingham, issued a halfpenny token.

*Obverse*.—Within a sunk oval, Britannia placing a laurel wreath on a bust of George III., which stands on a pedestal inscribed, JUSTA PRÆMIA.

*Legend*.—BIRMINGHAM HALFPENNY.

*Reverse*.—Ships at sea ; in the foreground an oak tree.

*Legend*.—On a raised rim, BRITANNIÆ TUTAMEN. *Exergue*.—MDCCXCV.

*Edge-reading*.—PAYABLE AT THE HOUSE OF JOHN CLARKE  
BULL STREET + Fig. 19.

Only thirty-six were struck when the dies broke ; many of the tokens are badly struck.

Pye says that the work of die-sinking had been admirably executed by Wyon ; but unfortunately, Pye does not state which member of that family of noted die-sinkers he refers to.

This has not been previously classed as a private token, but the absence of any trade advertisement, also the facts that no more were struck from new dies, and that the tokens would cost more than their face value, are strong evidences that the issue was not for currency, notwithstanding the edge-reading. A specimen sold for 10s. 6d., previously to 1801.

Charles Pye, the celebrated copper plate engraver, to whose works and index I have frequently referred, issued a private token, with the object of obtaining by means of exchange, specimens which could not be purchased.

*Obverse*.—A female figure seated, with her right hand supporting a cornucopia from which coins are issuing, a wedge, screw, and windlass also appear, indicative of the mechanical arts ; bees, and a bee-hive, representing industry. *Exergue*.—A palm and a laurel branch crossed.

*Legend*.—THE SUPPORT OF BRITAIN, on a broad raised rim.

*Reverse*.—The initials of the issuer, C.P., in script capitals as a monogram ; below, the date 1797.

*Upper legend*.—BIRMINGHAM HALFPENNY, on a broad raised rim.

*Lower legend*.—FOR EXCHANGE.

*Edge*.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 20.

Of these, thirty-six were struck in copper, Webb was the die-sinker, and Kempson the manufacturer. This token and that issued by George Barker in 1797, are of similar style as regards the reverse, the same die-sinker being employed for both. The work in each instance is particularly neat and well executed, and it is to be regretted that Webb was not engaged to execute more dies for tokens.

In addition to being an engraver, Charles Pye published *A Description of Modern Birmingham* to which were annexed, "Observations made during an excursion round the Town in the summer of 1818. Including Warwick and Leamington." He also published a *Dictionary of Antient Geography*, and engraved the plates for some of the illustrations in Hutton's *History of Birmingham*. Collectors, for all time, will be under a debt of gratitude to Charles Pye for his fine engravings of tokens.

I am not aware of any other Birmingham man who issued a private token than Mr. W. J. Davis, the author of *The Token Coinage of Warwickshire*, and the more comprehensive work entitled, *The Token Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, issued during the nineteenth century, in Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, and other metals, also of Tokens exceeding the value of a penny, of any period. With notes historical and descriptive of the issuers, etc.*

The bulk of Mr. Davis's collection was dispersed, March 11, 1901, and four following days at Messrs. Sotheby's, the total amount realised being £1,630.

Towards the end of the year 1899, he issued a private token, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—A view of a church and trees; above, "SAY BY THIS  
TOKEN I DESIRE HIS COMPANY," SHAKESPEARE.  
In small letters in the foreground, HOLY TRINITY STRATFORD  
ON AVON.

*Legend.*—I · PROMISE · TO · GIVE · GOOD · EXCHANGE · FOR  
· RARE · TOKENS ⌘ on a broad raised rim.



21



22



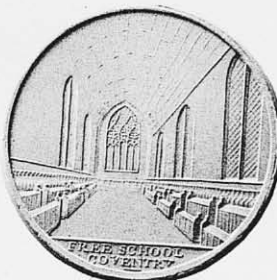
23



24



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26



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28





*Reverse*.—Within a couple of laurel branches, "WHEN TIME COMES ROUND, A CHRISTMAS BOX THEY BEAR, AND ONE DAY MAKES THEM RICH FOR ALL THE YEAR."

1900. <sup>GAY</sup>TRIVIA, in eight lines; below, a brassfounder's crucible on a fire, in it, a stirring rod, and above, a star-like figure, indicative of the loss of metal in melting. The letter "R" by the branch to the left refers to the manufacturer, J. A. Restall of Birmingham.

*Edge-reading*.—"THE TOKEN COINAGE OF WARWICKSHIRE," in raised letters. This, by means of an engraved two-split collar. Fig. 21.

Ten sets were struck in silver, brass, copper-bronzed, and white metal.

I have a unique specimen in copper, unbronzed, plain edge.

Mr. Davis with Mr. John Macmillan, issued a series of "New Birmingham Tokens," but as these were advertised for sale to collectors and others, we cannot recognise them as private tokens for exchange.

The dies for the private token are now in the Shakespeare Museum at Stratford-on-Avon.

#### COVENTRY.

Thomas Sharp, the noted antiquary, issued a private token:—

*Obverse*.—A female figure with mural crown, seated, her right arm resting on the hilt of a sword, her left hand holding a shield, bearing the arms of Coventry; on the ground are a mitre, crozier and mace, in the distance a view of the "three spires of Coventry."

*Legend*.—CIVITAS COVENTRIÆ. *Exergue*.—The date MDCCXCVII.

*Reverse*.—A view of the house where the issuer was born, with the figure of "Peeping Tom" in a niche, the King's Head Inn adjoining.

The perspective being faulty, the die was rejected. Three were struck in copper and three in tin, plain edge.

A new reverse die was sunk, with two chimneys instead of one as on the first die, and dense smoke issuing therefrom, a lamp over the side door, and other details were added. Seventeen windows to the inn, instead of twenty, as on the first die.



*Exergue*.—MEMORIÆ GODIVÆ. 1057.

*Edge-reading*.—COVENTRY HALFPENNY PAYABLE BY THO:  
SHARP, in raised letters by means of a four-split collar. Fig. 22.

A unique impression in silver, and the following impressions from unfinished dies in copper and tin are shown :—

An impression of the obverse die when the female figure and outline of shield had been sunk. Another impression when the die was in a more finished state. An impression of the die when finished. These in copper.

The following in tin :—

An impression of the rejected reverse die, and of the new reverse die before the windows had been filled in. Edge-reading "HALFPENNY" in collar.

An impression of the obverse die finished, and the new reverse die unfinished, as last. Edge, plain in collar.

All these are exceedingly rare.

This reverse is a typical example of the interest many of the tokens lend, in preserving memorials of eighteenth-century architecture now swept away.

Thomas Sharp, with two antiquarian friends, John Nickson, and J. W. Piercy (whose private tokens I shall presently describe), issued a series of tokens, halfpenny size, the several obverses of which represented the City Gates and public buildings from drawings in Sharp's possession, the reverse bearing the Arms of Coventry. There is also a rare series with the head of Handel as a reverse.

Thomas Sharp was born November 7, 1770. He was educated at the Free School; for about four years he lived with his uncle Henry Sharp, who intended him to study for the Church; but as his father died in 1784, he returned home to assist in managing the business, which he subsequently conducted on his own account. In business he was a hatter. At an early age he showed a taste for local antiquities, and contributed communications of this nature to *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

In 1792 his friend George Howlette, watch manufacturer, was elected Mayor, and thus access was obtained to the numerous

books and documents preserved in the city treasury at St. Mary's Hall ; the opportunity was taken advantage of, and Mr. Sharp's classical knowledge rendered him competent to investigate the records, from which he made numerous extracts, these forming the basis on which he compiled his works, *The Antient Mysteries*, and other local and historical essays. "He married, December 26th, 1804, Charlotte Turland, of Barnwell in Cambridgeshire, and having retired from his retail trade, removed to Little Park Street, where he resided for many years, still carrying on his wholesale business."

"In 1825 he published his most important work entitled *A Dissertation on The Pageants, or Dramatic Mysteries, anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City: chiefly with reference to the vehicle, characters, and dresses of the Actors. Compiled in a great degree from sources hitherto unexplored; to which were added the Pageant of the Shearman and Taylors' Company, and other municipal entertainments of a public nature.*"

Two hundred and fifty copies were printed on royal, seventy-five on imperial quarto, and three on larger paper. The work was printed by Merridrew and Son of Coventry, the illustrations were drawn and engraved by David Jee, an artist residing in Coventry.

Sir Walter Scott in a letter to Sharp in 1826 thus expressed his opinion of the work. "I have received great pleasure from your beautiful and masterly edition of the Coventry Mysteries. I have not been more struck for this long time with an antiquarian publication, for both the carefulness and the extent of research, as well as the interesting selection of illustrations raise it to the very highest class among books of that description."

Sharp's knowledge also of engraved portraits and their arrangement was so extensive and exact, that he was enabled to illustrate a copy of *Granger's Biographical History of England*, with such skill and success, that he afterwards disposed of it for upwards of a £1,000. He took an active interest in the formation of the Warwickshire Natural History and Archæological Society in 1836, of which he was vice-president, and, in conjunction with his friend William Staunton, acted as honorary curator of the archæological section. To token

collectors he is better known as the author of *A Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens, Tickets, and Medalets, issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Arranged according to Counties, etc. With particulars of their fabrication, names of the artists, and miscellaneous remarks illustrative of the rarity of particular specimens. Described from the originals in the collection of Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet, of Grendon Hall in the County of Warwick.* This work, being for private distribution, only sixty copies were printed in 1834. Of my two copies, both from the library at Grendon Hall, one is on larger and thicker paper than the other and is extra illustrated with illustrations from other works, mounted on the wide margin. While compiling this work Sharp resided for some months at Grendon Hall. He lived for over sixty years at Coventry, and after retiring from business about the year 1834, he removed to Leamington, where he died August 12th, 1841. He was buried in the new burial ground of St. Michael's Church, Coventry, and his monument bears the following inscription, written by his friend and fellow labourer, George Eld.

Underneath rest the remains of Thomas Sharp: in grateful record for the memory of whom this tomb is erected by his family; he was distinguished for his literary attainments, and particularly for the zeal and ability with which he devoted himself to elucidate the antiquities of this (his native) city.

Beloved by his friends and respected by his fellow citizens, he departed this life in his 71st year, 12th August, 1841.

The above biographical notes are selected from a memoir of Sharp by W. G. Fretton.

John Nickson, a close friend of Thomas Sharp, issued a private token of which there are two varieties, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—A half-length figure in antique cap and gown, the right hand holding to the breast a deed to which two seals are attached.

*Legend.*—JOHN HALES FOUNDED WYON Wyon was the die-sinker, and his name appears in small letters close to the right arm of the figure.

*Reverse*.—View of the gable end of a building, a large, and a small window being shown, a tree to the left.

*Legend*.—THE FREE SCHOOL OF COVENTRY. *Exergue*.—ANNO 1545.

*Edge-reading*.—HALFPENNY PAYABLE BY JOHN NICKSON 1799, in incuse letters, struck in collar. Sharp, Atkins and Davis add the word "COVENTRY," but it does not appear on Pye's engraving, nor yet on my specimens, in fact, there is not room for it. Fig. 23.

Another obverse die was sunk contemporary with the above, viz. :—

*Obverse*.—A similar bust to last, but the deed is smaller and has no seals, also there is no tassel to the cap.

*Legend*.—JOHN HALES FOUNDED WYON, as before. Fig. 24.

*Reverse*.—From the same die as the previous piece.

*Edge-reading*.—As last.

Of the first mentioned token fifteen were struck in copper. Of the latter, seventy-two were struck in copper, and six in silver. Pye says, "There are some unfinished proofs in tin of this and the last." Edge, plain in collar.

John Nickson was a manufacturer, and a member of the firm of Nickson and Townsend. He was one of the Society of Friends and died at Leamington, June 16, 1830. His obituary notice appears in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for July of that year, from which I have taken the following details.

He was a native of Coventry, and with his partner Townsend was connected with the leather trade. On the death of his partner he joined another named Browett and entered into the cotton trade, in which for many years they carried on a flourishing business. After the death of Browett, and as the cotton trade was beginning to decline, he turned to the manufacture of trimmings and commission silk dealing. By his wife, a member of the family of Stretch of Birmingham, he had one son, who died young, and three daughters. As a colleague of Sharp he was deeply interested in antiquarian research relating to Coventry, and frequently contributed to the pages of *The Gentleman's*

*Magazine.* In 1761 he actively assisted the foundation of the Coventry Library. His collections were always open to the inspection of his acquaintances, and in the various vicissitudes of life he was ever esteemed as a man of unimpeachable honour and integrity.

#### PENNIES.

E. W. Percy, a member of the legal profession, issued three private tokens of penny size, viz. :—

*Obverse.*—Three-quarter faced bust in early seventeenth century costume ; below, in small letters, DIED 1636 AGED 85.

*Legend.*—PHILEMON HOLLAND, M.D.

*Reverse.*—A view of the interior of a building. *Exergue.*—FREE SCHOOL COVENTRY.

*Edge-reading.*—PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE BY E. W. PERCY COVENTRY × in raised letters. Fig. 25.

Of this, six were struck in silver and thirty-six in copper. There are six impressions in tin from unfinished dies ; the name on the obverse being spelt "HOLLOND" : these have a plain edge in collar.

The reverse die (see Fig. 25) was softened, and to the design was added three boys playing at marbles ; the words in the exergue, viz., FREE SCHOOL COVENTRY were removed, and the date 1801 substituted ; the subsequent hardening caused a die-flaw at the end of the date.

With the obverse die as used for the previous token and the altered reverse, six were struck, having lettered edge as last ; the reverse die then broke (Fig. 26). The original obverse die was used with a new reverse die (Fig. 26A), as follows, viz. :—

An open book, leaning against two others, which are inscribed BRITANNIA (the Ns retrograde) and CYROPÆDIA respectively. In front of the open book is a quill pen in an inkstand. The book being inscribed

With one Sole Pen  
I wrote this Book  
Made of a  
gray Goose Quill

A Pen it was  
when I it took  
A Pen I  
leave it still.

*Exergue*, 1801, and below a line and in minute letters I. G. H., the initials of the die-sinker, John Gregory Hancock, previously mentioned.

*Edge reading.* As last. Fifteen were struck in copper-bronzed, and three unbronzed; there are also four unfinished proofs in tin.

Dr. Philemon Holland was born in 1551 at Chelmsford; he was head master of the Coventry Free School but also practised as a physician, and afterwards at Cambridge. He translated various works besides *Xenophon's Cyropædia* and *Camden's Britannia*. Edmund W. Percy subsequently removed to 4, Church Street, Leamington, and was appointed clerk to the magistrates; he died about the year 1840.

Mr. W. J. Davis, in his recently published work on the *Nineteenth Century Token Coinage*, records a proof before letters of the reverse of the first of this set of tokens, viz., the view of the interior of a building, struck in tin. A specimen was in a sale in 1903, and the lot fell to my bid; but the condition was such that I did not keep it.

Sir George Chetwynd, the second baronet to whom I have frequently referred, in his youth collected some tokens at the time of issue, but it was not until the summer of 1830 that the idea of perfecting his collection, so far as he was able, was entertained. In 1831 he made arrangements with Matthew Young, the coin dealer (who is previously referred to as the issuer of a private token), by which the private collection of the latter was open to him for selection.

In addition to this, the collection of John Harding of Bonehill in Staffordshire (the issuer of the Tamworth Penny) passed into his hands, and selections from many sales, as is shown by his priced catalogues, previously in the Grendon Hall Library.

In 1833 he issued a penny-size private token, bearing no statement of face value.

*Obverse.*—Portrait to right; below, in minute letters, the name of the die-sinker, B. WYON. S.

*Legend.*—SIR GEORGE CHETWYND BAR. within a raised rim.

*Reverse.*—A view of a mansion; above it, "GRENDON HALL."

*Exergue*.—A shield of arms, surrounded with scrollwork, and in the terminals the date 1833. The name of the die-sinker appears in minute characters on the groundwork.

*Edge-reading*.—QUOD ★ DEUS ★ VULT ★ FIET. each word being separated by a star, and at the beginning and end a goat's head, the crest of the Chetwynds. Fig. 28.

This is a very beautiful piece of work and exceedingly rare. Unfortunately the arms are incorrectly engraved. The writer of the *Bazaar* "Notes" states that it was also struck in silver.

The following letter, now in my possession, was sent by Sir George Chetwynd to Matthew Young, the coin dealer of London, some three years before the token was issued; possibly because it was expected that, in consequence of the size of the piece, the arms alone would not be sufficient for the design of the reverse.

With Sir George Chetwynd's compliments. Does Mr. Young think the arms with which this will be sealed wo<sup>d</sup> be suitable and in all respects applicable to a token?

No. 8, New Palace Yard.

November 18, 1830.

In 1842 Sir George issued a halfpenny-size token.

*Obverse*.—Portrait to right; below, in small letters, the die-sinker's name HALLIDAY, and the date 1842.

*Legend*.—SIR GEORGE CHETWYND BARONET.

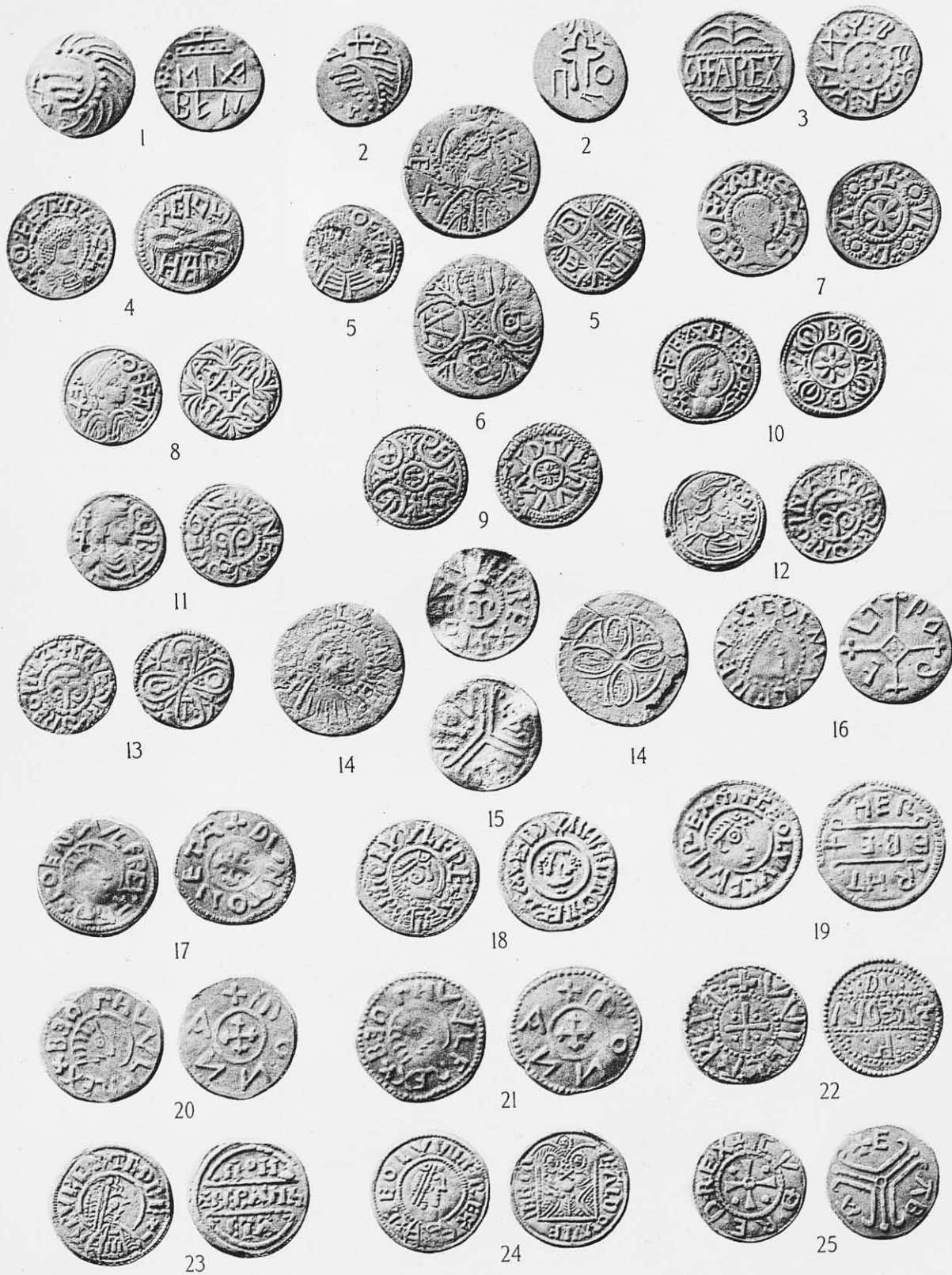
*Reverse*.—A shield of arms; below, on a ribbon the motto, QUOD DEUS VULT FIET.

*Legend*.—GRENDON HALFPENNY. This is also struck in silver. On some of the tokens there is an edge-reading in indented letters PAYABLE AT GRENDON HALL. Fig. 29.

Sir George Chetwynd's collection of coins, medals, and tokens, in compliance with a specific direction contained in his will, was sold on July 23, 1872, and the three following days. He was born July 23, 1783, was High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1830, and died May 4, 1850.

(*To be continued.*)





FORGERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS.





## FORGERY IN RELATION TO NUMISMATICS.

By L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director.*

**P**ERHAPS the word forgery might be well defined as a concrete falsehood, for the suggestion of falseness is involved in the whole idea. Imitations may or may not be forgeries according to the intention of the maker to deceive or not. The five-shilling pieces made by Tanner, the mint engraver, in imitation of the Cromwell crown, must be looked upon as an attempt to copy a great master rather than an endeavour to satisfy the appetite of the coin collector. Another example of a false article without the element of forgery, is the money of a country which deliberately and openly issues a debased coinage.

Numismatic forgeries may be divided into two classes; firstly, those intended to deceive the whole world, in other words, forgeries of money intended to pass as money; secondly, those made with particular reference to ourselves as numismatologists. By general consent the name contemporary forgery has been applied to the first class, which is an interesting series. As a rule the coins do not deceive the expert, and generally they are quite easy to identify. In nearly every case they are base, being either made of entirely base metal, or consisting for the large part of this, with a thin coating of the proper metal on the outside. Sometimes they are struck, but more often they are cast.

The processes by which a forgery of the second class is made generally help towards its detection.

There are four, or perhaps five methods:—

- (1) Electrotyping.
- (2) Casting
- (3) Fabrication of false dies.
- (4) The use of genuine dies for striking base metal, or put to some unauthorised purpose, such as restriking
- (5) Alteration of a genuine coin.

(1) *Electrotyping*.—For a production by this means, a mould in a suitable medium, such as sealing wax, is required. As the whole object cannot be moulded in one piece, more impressions than one must be used. These are covered with a substance capable of retaining a metallic deposit, and then placed within an electric circuit in a fluid containing the metal to be deposited. When a coating of sufficient thickness has been produced, the pieces are removed from the bath, washed and detached from the moulds, and then joined together. The edges where the joining is made are carefully closed, and then the now solid reproduction is coated, usually electrically, with the same metal as that of the original. This hides both the joining and the deposited metal if it be different from the outside. Careful polishing completes the process.

The character of the process at once reveals the features by which it may be discovered. Small and thin coins are usually made in two pieces and joined together. If the surface of the edge be gently scraped both the line of the joining and the composition of the metal will be revealed. If the coin be large or thick, the rim is put on separately, and the juncture is just where the face touches the edge. The surface of an electrotype is usually granular as compared with the smooth surface of a struck piece. To the unwary, an electrotype is a dangerous forgery, as the style of the ancient work is, of course, exactly reproduced. An electrotype weighs less than an original coin, unless this matter has been taken into consideration and allowed for in the thickness of the component parts. Although the ring of a coin is a common test by the public of its genuineness, there is no reliance to be placed on it for the purposes of detecting such forgeries as are being considered here. Electrotypes, however, as a rule, have no ring, but there are exceptions. The same unfortunately applies to genuine pieces. Saxon coins often emit no musical note when struck, and a crack or flaw in any coin usually destroys the ring.

(2) *Casting*.—This is a common method of forgery. Like electrotyping, it entirely preserves the style of the original work. Casts are made from moulds and the character of the substance of which the mould is made largely influences the resulting copy. As a rule the

finest possible sand is used. The coin to be copied is placed in a suitable bed of this material, which is packed round it as tightly as possible by hammering. Each side is impressed in a separate mould and grooves are cut in which to run the molten metal. After removal of the original, the two sides are placed together and the metal is poured in. This fills the space left by the coin and also the groove. When cold, the mould is opened and the resulting cast of the coin and groove goes through a process of trimming to remove the excess of metal. The cast when taken from the mould shows around the middle of the edge a thin layer of metal, representing the joining of the mould. It also has excess of metal at the entrance of the groove. All this has to be removed or flattened down, and very often the implements used for such purposes, files, chisels, hammers, etc., leave their marks. The surface of a cast often reveals a number of minute holes. These are due either to the medium used for the mould, or to air-bubbles which could not escape. It must also be remembered, in examining silver castings, that at the moment of solidifying, molten silver gives off oxygen which, bubbling through the surface, produces irregularities.

There is no great difficulty in identifying an ordinarily good cast. The coin looks as if it had been struck with a layer of tissue paper between the flan and the die. All the edges, whether of the letters or devices or the rims of the coin, are softened down. There is no sharpness of detail. The sharp juncture of the flat ground with the raised design in the struck coin is missing on the cast; everything is rounded.

A cast piece is of exactly the same dimensions as the original is of less weight. The amount of pressure brought to bear on the metal in preparation of flans for striking coins is considerable, and the particles get very tightly packed in the process, thus accounting for the extra weight of the struck piece.

In judging a cast it is necessary to remember that the two common features noticed in them, viz., the presence of holes and the rounding of all the edges, are both to be found on genuine and struck pieces as the result of bad usage. Anyone examining a coin which has been worn on a watch-chain for a length of time will at once

recognise how rounded the edges have become. Small holes are also occasionally noticed in coins which have been lying deposited either in water or earth, or have been subjected to some chemical process, acid or otherwise. The coin itself will often account for its origin. A spade guinea in gold is not likely to have been forged and, therefore, the rounded edges tell the tale of wear. A pitted Saxon coin with sharp edges may be put down as the result of burial or bad cleaning.

Casts are said to have a soapy and smooth feel, but this is a very indefinite characteristic. Some have it and some have not, and an opinion based solely upon the feel is often fallacious. With all care, however, in examining and weighing, a fine cast is occasionally a serious puzzle even to the expert, and it is only experience and training that constitutes one man a better judge than his neighbour.

(3) *Fabrication of false dies.*—This process is happily the most difficult, but unfortunately in certain cases its results are equally difficult to detect. In the majority of cases, however, the criminal leaves his traces by not knowing quite all there is to know about the piece he is proposing to copy. One class of coins from false dies can at once be declared as false, because they are too good and regular in workmanship for the period proffered. Another class is false because it is not good and regular enough for its kind. The edge on one coin should be sharp and square, and it is false because its edge is not of the period; whilst its neighbour with a square edge is equally false when it should have been more rounded. Some false coins struck from dies have been copied from illustrations of genuine coins, and look no more like the originals than do the pictures. They of course do not deceive when the illustrations would not. Other coins copied from rare or unique originals happily bear on them marks which were accidental in the originals, and these can be at once condemned by the repetition of the mark.

Some clever people conceived the idea of using genuine coins as flans on which to strike their wicked inventions. Unfortunately for them the truth peeps out of these things in the shape of letters, ornaments, etc., of the original coin to condemn them, although the edge



FORGERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS.





and the weight of the original add lustre to the forgery. One example of this process may be mentioned here. It is a forged coin of Offa struck upon a piece with four groups of three pellets, probably of Edward III.'s time. It seems but little known that it is almost impossible to remove the impression of a struck coin by over-striking. In this respect, however, care must be exercised not to confuse a genuine "over-struck" coin with these forged examples, but the sequence of types is usually the test to determine the question.

(4) *The unauthorised use of genuine dies.*—As this method of fabrication is necessarily confined to a more modern series than that under discussion we may pass on to :—

(5) *Alteration of genuine coins.*—This, the last process for discussion, is the use of a graver to alter or embellish a genuine coin, such things are done, but they are not equally useful as money-making pursuits, for the graving marks are below the surface-level of the die and the process is as a rule easily recognised. The removal of a flaw is a frequent device.

After all has been said about these matters of forgery, it is regrettable to have to admit that many false pieces still defy absolute proof of detection and occasionally a genuine piece is given a bad name. Nevertheless, the fact remains that whilst a critical examination of one hundred genuine coins may result in one or two being passed as doubtful, the same examination of one hundred forgeries would, at the best, result in but one or two being even classed as *doubtful*.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF FORGERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

In order to warn the unwary it is considered desirable to illustrate as fully as possible all the forgeries in the English series. The task is not easy as no list of these disgraceful inventions has ever been made, but if a beginning is not attempted many of these false pieces will continue to deceive.

Forgeries of Anglo-Saxon coins claim the first place, and as they are unfortunately largely represented, they are dealt with to the exclusion of forgeries of ancient British money. These latter exist

but happily not in such numbers. The series, too, is of such different fabric that a special knowledge of them is requisite before being able to decide on the authenticity or otherwise of any individual specimen.

The method adopted in describing the Anglo-Saxon forgeries and those of the later periods, requires perhaps a little explanation. Plates of the forgeries are first given and then plates containing illustrations of genuine coins which have been copied for the purpose of producing false pieces. A comparison of the genuine with the false is thus possible, and an examination of the workmanship and style can be made without much difficulty. In dealing with a subject such as this, the greatest care has to be exercised to prevent a would-be forger obtaining information which would help him to continue a successful career in this form of vice. The verbal descriptions have been carefully framed with a view to such a purpose. Many of the forgeries would not deceive anybody, as a glance at the illustrations will show, and therefore the remark that the "lettering is not of the period" can do no harm.

An accurate comparison, however, of the lettering of the forgery with that of the original would only help to correct such faults, and would thus tend to continue rather than prevent the fabrication of these coins. For these reasons the descriptions may appear meagre and unsatisfactory, but the plates will convey to the real student most of the information he may require. Nearly all the Anglo-Saxon forgeries are in silver, the metal of the originals. Exceptions only will therefore be mentioned in the descriptions.

#### THE SCEATTA SERIES.

Several forgeries of this series, chiefly in lead and cast, are known. The originals are struck silver coins.

#### PLATE I.

No. 1 represents a piece in some hard reddish metal. It is concave and convex, and bears on the reverse a very poor attempt at a legend



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in Runes. The original is represented on Plate IV, No. 1, and reads Aethiliraed (King of Mercia, A.D. 675–A.D. 704).

No. 2. A forgery of the same series. The obverse has the same design as the preceding coin. The reverse is an invention.

### THE PENNY SERIES.

No. 3. Penny of Offa, moneyer BOTRED (in Runic characters), a concoction.

No. 4. Penny of Offa, moneyer CIOLHARD, false dies and clever forgery.

The original is represented on Plate IV, No. 2.

No. 5. Penny of Offa, moneyer EALRED, false dies, a very deceptive piece.

An original coin is figured on Plate IV, No. 3.

No. 6. Penny of Offa, moneyer IBBA, a large leaden piece probably copied from an old engraving. A better forgery of the same coin is represented as No. 8.

No. 7. Penny of Offa, moneyer LVLLA, a poor attempt.

Original shown on Plate IV, No. 4.

No. 8. Penny of Offa, moneyer IBBA, referred to under No. 6, a cast.

The original is figured as Plate IV, No. 5.

No. 9. Penny of Offa, moneyer TIRVVALD.

No. 10. Penny of Offa, moneyer BABA, false dies, struck on another coin, probably an Edwardian penny, very well done.

An original is shown on Plate IV, No. 6, with a reverse of slightly different type.

No. 11. Penny of Cynethryth, Offa's Queen, moneyer EOBA false dies.

Original, Plate IV, No. 7.

No. 12. Penny of Cynethryth, another forgery of the same coin.

No. 13. Penny of Cynethryth, a cast.

No. 14. Penny of Coenwulf, moneyer LVL, a large leaden piece probably copied from an old engraving.

An original is on Plate IV, No. 8.

No. 15. Penny of Coenwulf, moneyer EDELNOD, a leaden cast from an original coin such as that shown on Plate IV, No. 9.

No. 16. Penny of Coenwulf, moneyer PODEL, a poor attempt at copying the coin shown on Plate IV, No. 10.

No. 17. Penny of Coenwulf, moneyer DVN, cast, but probably not from an original. The lettering is very poor.

No. 18. Penny of Coenwulf, moneyer DVNN, cast from an original which had been much double-struck on the reverse.

Compare Plate IV, No. 11, for a genuine specimen.

No. 19. Penny of Ceolwulf I., moneyer HEREBERHT, probably cast from the specimen shown as Plate IV, No. 12. The same reverse is used as a penny of Edmund of East Anglia, No. 35.

No. 20. Penny of Beornwulf, moneyer MONNA, a cast, probably also an invention. A genuine coin with the same obverse is shown on Plate IV, No. 13.

No. 21. Another specimen of the same forgery.

No. 22. Penny of Wiglaf, moneyer REDVALD, a poor forgery.

No. 23. Penny of Burgred, moneyer BERAN? a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 24. Penny of Ceolwulf II., moneyer EALDOVVLF. This is a cast from the unique original found at Cuerdale. At the late Mr. Montagu's sale it realised £50. Thence it passed to Mr. Mudoch and when his cabinet was sold it was unhesitatingly condemned. The original coin is still in possession of the family of its first owner.

No. 25. Penny of Cuthred, King of Kent, moneyer EABA, false dies.

Plate IV, No. 14 is included as slightly resembling this piece, it is a genuine penny of Cuthred's successor, Baldred.

## PLATE II.

No. 26. Penny of Jaenberht, Archbishop of Canterbury, reverse OFFA REX, a very fine copy of the original, Plate IV, No. 15.

No. 27. Penny of Jaenberht, cast from an original, as Plate IV, No. 16.

No. 28. Penny of Aethilheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, reverse OFFA REX, a deceptive forgery.

No. 29. Penny of Aethilheard, reverse EOENVVLF REX, cast from a genuine coin such as that shown on Plate V, No. 17.

No. 30. Penny of Aethilheard, reverse OFFA REX, false dies, a poor attempt.

No. 31. Penny of Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, moneyer EDERED, false dies, a very good forgery.

An original is shown on Plate V, No. 18.

No. 32. Penny, obverse PINENBEART, reverse DOROVERNIA CIVITAS, an invention.

No. 33. Penny of Eadvald of East Anglia, moneyer EADNOÐ, false dies.

A genuine coin is shown on Plate V, No. 19.



ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM WHICH FORGERIES HAVE BEEN  
COPIED.  
VII.—VIII. CENTURIES. PI. IV.





No. 34. The same coin, another forgery of slightly different fabric.

No. 35. Penny of Eadmund of East Anglia, moneyer HEREBERHT, a concoction, referred to under No. 19, false dies.

A genuine coin of Eadmund is shown on Plate V, No. 20.

No. 36. Penny of St. Eadmund, moneyer ODYLBERT, cast from a genuine coin such as that shown on Plate V, No. 21.

No. 37. Penny of St. Eadmund, moneyer EVVRAM, false dies.

No. 38. Penny of Regnald, false dies.

Original shown on Plate V, No. 22.

No. 39. Penny of Anlaf, moneyer FARMAN, false dies.

Compare the genuine coin, Plate V, No. 23.

No. 40. Penny of Anlaf, moneyer RADVLF, false dies.

Original on Plate V, No. 24.

No. 41. Penny of Eanbald, Archbishop of York, an invention.

No. 42. Penny of Eanbald, an invention, a different design.

No. 43. Penny of Eanbald with a different reverse, an invention.

No. 44. Penny of Vigmund, Archbishop of York, a concoction.

No. 45. Penny of Vigmund with reverse of No. 41.

No. 46. Penny of Vigmund with reverse of No. 43.

No. 47. Penny of Ecgbearht, moneyer EDELMOD, false dies.

An original is figured on Plate V, No. 25.

No. 48. Penny of Ecgbearht, from the same dies as No. 47, but exhibiting some differences due to striking.

No. 49. Penny of Ecgbearht, moneyer DEBVS? false dies.

No. 50. Penny of Aethelwulf, moneyer DVNN, false dies.

No. 51. Penny of Aethelwulf, moneyer TORHTVLF, false dies.

An original is shown on Plate V, No. 26.

No. 52. Penny of Aethelbald, moneyer TORHTVLF, from the same dies as No. 51. These pieces, Nos. 51-52, are dealt with at a later stage.

### PLATE III.

No. 53. Penny of Aethelbald, moneyer VERMVND, a cast from an apparently genuine but unknown original.

No. 54. Penny of Aethelbald, moneyer BEAHMVND, false dies.

Penny of Aethelbald received too late to illustrate. Obverse +ÆTHELBALD REX, the letters AL in monogram, a crown, below, a bow-like object, all within an inner dotted circle. Reverse IFC - M R, in the angles of a voided cross, pellet in centre, two pellets within each limb, one pellet opposite each end. A concoction.

No. 55. Penny of Aelfred, London monogram type, a poor cast.

No. 56. Penny of Aelfred, moneyer ÆDELVF, a cast.

No. 57. Penny of Eadweard the elder, moneyer EADMVND, a cast. An original specimen of the same type is figured on Plate V, No. 28.

No. 58. Penny of Eadweard the elder, moneyer HEREMOD, probably a fine cast improved by a graver.

No. 59. Penny of Eadmund, moneyer BYRNVALD, a very poor attempt at deception.

No. 60. Penny of Eadmund, moneyer's name not clear, the obverse apparently from the same die as that of No. 59.

No. 61. Penny of Eadred, moneyer IVE, a cast.

No. 62. Penny of Eadwig, moneyer's name unrecognisable, a cast concoction.

Penny of Eadwig, received too late to illustrate. Obverse EADPIG REX ANCLOX, bust to left diademed, around, inscription between two circles. Reverse LEYIG ⁊ OINDEOI, small cross within linear inner circle. False dies copied from a coin of Eadweard the martyr struck at Lincoln by the moneyer LEYIG.

No. 63. Penny of Eadgar, moneyer PIRIM, a large leaden piece probably copied from an old engraving.

A genuine coin shown on Plate V, No. 29.

No. 64. Penny of Aethelred II., reverse legend STYRLAR MO EOF, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 65. Penny of Aethelred II., reverse legend SIGE MOO EAXE, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 66. Penny of Aethelred II., reverse legend SPILEMAN MO HAM, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 67. Penny of Aethelred II., reverse legend EADPOLD MO CANTPA, false dies.

An original is shown on Plate V, No. 30.

No. 68. Penny of Cnut, reverse legend apparently EDREDONLVND, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 69. Penny of Cnut, reverse legend not clear, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 70. Penny of Eadweard the Confessor, reverse legend ELESIE ON LEIGES, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 71. Penny of Eadweard the Confessor, moneyer's name illegible, York Mint. A large leaden piece probably copied from an old engraving.

No. 72. Penny of Eadweard the Confessor, reverse legend BRAND ON PALI, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 73. Penny of Eadweard the Confessor reverse legend not clear, a cast from a genuine coin.



ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM WHICH FORGERIES HAVE BEEN  
COPIED.

PI. V.

VIII.—XI. CENTURIES.



No. 74. Penny of a type of Edward the Confessor, but reading EDPIN, a concoction.

No. 75. Penny of Eadweard the Confessor, reverse legend COLSPEGEN ON HIES, a cast from a genuine coin.

No. 76. Penny of Harold II., reverse legend LEOFVILD ON LEPE, false dies. Reference to this coin will follow later.

No. 77. Penny of Harold II., reverse legend EODRIC ON ðEOTI, a large leaden piece probably copied from an old engraving.

A genuine example of this type is given on Plate V, No. 31.

The majority of the forgeries depicted and described happily possess little or no interest, and it is satisfactory to think that none but the quite uninstructed could possibly be taken in by such poor attempts. Unfortunately such is not the case with all these pieces. Many of the coins of the period of Offa are distinctly deceptive, and it is to be regretted that the reproductions do not and cannot show the slight differences between the false and genuine coins which serve as a distinction. Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13 look very like originals, and most of them have been mistaken for such at one time or another. No. 19 when compared with the genuine coin No. 12 on Plate IV is almost indistinguishable, but the identical reverse of No. 19 has been used for production of No. 35 thus concocting a mule between the Kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia. The exhibition of different styles of work on the two sides is alone sufficient to condemn both. Moreover, a period of fifty years separates the dates of the two Kings, Ceolwulf I. of Mercia reigned in 823, Edmund of East Anglia in 873.

The forgeries Nos. 51 and 52 require more detailed reference. No. 51 is a coin of Æthelwulf by the moneyer Torhtulf. No. 52 is a coin of Æthelbald his son and successor. The same moneyer's name appears on the reverse. Both pieces are from the same dies and the name Æthelwulf has been altered from the name Æthelbald by changing the four letters BALD into VVLF. The workmanship of both coins is unassailable, the striking is equally so. The weights are correct and the edges are perfect. In view of the fact that no coins of Æthelbald known to be genuine at present exist, the question of

originality is of much importance. There are four specimens now known of No. 52. The first appeared in the sale room in 1888 at the disposal of the late Mr. Montagu's duplicates. Mr. Montagu retained a second specimen which was sold at his decease in 1895. The former realised £46, the latter £26. A third specimen was sold in the ordinary course of business for £26. The figured specimen may possibly be one of Mr. Montagu's two coins. It was submitted for public sale within the last two years and failed to realise a bid.

Two papers appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series, vols. vii. and xiii., referring to these coins. The first by Mr. Montagu, where the coin was considered undoubtedly genuine. The second by myself, in which I took the same view as Mr. Montagu. It should be added that one feature in all these coins was unnoticed at the time of writing the papers referred to, namely, the fact of their all being over-struck. Later studies of another series of coins, many members of which have been over-struck, have introduced a fresh feeling about these.

The series referred to is a numerous one commencing with Harold II., the coin figured as No. 76 in these plates, and ending with some late coins of William II. The arguments in connection with this Norman series will be reserved for full treatment when the forgeries of the Norman coins are discussed. It may be enough to remark here that they were largely over-struck, and that alterations had been extensively made in very many of the dies. One moneyer's name was changed by alteration of one letter, others had a sword altered from a sceptre; some, while retaining the original legends, had new heads and new reverse designs placed in the centre of these legends.

The reverse die of No. 76 was used for the purpose of concocting a coin of William I., the obverse of which was of the style figured in Hawkins as 239, almost the last of William I.'s coinage. The whole series is now accepted as undoubtedly false. The majority of the coins defied detection for fifty years. They have appeared repeatedly at the sales and have brought very high prices. As lately as 1895 when Mr. Montagu's collection was sold amounts ranging from £5 to £15 were realised for them. It was only when they came to be critically examined that suspicion arose.




Now, exactly the same features occur on this series of Æthelbald and Æthelwulf. 1. Fine and apparently original work. 2. Alterations in the dies. 3. Over-striking. It is for these reasons that the coins are now condemned. As already remarked it must not be understood that every coin showing an altered die is false ; far from it. Over-striking, too, was quite common in Saxon and later times. Where, however, a very rare coin is found altered and over-struck it should be looked at with care and, perhaps, with suspicion.



## THE ANGLO-SAXON MONEYS TORHTULF AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DIE-SINKING.

By L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director*.

HE recent appearance of a fourth specimen of the coinage of Æthelbald, whether spurious or otherwise, naturally directs attention to the moneyer's name appearing upon it. All the specimens are from the same dies and bear the name TORHTULF. A reference to the published text-books containing numismatic researches into the times represented by these pieces, discloses several coins of this moneyer. The kings under whom they were struck were Æthelwulf, A.D. 838 or 839 to 858, and his two sons, Æthelbald, who died in 860-61, and Æthelbearht, who died in 866.

The types of all the coins are the same, viz., obverse, the king's head to the right within an inner circle; without the circle, the king's name followed by his title REX. Reverse, inscription upon the limbs and within the angles of a broad and beaded cross, legend TORHTULF MONETA. On all the coins of this moneyer bearing Æthelwulf's name the head is filleted with a circlet of dots. The same peculiarity is noticed on the four pieces of Æthelbald. Some of Æthelbearht's coins bear filleted busts, but no notice is taken of this variety in the second volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins. Although there are the gravest doubts as to the authenticity of the coins of Æthelbald, the same, happily, cannot be said of the large majority of Æthelwulf's pieces, and no exception has ever been taken to those of Æthelbearht. The whole coinage of this type seems to have been struck for use in the kingdom of Wessex, on the throne of which kingdom Æthelwulf placed his son Æthelbald in 856, who was succeeded by Æthelbearht in 860. The type also was clearly Æthelwulf's last, as it was continued by Æthelbearht and is the only type of

his coinage that is at all numerously represented in our cabinets of to-day. Genuine coins of Æthelwulf bearing the name of the moneyer Torhtulf are not uncommon, although the National Collection seems to possess but one example, and there are pieces struck from several different dies. Specimens of Æthelbearht's coins by this moneyer are much scarcer.

All the pieces bearing Torhtulf's name appear to be of precisely the same workmanship irrespective of the king's name on the obverse. This fact gives rise to the question as to the actual maker of the coins and would seem to point to Torhtulf as the engraver. A careful examination, however, of the coins of these monarchs, unfortunately, will not bear out these conclusions. The variety with the fillet in Æthelwulf's time was struck by at least three moneyers, *DIAR*, *MANNAN*, and *TORHTULF*, and if these coins are examined together, without reference to the moneyer's names, the workmanship cannot be used to distinguish the moneyers from each other. In other words the workmanship on these coins is the same. Manna's pieces do not differ from Torhtulf's more than do specimens from the different dies of Torhtulf when compared together. It must therefore be understood that all the coins with the filleted head exhibit the same general style of engraving. When notice is taken of the coins without the fillet which were struck by eight other moneyers, the same rule holds good. There is nothing to distinguish one from another, and the comparison of the reverses would not lead the observer even to guess whether the head bore a fillet or not. To go one step further, it is very doubtful whether coins of Æthelwulf could be distinguished from those of Æthelbearht without actually reading the king's name. These facts seem to clearly prove that the moneyers themselves had practically nothing to do with the engraving of the dies. Many views have been put forward by different writers as to the places where this work was done. The sole tenable theory, however, would point to London as the only place where the dies could have been engraved. The City was undoubtedly then, as it is now, the place of paramount importance, and as such would attract the most skilful. Winchester in these early times may have had some claim to have been the place of engraving the dies, but this idea is

negatived when the coinage of Ceolnoth, as Archbishop of Canterbury, is considered. This prelate had pence of the same design, so far as the reverse is concerned, and it would be unlikely in the extreme that dies for an archiepiscopal coinage in Kent should have been engraved at Winchester, although Winchester was undoubtedly the capital of Wessex. The uniformity in workmanship and style of the coins therefore leads to the supposition that the dies were engraved at one centre.

Where coins exist showing a marked difference in their workmanship, the conclusion would possibly be correct that the dies were engraved elsewhere. Several examples of this class can be pointed out in the earlier coins of this country. Even of as early a date as the time of Ethelwulf's son, Alfred, an obvious example is the coin illustrated in Hawkins, Fig. 619, which is copied on both sides from the pieces bearing the London monogram as the reverse type. The coin in question is a most barbarous imitation, and precludes all idea that it was issued from the same skilled hands that perfected the splendid coins of Alfred from which it was copied. This is but one example consisting of a single coin. When Æthelred II.'s reign is considered, another example of a far different character is at once noticed. The reference is to the type of small, round, and well-made coins of the king, helmeted and crowned, and reading on the reverse **ODÐENCLAR ON LVD**. These, at a glance, are judged as being quite different from the regular coins. Their analogues are found on the Continent in the kingdom of Denmark, and these coins, therefore, are considered, and rightly considered, as of Danish origin. A little later, during the reign of William I., someone, not one of the regular engravers, found it necessary to copy the common Paxs type. The very poor attempt he made of it is only too evident when the coins reading **TVRRI ON DEVITVN** are looked upon. Some of these pieces were found at Beaworth in the great find of William's coins and they are all of good silver, but several of the specimens bear reversed legends. Their origin and uses were unknown and unthought of, until our President showed the probability of their having been issued in Wales.<sup>1</sup>

During the short-cross coinage of the twelfth and thirteenth

<sup>1</sup> See page 47.

centuries there was a fairly large issue at Rhuddlan, as also described by our President.<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the dies were of local manufacture, probably not in Rhuddlan itself but possibly at Chester. The work of these is quite different from that of the regular short-cross coinage, and it is the only exception in the whole series. Curiously enough, a few very rare specimens from this mint are known showing the good workmanship and style characteristic of the other mints.

Shortly after these times Berwick takes on the rôle played by Rhuddlan, and most of the coins of Berwick struck during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. can at once be told without reading the mint name. Here, however, as of Rhuddlan, there are coins known from what might be called the true Regal dies, which are quite indistinguishable from the rest of the coins of the country as regards workmanship. Where the clumsy Berwick dies were engraved is not known, but the usual accuracy is wanting in weight as well as in engraving, for one example, at any rate, is known of the weight of 30 grains. In the reigns of Richard II. and Edward IV. examples of the same character survive. Some of Richard's York pence are barbarous in the extreme, and the heavy Durham pennies of Edward IV. reading **DOROU** are as uncouth as any evil wisher could desire. The last case is one of particular interest, as Durham had the liberty of engraving its own dies, certainly for pence, a liberty which happily was not often exercised.

Though the moneyer did not himself engrave the dies, the coins were probably struck more or less under his direct supervision.

Over and over again the Pipe Rolls tell us of a moneyer who was fined or mutilated for the making of false coin. In the earlier times when the moneyer placed his name on the money, there seem to have been mules only in type, but later, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, several curious coins were struck, and have survived to be present in our cabinets. They appear to show that the money was not always struck at the places named thereon, and therefore suggest that when the moneyers' names were no longer on the coins, there may have been centres for striking. The mules referred to are :

<sup>1</sup> Page 41.

1. Pence, of Edward the First's time on which the obverse bears the head in a triangle and the reverse reads **QIVITAS LONDON.**
2. The opposite mule, head as usual in a circle, reverse **QIVITAS DVBLINIA.**
3. Obverse, head in a triangle ; reverse, **QIVITAS CANTOR.**
4. Penny of Edward II., Lion and Lys (Durham), Beaumont mint-mark ; reverse, **QIVITAS LONDON.**
5. Groats of Edward IV., obverse, **Q** on the king's breast for Coventry ; reverse, **QIVITAS LONDON.**
6. Groat, obverse, **B** on the king's breast for Bristol ; reverse **QIVITAS COVENTRIA.**

A consideration of these pieces certainly shows that the dies were not made in the places whence the coins issued. The English and Irish coins of Edward I. only differ in legends and in the obverse triangle. The work is precisely the same. If we are asked to choose between London and Dublin as the place where the dies were engraved, there would be no hesitation in choosing the former. The same remark applies to No. 3, a coin bearing the name of Canterbury : where the dies were, there the coins were struck. As the English and Irish coins are of precisely the same work, and as the English coins outnumber the Irish in an enormous proportion, clearly the dies for all were made at one centre, that centre being London. The dies, therefore, for the Irish coins of Edward I. with the obverse head in a triangle, must have been in London at the time that Nos. 1 and 2 were struck. As regards No. 3, the Canterbury coin, the same must hold good. The suggestion that an Irish obverse die could have found its way to Canterbury is clearly untenable. With regard to the other three mules, the London-Durham penny of Edward II. and the London-Coventry and Bristol-Coventry groats of Edward IV. exactly the same applies. London, where the dies were made, must be considered the place of mintage of all these pieces ; even of the Bristol-Coventry mule. It would be a natural inference to suppose that all the coins were struck in London and sent to the various towns ; we know, however, that such cannot really have been the case. One documentary proof to the contrary exists in an undated letter from Bishop de Bury of Durham, asking that his dies



be sent back as their absence in London was causing grave inconvenience. The suggestions therefore brought forward in reference to the dies and moneyers are :—

1. That the dies were, with few exceptions, made in London and not by the moneyers mentioned on the coins.
2. That the coins were, with few exceptions, struck in the places named thereon.
3. That the exceptions to the first suggestion are proved by the presence of unusual workmanship among the ordinary types.
4. That exceptions to suggestion 2 are exemplified by the presence of mules between far distant towns but of ordinary workmanship.

# TABLE OF ENGLISH GOLD COINS, 1649-1820.<sup>1</sup>

BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D.

<i>The Commonwealth.</i>							Sovereign.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Sovereign.	Crown.
1649.	Mintmark, Sun	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1650.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1651.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1652.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1653.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1654.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+
1655.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1656.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	..	...
1657.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	+
1658.	" Anchor	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	+
1659.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1660.	" "	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	+

CHARLES II.					Unite.	Double-Crown.	Crown.
HAMMERED.							
1660-1.	No numerals, Mintmark, Crown	...	...	...	+	+	+
1661-2.	Numerals, " "	...	...	...	+	+	+

MILLED.				5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1663.	Lovelock, truncation pointed	...	...	...	...	+	...
"	" " " "	...	...	...	...	+	...
1664.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Broad bust on the guinea	...	...	...	+	+	...

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nelson originally compiled this table in 1904 for Messrs. Spink and Son's useful *Numismatic Circular*. It is now amended.—EDITORS.

		5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1664.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant ... ..	...	+	+	...
1665.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant ... ..	...	...	+	...
„	Lovelock, truncation pointed, no Elephant ... ..	...	...	+	...
1666.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, no Elephant ... ..	...	...	+	...
1667.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, no Elephant ... ..	...	...	+	...
1668.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, no Elephant on the guinea ...	+	...	+	...
„	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant ... ..	+	...	+	...
1669.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant ... ..	+	...	...	..
„	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant ... ..	+	...	...	+
1670.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Broad bust on the guinea ...	+	...	+	+
1671.	Lovelock, truncation pointed ...	+	...	+	+
1672.	„ „ „ „	+	...	...	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	...	...	+	+
1673.	Lovelock, truncation pointed ...	+	...	...	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	...	...	+	...
1674.	Lovelock, truncation rounded ...	...	...	+	+
1675.	„ „ pointed ...	+	...	...	...
„	„ „ „ „	+	...	+	...
„	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	+	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	...	+	+	+
„	Lovelock, truncation rounded, Elephant and Castle .. ...	...	...	+	...
1676.	Lovelock, truncation pointed ...	+	...	...	...
„	„ „ „ „	+	...	...	...
„	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	...	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	...	+	+	+
„	Lovelock, truncation rounded, Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	+	+	+
1677.	Lovelock, truncation pointed ...	+	...	...	+
„	„ „ „ „	+	...	...	...
„	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	...	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	...	+	+	+
„	„ „ „ „	...	...	+	+
1678.	Lovelock, truncation pointed, Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	...	...
„	No lovelock, truncation rounded	+	+	+	+
„	„ „ „ „	...	...	+	+
„	Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	...	+	+

		5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1678.	No lovelock, truncation rounded Elephant ... ..	...	...	+	...
1679.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	+
	" " " " " "	...	...	+	...
1680.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	+
	" " " " " "	...	...	...	+
1681.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	+
	" " " " " "	+	...	...	...
1682.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	...
	" " " " " "	...	+	+	+
1683.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	+
	" " " " " "	...	...	+	...
1684.	No lovelock, truncation rounded " " " " " "	+	+	+	+
	" " " " " "	+	+	+	...
JAMES II.					
1685	... ..	...	...	+	...
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	...	+	...
1686.	Sceptres wrong on the five guineas ... ..	+	...	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	+	+	+
1687	... ..	+	+	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	+	...
1688	... ..	+	+	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	+	...
WILLIAM AND MARY.					
1689	... ..	...	...	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	...	+	...
1690	... ..	...	...	+	+
1691	... ..	+	...	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	+	+	+
1692	... ..	+	...	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	+	+
"	" " " " " "	...	...	+	...
1693	... ..	+	+	+	...
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	...	+	...
1694	... ..	+	+	+	+
"	Elephant and Castle ... ..	+	+	+	...

						5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
WILLIAM III.									
1695	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
1696	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	...	...	...	...	+
1697	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
"	Head large	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
1698.	"	"	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
1699.	Lovelock	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
"	"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	+	...	...	...
"	Head large	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
"	"	"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	...	+	...
1700.	Lovelock	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
"	Head large	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	"	"	Elephant and	Castle	...	...	...	+	...
1701.	"	"	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	Lovelock	...	...	...	...	+	...	+	...
"	No lovelock	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	...
ANNE.									
1702.	Rose on Reverse	...	...	...	...	..	...	+	+
1703.	"	"	"	VIGO	...	+	...	+	+
1705.	"	"	"	...	...	+	...	+	+
1706.	"	"	"	...	...	+	...	+	...
1707.	"	"	"	...	...	...	...	+	...
1706.	Star on Reverse	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1707.	"	"	"	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	"	"	"	Elephant and	...	...	...	+	...
1708.	Star on Reverse	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	"	"	"	Elephant and	...	...	...	+	...
1709.	Star on Reverse	...	...	...	...	+	+	+	+
"	"	"	"	Elephant and	...	...	...	+	...
1710.	Star on Reverse	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
1711.	"	"	"	...	...	+	+	+	+
1712.	"	"	"	...	...	...	...	+	+
1713.	"	"	"	...	...	+	+	+	+
1714.	"	"	"	...	...	+	+	+	+

GEORGE I.		5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.	$\frac{1}{4}$ Guinea.
1714.	Tie with two ends, PR. EL. ...	...	...	+	...	...
1715.	" " " " lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
"	Tie with two ends, larger head	...	...	+	...	...
1716.	" " loop and end, lock on shoulder ... ..	+	...	+	..	...
1717	... ..	...	...	...	+	...
1718.	Tie with loop and end, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
"	Tie with two ends, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	...	+	...
"	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	...	...	+
1719.	Tie with loop and end, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
1720.	Tie with loop and end... ..	+	+	+	...	...
1721.	" " " " " " ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
"	" " " " " " Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
1722.	Tie with loop and end, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
"	Tie with two ends, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	...	+	...
1723.	Tie with loop and one end, lock on shoulder ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
"	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder, old head ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
1724.	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder, old head ... ..	...	...	+	+	...
1725.	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder, old head ... ..	...	...	+	+	...
1726.	Tie with loop and end, lock on shoulder ... ..	+	+	...	...	...
"	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder, old head ... ..	...	...	+	+	...
"	Tie with two ends, Elephant and Castle ... ..	...	...	+	...	...
1727.	Tie with two ends, no lock on shoulder, old head ... ..	...	...	+	+	...
"	Long head, lock on shoulder...	...	...	+	...	...

GEORGE II.		5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1727.	Young head ... ..	...	...	+	...
1728.	" " milling straight ...	...	...	+	+

						5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1729.	Young head, milling straight	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	+
"	"	"	"	"	E.I.C.	+	...	+	+
1730.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	...	+
"	"	"	"	"	...	...	...	...	+
1731.	"	"	"	"	"	+	...	+	+
"	"	"	"	"	E.I.C.	...	...	+	...
1732.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
"	"	"	"	"	E.I.C.	...	...	+	...
1733.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	...
1734.	"	"	"	"	"	...	+	+	+
1735.	"	"	"	"	"	+	+	+	...
1736.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1737.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1738.	"	"	"	"	"	+	+	+	+
1739.	"	"	"	"	"	...	+	...	+
"	Old head, milling curved	...	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
"	"	"	"	"	E.I.C.	...	...	+	...
1740.	"	"	"	"	"	...	+	+	+
1741.	Young head	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1743.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
1745.	Old head	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
"	"	"	"	"	LIMA	...	...	+	+
1746.	"	"	"	"	milling curved	...	...	+	+
"	Older head, milling curved,	...	...	...	LIMA	+	...	+	+
1747.	Older head, milling curved	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
1748.	"	"	"	"	"	+	+	+	...
1749.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	...
1750.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	...
1751.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1752.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1753.	"	"	"	"	"	+	+	+	+
1755.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1756.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1758.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1759.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+
1760.	"	"	"	"	"	...	...	+	+

						1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.	$\frac{1}{3}$ Guinea.	$\frac{1}{4}$ Guinea.
GEORGE III.									
1761.	Bust I by Yeo	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1762.	"	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	...
"	" II	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+
1763.	"	...	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1764.	"	...	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
"	" III	...	...	...	...	...	+	...	...



					5 Guineas.	2 Guineas.	1 Guinea.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea.
1765.	Bust III...	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1766.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1767.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1768.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1769.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1770.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1771.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1772.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1773.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1774.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	...	...
"	" IV by T. Pingo	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1775.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1776.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1777.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1778.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1779.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1781.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1782.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1783.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1784.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1785.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1786.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1787.	" V by L. Pingo	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1788.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1789.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1790.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1791.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1792.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	...	...
1793.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1794.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1795.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1796.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	...	...
1797.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	+	...
1798.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	+	...
1799.	" "	...	...	...	+	...	+	...
1800.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1801.	" "	...	after the Union	...	...	+	+	...
1802.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1803.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1804.	" VI by Marchant	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1806.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1808.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1809.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1810.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1811.	" "	...	...	...	...	+	+	...
1813.	" "	...	...	...	+	+	+	...

								Sovereign.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Sovereign.
1817.	Bust VII by B. Pistrucci ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
1818.	" " " ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+
1819.	" " " ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	...
1820.	" " " ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+	+

## FIND OF XVII AND EARLY XVIII CENTURY COINS AT BURNLEY.

BY MAJOR A. B. CREEKE.

**I**N digging a trench for some water-pipes to some houses in course of erection on a plot of land, recently separated for building purposes from Marles Farm, Burnley, on the 31st of August, 1905, the workmen unearthed a small hoard of twenty-four silver coins about 14 inches below the surface. With two or three exceptions they were in poor condition, being much worn by circulation. An inquest was held by the Borough Coroner on the 18th of September following, when the jury found that the coins were treasure trove, but left it to the rival claimants, the Lords of the Honor of Clitheroe and the Duchy of Lancaster, to decide between themselves who were entitled to them. The Coroner stated that for the people who found treasure trove there was a regular scale of payment, and that they were better paid by the Treasury than they would be by selling them elsewhere. The foreman of the jury instanced the case of a find of Saxon coins from which the British Museum Authorities selected about 60, for which they paid out of Government funds the sum of £15 to the finders, although a collector would have given about £1,500 for them.

The find consisted of the following coins :—

Charles II.	Crown :	1662, rose under bust.
	Halfcrowns :	1671 (one) and 1679 (two).
James II.	„	1685 and 1686.

William III. Halfcrowns :		1696 (one) and 1697 (two).
	„	1696, B under bust.
	„	1696, Y under bust.
	„	1697, N under bust (two).
	Shillings :	1696 and 1697, and three illegible.
Anne.	„	1708, B under bust.
	„	1708, E* under bust.
	„	1711 (two).
George I.	„	1715. Rose and plumes on reverse.
	„	1723. S.S.C. on reverse.

## REVIEWS.<sup>1</sup>

*The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1904. Quaritch, London, 20s. (issued in four quarterly numbers at 5s. each, 8vo, paper covers).

The principal papers relating to British Numismatics are the following :—

*A New Type of Carausius*, by Sir John Evans. The coin now brought to light is stated in a footnote to have formed part of a hoard of small brass coins, found in or about the year 1873 at Barley Pound, near Crondall, Hants, consisting of some 200 pieces, the earliest being of Claudius Gothicus and the latest of Allectus. Sir John Evans describes it thus :—

*Obverse*.—IMP. CARAVSIVS P AVG. Draped and radiate bust of the Emperor, right.

*Reverse*.—GENIO BRITANNI in exergue C. Youthful partly draped Genius standing left, holding in his right hand a patera above a lighted altar ; in his left a cornucopia. Æ 3.

The type is absolutely new to our knowledge of the coins of Carausius, and is interesting in that it bears the representation of the *Genius* which, as the author explains, differs from that of the Continental coins, inasmuch as the *modius* or a turreted crown is absent.

W. J. A.

*The Coinage of William I., and William II.*, by F. Spicer. In considering this paper we must remember that the death of its author during its preparation, left it, as to the first portion, in the form of a

<sup>1</sup> Publishers and others forwarding works for review will oblige by stating price.

first rough draft, and as to the remainder, merely as unassorted notes ; therefore, as its Editors remark, it may not wholly represent his views had he lived to complete it. The writer of these lines can well endorse this possibility, for only a few hours before the sudden heart-seizure, which deprived all those who were associated with Mr. Spicer of a close friend or esteemed colleague, he explained his thorough concurrence with the deduction in *Buried Treasure*, that the Beaworth hoard was the Conqueror's bequest to the Church of Winchester. This meant that he would have removed Type 243, which was present at Beaworth, from William II. to William I., and that removal would have also corrected his association of Types 243 and 247 as one Type. Thus, had he been able to revise his arrangement of the order of types, it would probably have approached very nearly to that of Mr. Carlyon-Britton, which is so cogently welded in the pages of this volume. In like manner the *Table of Mints, Moneyers, and Types*, which he was preparing was far from completion, and it would therefore have been wiser on the Editors' part to have omitted it, than to publish a list which will lead collectors and cataloguers who have not access to this volume, to form a very erroneous view of the extent of the known coins of this period.

Mr. Spicer's interest in British historical numismatics was second to none, and he was always a strong advocate for the establishment of a Society devoted to that object. His line of research was peculiarly his own, for he rarely followed the beaten track, but spent his leisure hours in the Rylands Library, at Manchester, searching the pages of historical works and records rarely asked for, and still more rarely noted. This trait of character lends a charm to his paper, for on nearly every page there is some passage or folk-lore of history or numismatics, which we have never seen elsewhere, and which often points a meaning to facts and details which would never have occurred to us. Mr. Carlyon-Britton in his "Numismatic History of William I. and II.," has, time after time, recognised the assistance Mr. Spicer has rendered to the elucidation of the coinage of these two reigns, and quotes many of his theories and deductions. In fact, to that work must we look for the practical review of Mr. Spicer's paper, and no

one would have been more pleased than he, to know that he has helped to clear away the seemingly hopeless ambiguities, which interlined one of the most difficult chapters in our British numismatic history.

W. J. A.

*The Coinage of Richard II.*, by Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A. The paper, evidently one of a series, deals with the coinage particularly in relation to the mint accounts, which are quoted from Ruding. Mr. Walters has given a useful list of all the major varieties of gold and silver coins issued during the reign. References are made to several privy marks on the gold coins, and some not very satisfactory attempts are made to explain them, by supposing them to have represented parts of the armorial bearings of mint officers. Mr. Walters has himself shown what slender grounds exist for such a supposition, when he quotes the same mark, a lion, as gracing both London and Calais nobles. Several new varieties of coins are described, notably a groat belonging to Mr. J. G. Green of Dublin, a special feature of the reverse being the unbarred N in London. The coin in question is shown in illustration, and notice is taken of a crescent on the breast. Mr. Walters boldly considers this to have been struck in Henry IV.'s time and to be the representative of the heavy groats of this monarch. We regret that we are unable to endorse his view that here, indeed, is the missing heavy groat. Every variety of the heavy silver and gold coinage of Henry IV., with the exception of the groat, is known, and it is in the highest degree improbable that the largest silver piece should have been issued under Richard's name. The paper will prove of value to those studying the Plantagenet coinage on account of its many unpublished varieties carefully described.

L. A. L.

*An Advertising Medal of the Elizabethan Period*, by Sir John Evans. This piece, bearing the Tudor rose on the *obverse* within the legend HANS HAN FORMENSNIDER 1577, and the royal arms, with two lions rampant as supporters, surrounded by the motto HONI SOEIT QVI MAL PENSE, upon the *reverse*, is an advertising jetton of a Dutch or German *formschneider*, or wood-block cutter. As such it ought to have had but a depressing influence, for with the exception

of those in his own name, all the letters N are retrograde, the rosettes of pellets dividing the words irregular, the supporters to the royal arms heraldically wrong, the French bad, and the metal lead. Perhaps its best advertisement comes now, after three centuries, when Sir John Evans has managed, in his versatile vein, by combining with the subject an illustration from Amman's *Stände und Handwerker*, to make a readable paper upon an artisan's ticket, probably intended merely as a sample for British printers. The illustration referred to represents two moneyers at work within a sixteenth century inner hall, evidently open to public observation, as the city gossip leans, chatting, through the window. The moneyer sits on a block of wood before a larger block serving also as a table, in which is set the standard die; a flan is on this, and upon it the trussel-die, held in position by the left hand, is about to be struck with a heavy hammer, held aloft in the right. Before him on the same block, are a set of scales, and to his left, the pieces already coined. The attitude of both moneyers seems identical, and only a low, box-like partition separates them. Sir John Evans misses the point that this early print is further evidence that moneyers did not coin in their private houses, but together, and in a public building. But he has translated the verse below the block in so spirited a manner that one wonders however the shade of Hans Han could have prompted so true a poetical ring :—

“Good coins in my mint I strike,  
In weight and metal good alike,  
Batzen dollars, gulden crowns  
I can strike for any towns,  
Half-batzen kreutzers, counters small.  
Old Tournois groats, I make them all,  
So good and right that through the land  
There's no one suffers at my hand.”

Hans Han is now safely locked up at the Coin Department of the British Museum, in charge of Mr. Grueber, the new keeper.

W. J. A.



*Dudley Tradesmen's Tokens, and History of Dudley Banks, Bankers, and Banknotes*, by M. Perkins. 202 pages, printed on one side only, demi quarto. Cloth, gilt, 7s. 6d. E. Blocksidge, Dudley.

This work is of special interest by reason of the local historical notes and information which it contains. It is illustrated with reproductions of the tokens, of a print of the "Triple Gateway of Dudley Castle," of coats of arms and autographs. It commences with a list of subscribers and preface, followed by a brief history of the coinage of this country to the year 1816.

The halfpenny tokens of the eighteenth century were undoubtedly issued by Skidmore or Spence, both of London, for sale to collectors; these dealers mutually exchanged dies for muling purposes, and by so doing produced a great variety of specimens. Whether these tokens were actually in circulation in Dudley as currency is open to question (see C. Pye's statement in his 1801 edition), still, they have a certain amount of local interest.

Of the penny tokens issued by Edward Davies, nail factor, it is stated that they were used to pay his workmen, but as they never appear in a worn or circulated condition, as no reference is made to them by C. Pye in his 1801 edition, and as they are all scarce, the issue probably was for some other purpose; especially, as in the same year, 1797, there was the Government issue of the Soho twopenny and penny pieces. The Dudley farthing has no better claim to be regarded as having been used for currency than the halfpence and pence.

The halfpenny tokens generally, which have as an edge-reading, "Payable in London" (the remainder being engrailed), have also "X—" between the termination of the engrailing, and the "P" of "PAYABLE"; in many instances the "X—" has become wholly or partially obliterated by the slipping of the "blank" during the process of "rolling" the lettered edge. These blundered or imperfect edges should not therefore be described as varieties. That given as No. 26 on page 37 is an instance, it having really the same edge as No. 13 on page 26.

The author has spared no labour in getting together the historical, biographical, and other notes, which constitute the bulk of Part II, and the book will be read with much interest by all who appreciate the work of the local numismatist and historian. The edition is limited to 120 copies.

S. H. H.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSION 1905.



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SESSION 1905.

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43, BEDFORD SQUARE,  
LONDON, W.C.

# The British Numismatic Society.

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PROCEEDINGS.

1905.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*January 18th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 30th November, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT submitted the following letters from H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, H.M. The King of the Belgians, and H.M. The Queen of Portugal, accepting the invitation of the Council to become Royal Members of the Society, which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the Minutes :—

Marlborough House  
 Pall Mall, S.W.,  
 30th December, 1904.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 22nd instant, I am directed by the Prince of Wales to express His Royal Highness' pleasure in consenting to become a Royal Member of the British Numismatic Society, in compliance with the kind request of yourself, as President, and the Council of the Society.

I am, Sir,  
 Your obedient servant,  
 ARTHUR BIGGE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,  
 President British Numismatic Society.

Palais de Bruxelles,  
 le 5 Décembre, 1904.

Monsieur le Président,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que le Roi, accédant au désir que vous avez exprimé à Sa Majesté par l'entremise de M. le Comte de Lalaing, consent volontiers à S'inscrire parmi les Membres honoraires de la British Numismatic Society de Londres.

Agréez, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

E. CARTON DE TIVERT,  
 Le Secrétaire du Roi.

Monsieur P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.  
 Président de la British Numismatic Society, à Londres.

7th January, 1905.

Monsieur le Président,

In answer to your letter of the 17th December, Her Majesty the Queen gives me the order to convey Her Majesty's thanks for your kind letter and interest in Her Majesty's anxiety, and to inform you that Her Majesty willingly becomes a Member of the British Numismatic Society.

With kind regards,  
 Yours truly,  
 C. D'ARNOSO.

Royal Palace, Lisbon.



*Ballot.*

The ballot for an Honorary Member, viz., The Right Hon. The Countess of Yarborough, Baroness Fauconberg and Conyers, was held, and the President declared her to be duly elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The ballot for the three candidates proposed on the 30th November, 1904, was held, and the President announced that all had been duly elected Members of the Society.

*Nomination of Proposed Honorary Members.*

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the Council proposed the following as Honorary Members, viz. :—

- His Excellency Count Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's).
- His Excellency Monsieur F. E. de Bille, G.C.V.O. (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to H.M. The King of Denmark).
- His Excellency Paul Cambon, G.C.V.O. (French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's).
- His Excellency Count Paul Wolff Metternich (German Ambassador at the Court of St. James's).
- His Excellency Commendatore Alberto Pansa, G.C.V.O. (Italian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's).
- His Excellency Viscount Tadasu Hayashi (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.I.M. The Emperor of Japan).
- His Excellency Baron Gericke van Herwijnen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to H.M. The Queen of the Netherlands).
- His Excellency The Count de Benckendorff (Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's).

His Excellency Baron C. Bildt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to H.M. The King of Sweden and Norway).

Vernon Horace Rendall, Esq., B.A., Editor of the *Athenæum*.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of nine candidates for Membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz.:—

Frederick Henry Appleby, Esq., M.R.C.S.

Philip Berney-Ficklin, Esq., F.S.A.

Leonard Wolfgang Just, Esq.

Emil Julius Kafka, Esq., B.A.

Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq.

James Hall Renton, Esq.

Sir Alfred Scott Scott-Gatty, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, F.S.A.

Miss Mabel Florence Spindler.

Harold Tansley Witt, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and carried unanimously, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Admissions.*

The following twenty-nine Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz.:—

E. A. V. Abraham, Esq.

Richard Babbs, Esq.

John de Gray Birch, Esq.

The Birkenhead Free Public Libraries.

Monsieur Elie Boudeau.

John Broün Broün-Morison, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., D.L.  
Valentine Dudley H. Cary-Elwes, Esq., F.S.A., D.L.  
Luther Clements, Esq.  
Richard Crittall, Esq.  
Frank Elmer Ellis, Esq.  
The Governors of the Royal Albert Memorial, Exeter.  
John Gibson, Esq., M.A.  
The Halifax Public Library.  
John Cathles Hill, Esq.  
Allen Parry Jones, Esq. (*in person*).  
Keith William Murray, Esq., F.S.A.  
Herbert Nield, Esq.  
Frederic Orton, Esq., M.D.  
The Reading Free Public Library Museum and Art  
Gallery.  
William Regester, Esq.  
Harry Weller Richards, Esq.  
Edward Davenport Ridley, Esq.  
Andrew Roddick, Esq.  
John Smith, Esq.  
Savile Grainger Streeter, Esq.  
Frank Edgecumbe Thomas, Esq.  
Henry Lee Waddington, Esq.  
Arthur White Westhorpe, Esq.  
Frederick Willson Yates, Esq.

*Presentations.*

Messrs. Spink and Son. — Volume XII., *Numismatic Circular*.  
The President.—Mahogany Cabinet with twenty trays.  
Size, four feet by one foot seven inches.  
Mr. W. J. Davis.—Portrait Medals of the donor, in bronze  
and brass.

*Exhibitions.*

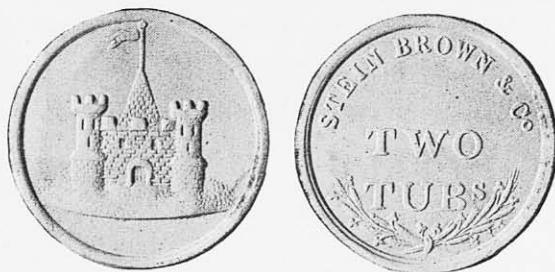
Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Canute. Penny, variety of Hawkins 213. Obverse legend, commencing before the bust, + ENVT + + ANLO. Reverse legend + ILVE ON LVDI: RIST: Charles I. The Blacksmith's half-crown, Hawkins 499.

Lieut.-Col. Morrieson.—Additions to Davies's *Nineteenth Century Tokens*.



SCORRIER HOUSE TOKEN, A VARIETY.

1. Penny, Cornwall, of Scorrier House, p. 56, 25a. Similar to No. 25, but Obverse reads ONE POUND FOR 240 TOKENS instead of ONE POUND NOTE FOR 240 TOKENS.



PRIVATE TOKEN OF STEIN BROWN AND CO.

2. Private tokens in copper. Obverse: the arms of the City of Limerick (a Castle). Reverse: STEIN BROWN & Co. around TWO TUBS in two lines; below, two sprigs of barley and shamrocks. Messrs. Stein

Brown & Co. had a distillery on the Shannon, in Limerick, which some thirty years ago passed into the possession of Messrs. Walker and Son. This token was a tally used by the firm in the Distillery.



PRIVATE TOKEN OF JOHN ARNOTT AND CO.

3. Private token in copper, farthing size. Obverse : JOHN ARNOTT & Co., around, SILK MERCERS DRAPERS, etc., in four lines. Reverse : PAYABLE IN BELFAST AND CORK, a rose between two pellets ; in exergue ONE FARTHING in two lines. Sir John Arnott & Co. are a well-known firm of Drapers in Ireland.

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—(1) William I., penny of the Cambridge Mint, Hawkins 237 ; (2) Henry VII., Angel, with roses throughout, as stops ; (3) Edward VI., Testoon dated MDL, mint mark Y ; (4) James I., two gold half-crowns, plain cross ; (5) Charles I., shilling and sixpence of the Bristol mint.

Mr. W. Wells.—Medal or Badge. On the obverse engraved “We stand firm to each other,” and on the reverse “In love and friendship. Sir Robert Black, Knight of the Privy Seal of Lascey. August 14th, 1749.”



INSCRIBED SCEATTA.

Sceatta. Obverse : bust to right + LEDNG. Reverse : degraded head to *left*.

Sceatta. A variety of B.M. catalogue, Plate VI, No. 12.

*Siege Pieces.*

The following coins are more fully described by Dr. Nelson in his Paper commencing on page 291 of this volume, the principal specimens, many of which are unique, being illustrated.

Miss H. Farquhar.—Carlisle shilling. Circular. Obverse : under a large crown ∴ C : R. Reverse in three lines XII

·OBS·

CARL, above, a rosette, *cf.* Ruding XXVIII. 3.

·645

Newark. Set of four pieces, namely, half-crown, shilling, and ninepence, of 1645, from the Murdoch sale, lot 344. *ex* Thorburn, lot 176, and sixpence 1646, half-crown, *cf.* Ruding XXVIII, 7, 8, 9 and 10. The ninepence reads NEWARKE.

Pontefract Castle. Three different octagonal shillings :—

1. Before death of Charles I. as Ruding XXIX, 10, *ex* Murdoch, Bergne, Brice and Montagu collections. Obverse : large crown above C · R ; around, DVM : SPIRO : SPERO : within circle. Reverse : a castle, with flag on central tower, P.C. above ; on left, OBS vertical : on right, a hand holding sword ; below, 1648.



A RARE PONTEFRACT SHILLING.

2. After death of Charles I., as Ruding XXIX, 13. Obverse : large crown above HANC : DEVS : DEDIT, 1648, in three lines ; around, CAROLVS :

II : D : G : MAG : B : ET : H : REX within circle.  
Reverse : a castle with flag on central tower, above,  
PC ; on left, OBS vertical ; on right, mouth of  
cannon. Around, POTT : MORTEM : PATRIS :  
PRO FILIO. See also p. 326, Fig. 48.

3. After death of Charles I., as Ruding XXIX, 12.  
Obverse : larger crown over C · R ; around, DVM :  
SPIRO : SPERO, in rather smaller letters than the  
earlier type. Reverse : a castle with flag PC,  
OBS, and cannon as before, but CAROLUS :  
SECUNDVS : 1648 around.

Blacksmith half-crown.—Obverse : King on horseback, sword  
in right hand directed over the shoulder. Horse  
trappings decorated with large cross. Reverse : oval  
shield garnished, shield divides CÆ, the R being  
retrograde and reversed.

Set of Ormonde money. Seven pieces, from crown to  
twopence inclusive. Obverse : large crown over CR,  
within two circles, the outer beaded. Reverse : value in  
Roman numerals, Ruding XXVII, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.



CORK SIEGE-SHILLING.

Dr. Philip Nelson.—Countermarked Cork shilling, and the  
coins illustrated on the following page.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—Charles I., Colchester shilling, from the  
Murdoch sale, lot 343. Newark shilling. 1646.  
Ormonde crown. Inchiquin crown. Charles II.,  
Pontefract shilling, 1648, from the Garratt sale, 1898.



COPPER COIN ATTRIBUTED TO YOUGHAL.      BEESTON ONE-SHILLING-AND-SIXPENCE.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Eight Pontefract shillings belonging to Mrs. Tew, The Grange, Carleton, Pontefract, who kindly lent them for exhibition. Most of the specimens were found in gardens at Pontefract. Three specimens are similar to No. 672 in the *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1899, two being lozenge shaped and weighing 79·1 grs. and 70·1 grs. (pierced); the third is circular and weighs 65·7 grs. only. Two others are octagonal, and similar to No. 673 in the same work, weighing 90·2 grs. and 77 grs. respectively. Two, also octagonal, are similar to No. 674 in the Handbook, weighing 80·6 grs. and 69·7 grs. respectively, although the heavier coin is much the more worn. The eighth is also octagonal and similar to No. 675 in the Handbook, weighing 76·5 grs.

Also the extremely rare Pontefract, so-called, *two-shilling piece* from his own collection, which was stated in the Moon Sale Catalogue in 1901 to weigh 152 grs., but its real weight is only 148·7 grs. It has passed through the Devonshire, Bergne, Brice, Montagu (1888), and Moon Collections. See p. 323.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—A remarkable series of obsidional pieces, many of which are unique :—

#### BEESTON CASTLE.

Two-shilling piece, oval.—Front view of Beeston Castle, showing the gateway and two towers; below, the



value II. ; the type of castle somewhat resembles that depicted in Ruding XXIX, 6. On the left of the II, but on the flan, is the London hall-mark of a leopard's head crowned, the coin having been made from the bowl of an old seal-top or Apostle spoon, a spoon in vogue at and prior to the Great Rebellion. Unique. See p. 307, Fig. 15.

Shilling of irregular shape.—View of Beeston Castle ; below, S. Struck upon a piece of silver cut from the  
I  
edge of a salver or paten. From the Martin, Lord Hastings, Addington and Montagu Collections. See p. 306, Fig. 12.

Sevenpence, triangular.—View of the castle, very similar to that of the two-shilling piece : below, the value VII. From the Hugh Howard, Brice and Montagu collections. See p. 306, Fig. 14.

#### CARLISLE.

Three-shilling piece, 1645. Circular.—Obverse : C · R beneath a large crown, a rosette each side of the Royal initials, the value ·III<sup>s</sup> below, and all within a beaded circle. Reverse : OB<sup>s</sup>CARL / · 1645 · in two lines. A rosette below the date, and a beaded circle as on obverse. Ruding XXVIII, 5.

Shilling, circular.—Obverse : : · C : R : · : beneath a large crown ; below, the value ·XII ; beaded circle. Reverse : inscription in three lines, OBS : / · : CARL : / · 1645. A rosette above and below, Ruding XXVIII, 3.

#### NEWARK.

Half-crown, 1645, lozenge shaped.—Obverse : CR at the sides of a large crown, the value XXX beneath. Reverse : Inscription in three lines, OBS : / NEWARK / 1645. Ruding XXVIII, 7 (varied).

Half-crown, 1646.—Similar to the preceding, but with date 1646. Ruding XXVIII, 7.

Shilling, 1645.—Similar type, but with the value XII. Ruding XXVIII, 8.

Ninepence, 1646.—Similar type, but with the value IX.

Ninepence, 1646.—Similar to the preceding, but gilded, and bearing upon the reverse the shield of the Royal Arms. Ruding XXVIII, 9. See pp. 315-16, Fig. 32.



NEWARK SIXPENCE.

Sixpence, 1646.—Similar type, but with the value VI. Ruding XXVIII, 10.

#### PONTEFRACT CASTLE.

Gold. Unite or Sovereign, 1648, octagonal. Obverse: CAROLVS : SECVNDVS : 1648. View of the gateway and flanking towers of Pontefract Castle, with centre tower and flag above; at the sides OBS vertical, and the muzzle of a cannon; above, at the sides of the central tower, the letters PC. Reverse: DVM : SPIRO : SPERO. C·R beneath a large crown. Weight  $138\frac{1}{2}$  grains. Type similar to Ruding XXIX, 12. Unique. See pp. 325-26, Fig. 47.

Silver two-shilling piece, 1648, lozenge shaped.—Obverse: DVM : SPIRO : SPERO. CR beneath a crown. Reverse: view of the Castle with PC and the flag above, but at the sides OBS vertical, and a hand holding a sword; below, the date 1648; weight

152 grains. *Cf.* Ruding XXIX, 10. From the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet. See p. 323, Fig. 43.

Shilling, 1648, octagonal.—Type as the preceding. Ruding XXIX, 10.

Shilling, 1648, octagonal.—Similar type to the gold unite. Ruding XXIX, 12.

Shilling, 1648, circular.—Obverse: DVM : SPIRO : SPERO ·  
CR beneath a crown. Reverse: Pontefract Castle, but  
no flag; at the sides OBS vertical and XII; below,  
P  
○

the date 1648. Ruding XXIX, 11.

Shilling, 1648, lozenge shaped.—Type as preceding.

#### SCARBOROUGH CASTLE.

Three-shilling piece, octagonal. — View of Scarborough Castle with gateway on the left side; below  $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ III \end{smallmatrix}$  Plain reverse. Type of Castle as Ruding XXIX, 3. Weight 246 grains. Unique. See p. 308, Fig. 17.

Two shillings and tenpence. Irregular shape.—Similar view of Scarborough Castle; below  $\begin{smallmatrix} S & D \\ II & VV \end{smallmatrix}$  Plain reverse. Weight, 206 grains. Unique. See p. 308, Fig. 18.

Two shillings and fourpence, oblong.—Similar delineation of the Castle; below  $\begin{smallmatrix} S & D \\ II & IIII \end{smallmatrix}$  Plain reverse. This is cut from a plate or dish, the rim being reeded and thicker than the rest of the piece. Weight, 214 grains. *Cf.* Ruding XXIX, 3. Unique. See p. 309, Fig. 20.

Two-shilling (?) piece, nearly square.—Obverse: similar view of the Castle, but the design occupies almost the whole field and the details are more amplified. Value omitted. Reverse: engraved in contemporary lettering, OBS / Scarborough / 1645, in three lines. Weight, 154½ grains. Unique. See p. 309, Fig. 21.

Shilling, nearly square. Type as the three-shilling piece ;  
 beneath the Castle,  $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ I \end{smallmatrix}$ . Plain reverse. Weight, 98  
 grains. Ruding XXIX, 9 (varied). See p. 310, Fig. 23.  
 Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Shilling of Charles I. of the Tower  
 Mint, Hawkins' type 2A, but countermarked on the  
 reverse with an ornamented letter S. See p. 310, Fig. 26,  
 where this remarkable piece is attributed to Scarborough.

*Paper.*

DR. PHILIP NELSON.—“The Obsidional Money of the Great  
 Rebellion, 1642–1649.”

In this Treatise, which is printed in this volume, the writer  
 sketched the history of the troublous time of the Civil War, both in  
 England and Ireland, and illustrated his subject by about seventy  
 magic lantern slides, showing by maps and views the position and  
 appearance of the strongholds whence the siege pieces were issued, also  
 the principal coins referred to. He also gave particulars of all the  
 known varieties of siege pieces of the period, and explained their  
 origin and circulation.

After a general discussion of the subject and of the coins  
 exhibited, the President proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be  
 accorded to Dr. Nelson for his very interesting paper, which was  
 carried with acclamation.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*February 15th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 18th  
 January, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

*Royal Members.*

The PRESIDENT read the following letters, in the order in which they had been received, from H.M. The King of Spain, H.R.H. The Princess of Wales, and H.M. Queen Alexandra, accepting the invitation of the Council to become Royal Members, which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the Minutes, viz. :—

Madrid,  
17th Janvier, 1905.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que Sa Majesté le Roi, mon Auguste Maître, a daigné accepter la nomination de "Royal Member" de la British Numismatic Society dont vous êtes le digne Président.

Sa Majesté me charge en même temps, de vous remercier en Son Royal Nom, ainsi que les Membres de la dite Association Numismatique, de cette nomination.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération distinguée.

LE COMTE DE ANDINO.

York Cottage,  
Sandringham,  
Norfolk.  
19th January, 1905.

Sir,

I am directed by the Princess of Wales to inform you that it is with pleasure Her Royal Highness accedes to your desire that she should become a Member of the British Numismatic Society. Her Royal Highness, although realizing in many ways the advantages to be gained by a knowledge of the subject, regrets that she must refuse Mr. Carlyon-Britton's request that Prince Edward should become a Member, as she considers him still too young for his name to be connected with any Public Societies.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

KATHARINE COKE,  
*Lady in Waiting.*

Buckingham Palace,  
3rd February, 1905.

Sir,

I have had the honour of submitting your letter and Report of the British Numismatic Society to the Queen.

I am commanded to inform you that Her Majesty will be pleased to become a Member of the Society.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SIDNEY GREVILLE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.

*Ballot for two Honorary Members.*

The Ballot for His Excellency The Marquis de Soveral, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., and His Excellency Count de Lalaing was held, and the President declared that they had been elected Honorary Members.

*Ballot.*

The Ballot for the nine Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 18th January, 1905, and also for the Right Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, Earl Egerton of Tatton, under Chapter II, Rule V, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of six candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Right Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, Earl Egerton.

Fassett Ernest Arbouin, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Albert Eugster, Esq.

Lionel Mowbray Hewlett, Esq.

Percival Cheyney Plowman, Esq.

Henry H. Schloesser, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these certificates be suspended, and it

was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Admissions.*

The following were admitted members in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

The Bradford Public Library.  
Frederick Costin, Esq.  
Wm. Harris, Esq.  
Edward Jackman, Esq.

*Presentations.*

Mr. Hamer.—Proof in bright copper of a Token issued by the donor in 1899. Of these proofs, four only were struck with lettered edge, and four with plain edge in collar.  
Mr. E. E. Needes.—Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins, 1763, by Martin Folkes.  
M. Almada Negreiros.—“Le Mozambique,” by the donor.

*Exhibitions.*

Miss Helen Farquhar.—Penny of William I. struck at Cambridge, Hks. type, 237, reading on the reverse :  
**✠ OP . . . ARN ON . . ANT.** There are slight indications of **ᚷ** as the first letter of the mint name.  
Penny of the same type struck at Worcester, reading on the reverse : **✠ BALDRIC ON PICOR.**  
Penny of William I. struck at Winchester, Hks. type 238, reading on the reverse : **✠ LIOFPOLD ON PINE.** All unpublished.  
Lt.-Col. Morrieson.—Penny of William II. of Hks. No. 250. Reverse reads : **✠ HÐEBRANÐ ONICR** for **SLICR** = Shrewsbury.

An "Ormonde" sixpence struck over another, the Obverse being over Reverse and *vice versa*.

Mr. H. W. Taffs.—A variety of the Bermuda Penny, not in Atkins, with lozenges for stops, and other differences on both obverse and reverse from the usual type.



BERMUDA PENNY.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—A Gilded Jubilee sixpence with a half-sovereign of Victoria for comparison.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—James II. Gun money half-crown, dated October, 1689. A fine specimen of the variety washed with tin and an unrecorded date for that issue. Mr. Ogden suggested that the washing was intended to give the appearance of silver, so as to meet, to some extent, the very natural prejudice against this coinage.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Wilkinson's pocket balance for weighing guineas and half guineas. Simmons's improved sovereign and half-sovereign balance. The following are the contemporary advertisements of these balances :

"A Pocket balance to weigh guineas and half-guineas."

"The turn at the end for a guinea ; to the centre for half a guinea, and the slide at the cypher where it stops ; every stop near the centre is a farthing above the currency ; the divisions the other way are a penny each, for light gold. These balances are as accurate as the best of scales, more expeditious, portable, and not so liable to be out of order."



"A. WILKINSON.

Kirkby,

Near LIVERPOOL."

"When you want to weigh quick, put the slide a farthing or two above weight, for safety; and what gold will not draw, may be tried afterwards with the slide at the cypher. These balances may be tried with sealed weights at any time, for the satisfaction of such as refuse to take money by them; if they vary, they are soon brought to by the slide. Keep the machine (when open) as level as you can, lest you break the centre of the beam. Before you shut up the box, put up the scale."

"T. SIMMONS.—Improved Sovereign Balance. To weigh and gauge sovereigns and half-sovereigns. Being so exact that no counterfeit can possibly go through the gauge of sufficient weight to turn the balance."

Mr. H. Hill.—Ecu of Louis XII. of France.

Mr. P. Laver.—Four ancient British gold coins viz. :—

		grains.
Evans Plate A, No. 4	...	107
Addedomaros, Plate XIV, 6		71
Plate C, No. 5, variety	...	91
Plate C, No. 8	... ..	79

all recently found on the beach at Clacton-on-Sea, and showing a water-worn appearance.

#### *Address.*

Mr. F. Stroud, *Recorder of Tewkesbury*. "Some National Characteristics, Numismatically exemplified."

The Lecturer explained that the term *Idiotcy*, if employed in the classic sense of "do-nothingness," particularly related to the last few years of the eighteenth and to the early part of the nineteenth

centuries, when the Government were apparently unable to pay any attention to the national coinage of silver and copper, owing to their thoughts being entirely occupied by the foreign wars then in progress. The result was that a general circulation of silver and copper tokens came into use from private enterprise. With this attitude he contrasted the action of Napoleon in striking coins immediately after his escape from Elba. He also drew attention to the want of artistic merit in the designs of most British coins since the time of Queen Anne.

A discussion followed in which Messrs. J. B. Caldecott, W. H. Fox, H. A. Parsons, and John Roskill, K.C., took part.

The Lecturer and Mr. A. H. Baldwin, exhibited silver and copper tokens of the period referred to.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Stroud.

Mr. Stroud's address is printed in this volume.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*March 22nd, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 15th February, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read the following letters in the order in which they had been received, from H.M. The Queen of Italy, H.M. The King of the Hellenes, and H.R.H. The Prince Royal of the Hellenes, and H.M. The King of Denmark, and H.R.H. Crown Prince of Denmark, accepting the invitation of the Council to become Royal Members, which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the Minutes, viz. :—

*Ministry of The Royal Household.*

Rome, the 17th February, 1905.

Her Majesty the Queen has received with particular gratification the proposition made to her by your Society that she should become one of its Royal Members, and considering this as a manifestation of respect, Her Majesty commands me to express to your honourable society of which your Excellency is President, her lively gratitude.

My Sovereign has very willingly accepted your nomination which has already been done by her royal Consort and other Sovereigns and Queens of Europe, thereby affording a proof of her appreciation of the high position attained by your society, as is shown by the great consideration in which its work in the study of numismatics is held.

I am very pleased to notify you of the decision of Her Majesty, and profit by the occasion to assure your Excellency, its President, of my high consideration.

The Minister,  
C. PONZO VAGLIA.

To His Excellency,  
The President of the British Numismatic Society.  
43, Bedford Square,  
London.

Athènes, le 8/21 Février, 1905.

Monsieur le Président,

J'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que j'ai reçu votre lettre du 27 Janvier, et que je me suis empressé de la soumettre à Sa Majesté le Roi, mon Auguste Souverain, et à Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Royal des Hellènes. Sa Majesté ainsi que Son Altesse Royale, ont daigné me charger de vous remercier de l'aimable proposition du conseil de votre société, et de vous annoncer en même temps qu'ils acceptent avec plaisir d'être inscrits au nombre des membres faisant partie de la British Numismatic Society, dont vous avez l'honneur d'être le Président.

En m'acquittant de cette haute commission, je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, de vouloir bien agréer l'assurance de ma plus haute considération.

PII. LESSY,  
Secrétaire de Sa Majesté,  
le Roi des Hellènes.

à  
Monsieur le Président,  
de la British Numismatic Society,  
Danish Legation.

London, 6th March, 1905.

Sir,

Having submitted to His Majesty the King and His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Denmark, the wish expressed in your letter of December 17th last, that His Majesty and His Royal Highness should consent to become Royal Members of the British Numismatic Society, I have now been instructed to inform you that His Majesty as well as His Royal Highness feel great satisfaction in accepting the Royal Membership of the Numismatic Society.

At the same time I have been desired to give expression to the King's and the Crown Prince's most heartfelt thanks for, and appreciation of, the feelings which prompted this wish of the British Numismatic Society.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

F. DE BILLE.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,

President of the British Numismatic Society,

43, Bedford Square,

London, W.C.

### *Ballot.*

The ballot for the honorary membership of Their Excellencies Count Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Monsieur F. E. de Bille, G.C.V.O., Monsieur Paul Cambon, G.C.V.O., Count Paul Wolff-Metternich, Commendatore Alberto Pansa, G.C.V.O., Viscount Tadasu Hayashi, Baron Gericke van Herwijnen, Count de Benckendorff, and Baron C. Bildt, and also of Vernon Horace Rendall, Esq., B.A., was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that they had been elected Honorary Members.

The ballot for the candidates proposed at the ordinary meeting on the 15th February, 1905, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

The PRESIDENT read the Secretary's letter suggesting the inclusion of Dr. Nelson's paper, "The coinage of William Wood for the American Colonies 1722-1733," in the Society's *Journal* for 1904, as a sequel to Wood's Irish money treated by Dr. Nelson in his paper on the Coins of Ireland in this volume. This suggestion was put to the members present, who unanimously approved thereof.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of five candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Alfred Anscombe, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. Andrew B. Baird.

Lt.-Col. Thos. Samuel Lloyd-Barrow, R.A.M.C.

Herr Jacques Schulman.

Egbert F. L. Steinthal, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Admissions.*

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

Frederick Henry Appleby, Esq.

Bernard Guy Harrison, Esq.

Emil Julius Kafka, Esq., B.A. (*in person*).

Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq.

Miss Mary Florence Spindler.

Harold Tansley Witt, Esq.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. H. Hill.—Gothic Crown issued in 1847, in unusually fine preservation—Mouton d'or of Henry V. King of



MOUTON D'OR OF HENRY V.

England and France. Theodosius, A.D. 400, showing a remarkable likeness of the reverse design to that of Britannia on the modern farthing.



PATTERN TWO-ANNA PIECE FOR BENGAL.

Mr. H. Fentiman.—A pattern two-anna piece for Bengal, probably struck in 1811. Described by Atkins as No. 51, who believes it to be unique.



VARIETIES OF THE RARE TWO-KAPANG PIECES STRUCK FOR SUMATRA 1787.

Two varieties of the very rare oval Two-Kapang piece struck for Sumatra in 1787. An Australian pattern for a five-pound piece, struck in lead at the Government Assay Office, Adelaide, 1852, and in type like the sovereigns issued from the same mint in that year.



A RARE AMERICAN TWO-CENT PIECE OF 1792.

A rare American penny, or two-cent piece, of 1792, with the bust of Washington in military coat, to the left, and the legend G . WASHINGTON . PRESIDENT . I . Reverse: The American eagle with a shield upon its breast, arrows and olive branch in its left and right claws respectively, and a cluster of stars about its head. Legend: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. An encased five-cent postage stamp used as money, instead of ordinary currency, during the war between the Northern and Southern States of America.



TRIAL PIECE FOR THE WASHINGTON CENT OF 1791.

A trial piece in copper from an unfinished die for the reverse of the Washington cent of 1791, of the large eagle type. The eagle is displayed with the shield upon its breast, but without the arrows or olive branch, and also without the ribbon that is usually in its beak, although the letters of the motto E PLURIBUS UNUM appear in their usual places, incuse.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—*REAL d'OR* of Philip II. of Spain with English title, struck at Antwerp for the King as



REAL D'OR OF PHILIP II., WITH ENGLISH TITLE.

Duke of Brabant. Obverse: PHS . D : G : HISP . ANG  
Z REX-DUX · BRAB. Reverse: DOMINUS · MI · HI  
ADIVTOR. Mint-mark, hand—Antwerp.



REAL D'OR OF PHILIP II., WITH ENGLISH TITLE.

*REAL d'OR* of Philip II. of Spain with English title, struck at Dortrecht for the King as Count of Holland. Obverse: PHILPVS · D · G · HIS · ANG · Z REX · C · HOL. Reverse: DOMINVS · MIHI ADIVTOR. Mint-mark, cinquefoil—Dortrecht.

Fleet Surgeon A. E. Weightman, R.N. "On the QVATVOR MARIA VINDICO pattern farthing of Charles II. dated 1665, with the bust of the King with short hair, the figure of Britannia has usually the drapery below the raised arm floating towards the left, and the drapery between the spear and shield short, and reaching to about the level of the horizontal arm of the St. George's cross. I exhibit an unusual pattern which is believed to be hitherto unpublished. It has the drapery below the raised arm pendent and reaching to the thigh. The drapery between the spear and the shield is long and reaches considerably below the level of the lower end of the St. George's Cross. This is the same figure of Britannia as that found on the current pieces. In 1671, a pattern was produced which has the floating drapery below the raised arm, but there is no drapery between the shield and the spear. Mr. Baldwin intends showing a current piece of 1672, in which the



drapery is similar to that of the pattern of 1671. This is rare for the usual pieces of 1672, and all other dates have the pendent drapery. (The piece was produced by Mr. Baldwin.)

Pattern Pieces, 1665.—Silver pattern with floating drapery.

× 1665.—Silver pattern with pendent drapery.

1671.—Copper pattern with floating drapery.

Current pieces × 1672.—Floating drapery.

1672.—Pendent drapery."

The Director.—Set of scales for weighing guineas and half-guineas.

Mr. McIver Grierson.—Forgeries of current silver coins of Queen Victoria, stated to have been made by the tinnerns or travelling tinkers, in the west of Ireland, and recently collected at a bank in Sligo.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—Forgeries. An electro William and Mary Crown. Casts in copper of George III. half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, of which the silvering has been washed off.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—False dies of Roman coins, and casts therefrom.

### *Paper.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, *Director*.—"Forgery in relation to numismatics. Part I. How to distinguish Forgeries."

Mr. Lawrence read the first part of his paper, wherein he described the different classes of forgeries, the methods of their production, and the means of distinguishing false from real coins. The object of the writer was to give assistance to the numismatologist, and he therefore avoided giving specific information likely to assist the forger of the future in attaining a greater proficiency in his nefarious work. He exhibited an extensive and very interesting series of forgeries in illustration of his subject. A discussion followed, and in conclusion a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lawrence. The paper is printed in full in this volume.

## ORDINARY MEETING.

*April 26th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 22nd March, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the Council proposed His Excellency Monsieur Gaston Carlin as an Honorary Member.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of six candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Robert à Ababrelton, Esq., F.R.G.S.

George Augustus Auden, Esq., M.A., M.D.

Montagu Edward Hughes-Hughes, Esq.

B. Max Mehl, Esq.

John Francis Walker, Esq., F.G.S.

George Henry Ward, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by the DIRECTOR, and carried unanimously that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Ballot.*

The ballot for the candidates proposed at the ordinary meeting on the 22nd March, 1905, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

*Admissions.*

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section 10, of the Rules, viz. :—

The Right Hon. Earl Egerton of Tatton.  
 Fassett Ernest Arbouin, Esq., F.R.G.S.  
 The Rev. Dr. Andrew B. Baird.  
 Percival Cheyney Plowman, Esq.  
 Henry H. Schloesser, Esq.

*Presentations.*

Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.—“La Médaille a Fleur de Lys de Louis XVII.,” by the donor. “Revue Historique de la Question Louis XVII.”  
 Mr. L. Forrer.—“Britannia und die Republique Française, etc.,” by the donor.  
 Mr. C. L. Stainer, M.A.—Oxford silver pennies from A.D. 925, A.D. 1272, by the donor.  
 Messrs. Spink and Son.—Casts of coins.  
 Mr. W. Talbot Ready.—Casts of coins.  
 Mr. Oswald Fitch.—Waterloo Medals in the collection of Mr. Henry Gaskell.

*Exhibitions.*


Mr. S. Spink.—1. Oxford penny. Obverse: in three lines


	·ORÖIIΛ	
across the coin	·ELFRED	Reverse: in two lines divided
	FÖRDΛ	
	·∴	
	ΛIIIEB	
by three crosses	+++	
	OHDIIE	


2. Oxford penny. Type as before. Obverse:


·ORÖNA  
 ·ELFRED  
 F·ÖRDΛ  
 ·∴

Reverse: BERNV  
 +++  
 ΛLDHO

3. Oxford penny. Type as before. Obverse : 

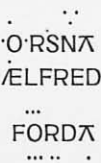

Reverse :  Ex Cuerdale find, Montagu and  
Murdoch (lot 89) collections.

4. Oxford halfpenny. Type as before. Obverse : 

Reverse : In two lines divided by long cross 

See *Numismatic Chronicle*, V, p. 102. Ex Cuerdale find and Maynard and Montagu collections. Unique.

The President.—Oxford penny of Alfred the Great.

Obverse :  Reverse : 

Mr. Bernard Roth.—Groat of Henry VII. with name of  
“J. Unwin” impressed thereon.

Mr. Hoblyn.—Set of Maundy money for 1905.

Mr. Wells.—A metal impression recently made at the Mint from the original obverse die of the first coinage of Henry II. which was illustrated and described in Vol. I, pp. 359 and 417 of this *Journal*, and is said to have been found in the Thames.

The Director.—The original puncheons made by Croker for the obverses of the Coronation medals of George II., and Queen Caroline.

### *Papers.*

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—“Concerning the evolution of some Reverse Types of the coinage of William the Conqueror to Henry II.”

Mr. Ogden, by means of diagrams, traced back the common origin of the graceful designs of the Anglo-Norman coinage to their prototypes in the *chi-rho* cross, the *alpha* and *omega*, and the other symbols of the early Christian Church, showing by comparisons with the Byzantine and Carolingian coinages the gradual changes through which the types passed before arriving at their Anglian Form. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Ogden for his paper which is printed in this volume.

THE PRESIDENT.—“The Oxford Mint in the Reign of Alfred.”

This paper was in reply to certain recent publications in which the extraordinary theory has been raised that the well-known coins of Alfred bearing the names of London, Canterbury, and particularly, Oxford, were really struck by Vikings at mints in the north and east of England. Against these guess-work attributions the President in instancing the case of Oxford preferred to deduce from the coins in question, that it was in Alfred's reign that the old name of the town, Ouseford, which still survives in that of the Island of Ousney, was changed to Isisford, and finally, to Oxford. Amongst other reasons for the change, he pointed out that when Mercia came within Alfred's domains two rivers bearing the name Ouse, within twenty miles of each other, passed under his rule, and both bordered the County of Oxford; hence it was expedient to change the name of one, which he classically renamed the Isis. Prior to this change therefore, his coins struck at Oxford bore the old name, Ousna Forda, for the Ford of the Ouse; and after it, Isiri Firia, for Isiris Firda (Isidis Fyrda), the Ford of the Isis. When next coins of Oxford appear, viz., in the time of Athelstan, the modern form had been finally adopted in its Latin contraction of Ox Urbis. The coins themselves, he urged, not only disproved the fanciful appropriations of the Oxford coinage to some Northumbrian Mint, such as Salford, which had been suggested, but were yet further instances of the importance of our British coinage as a factor in the evidence of British history.

During the reading of the paper, Mr. Bernard Roth as Vice-President occupied the Chair, and moved that a hearty vote of

thanks be accorded to the President for his paper, which is printed in this volume.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*May 24th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 26th April, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read the following letters written on behalf of H.R.H. the Princess Christian and H.R.H. the Princess Henry of Battenberg accepting the invitation of the Council to become Royal Members, which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the Minutes, viz. :—

Schomberg House,  
Pall Mall, S.W.  
*8th May, 1905.*

Sir,

I am requested by the Princess Christian to reply to your letter of the 6th instant, that Her Royal Highness is pleased to accede to your request, and to assent to be nominated a Royal Member of the British Numismatic Society.

I am, Sir,  
Yours very truly,  
J. EVAN B. MARTIN.

P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,  
President,  
The British Numismatic Society.

Kensington Palace,  
(Clock Court), W.  
*4th May, 1905.*

Dear Mr. Carlyon-Britton,

In reply to your letter of the 2nd May, I am desired by Princess Henry of Battenberg to say that Her Royal Highness will have great

pleasure in acceding to the request of the President and Council of the British Numismatic Society, to allow herself to be nominated as a Royal Member of the Society.

I remain,  
Yours faithfully,  
WM. CECIL.

The PRESIDENT informed the meeting that the Council had nominated for election as an Honorary Member His Excellency Señor Don Louis Polo de Bernabé, the newly appointed Spanish Ambassador.

*Ballot.*

The ballot for the candidates proposed at the ordinary meeting on the 26th April, 1905, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of four candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Samuel Hudson Chapman, Esq.  
Herman B. Eisenberg, Esq.  
Gordon Ferdinand Ruck, Esq.  
Henry Steers, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and carried unanimously, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Admissions.*

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

Alfred Anscombe, Esq. (in person).  
Lt.-Col. Thomas S. Lloyd-Barrow.  
Egbert F. L. Steinthal, Esq.

*Presentations.*

Dr. G. A. Auden.—“The preservation of Antiquities,” by the donor (one of the translators).

Messrs. Spink and Son.—“Auchons-Catalog Sammlung Griechischer Münzen.” Casts of coins.

*Exhibitions.*

The Director.—Forgery of penny of Æthelbald (weight 18 grains) one of four known specimens, all from the same dies.

Mr. Hamer.—Bissett's halfpenny-token without the pictures on the obverse.

Lt.-Col. Morrieson.—Copper farthings. James I. Montagu, Vol. II, page 7.

1. Mint-mark, Rose on both sides.
2. Mint-mark, Lion passant guardant, obverse only.
3. Mint-mark, Crescent on obverse only. Bird's head on the harp facing.
4. Mint-mark, Trefoil on obverse only. Bird's head on the harp in profile. Reads BRI instead of BRIT.
5. Mint-mark, Lis on reverse only, without the bird's head on the harp. This coin is somewhat smaller than the others. Page 8, last paragraph.
6. Mint-mark, Small cross on both sides, oval in shape, legend commences to the left of the bottom of the coin. Page 9. The half farthing size.
7. Mint-mark, Fret. The letter A between the sceptres, in copper.
8. Mint-mark, The same silvered, per Mr. W. C. Weight. Charles I., Vol. I, page 12.





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# ROYAL FARTHING TOKENS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

Exhibited by LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A.



9. Mint-mark, Rose on the obverse only. Ornamental harp.
10. Mint-mark, Mascle on the obverse only. Bird's head on the harp in profile. Reads BRIT instead of BRI.
11. Mint-mark, Rose on the obverse only, peculiarly indented harp. Page 13, last paragraph.
12. Mint-mark, Rose on the obverse only. The crown on both sides is doubled arched. Page 14, top line.
13. Mint-mark, Cross on both sides. On the reverse the mint-mark stands for the X in REX. Page 14, second paragraph.
14. Mint-mark, Rose on the obverse only, reads CARA BRIT. Page 14, third paragraph.
15. Mint-mark, Rose on the obverse only, on a square flan. Vol. II, page 15. Legend commences at left of bottom of coin, which is oval in shape.
16. Mint-mark, 9 on both sides.
17. Mint-mark, Cross pattée on the obverse only, before legend. Reads MA BRI instead of MAG BRI.
18. Mint-mark, Lis on the obverse only, between the sceptres.
19. Mint-mark, Martlet on the reverse only, at end of Legend. Page 15, last paragraph.
20. Mint-mark, Lys on both sides. Reads CAROLVS FRAN. Vol. III, page 16. With inner circles.
21. Mint-mark, Woolpack on both sides.
22. Mint-marks, On the obverse a Woolpack, on the reverse a Portcullis. Page 17, top line.
23. Mint-mark, Woolpack on the obverse only.

All the above farthings are illustrated in the accompanying plate.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—

The Palmer Stage Coach token.

The A.F.H. Stage Coach token.

The Ibberton. London Stage Coach token.

The Swan with two necks Stage Coach token.

W. and D. Busby's. Liverpool "City Omnibus" token, countermarked C ; date, about 1840.

*Papers.*

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons.—"The Stage-Coach and its Halfpennies."

The writer, after a sketch of the history of mail coaches and a reference to the conditions existing at the time of their most general employment, recounted the circumstances attendant on the issue of the three varieties of halfpenny, struck in memory of the reforms and improvements instituted by J. Palmer in the reign of George III.

Mr. Parsons exhibited a specimen of each of the three tokens described. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him for his very interesting paper, which is printed in this volume.

Fleet Surgeon A. E. Weightman, R.N.—"The Royal Farthing Tokens. Part I., 1613-1636."

The writer dealt historically with his subject, and from the evidence of the Patents and numerous specimens of the tokens was able to afford very complete information on the matter dealt with, and to classify the tokens into periods corresponding with the changes of ownership of the Patents conferring the right of manufacture and issue. He assigned the oval shaped tokens as a separate and contemporary issue for Ireland.

After a general discussion of the paper, and the coins exhibited, the PRESIDENT proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Fleet Surgeon Weightman, for his very complete and instructive monograph on his subject, which was carried by acclamation.

Owing to the Author's absence on service with the Fleet, the publication of his paper is deferred.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*June 28th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 24th May, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT reported that a deputation from the Society had been most graciously received by the King of Spain, and duly presented an Address to His Majesty as one of its Royal Members upon his visit to this country. He also announced to the Meeting that the Council had nominated His Excellency The Hon. Whitelaw Reid, for election as an Honorary Member of the Society. Copy of the Address is appended to the Annual Report of the Council.

*Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of two candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Major Robert William Richardson.

Leonard Tubbs, Esq., M.A.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and carried, that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Ballot for an Honorary Member.*

The Ballot for his Excellency Monsieur Gaston Carlin, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that he had been elected an Honorary Member.

*Ballot for Ordinary Members.*

The Ballot for the candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 24th May, 1905, was held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

*Admissions.*

The following Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

George Augustus Auden, Esq., M.A., M.D.

Montagu Edward Hughes-Hughes, Esq.

B. Max Mehl, Esq.

John F. Walker, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. W. J. Webster.—Henry VII. Angel of the first coinage, type of Henry VI., but with rose instead of lys, to right of cross: mint-mark, obverse, Lys upon rose, and reverse: Rose, **PAR ARVSEM \* TVVM \* SALV \* ROS \* \* PD RADA \***. This is an unpublished variety, and in fine preservation.



PATTERN BY MILTON IN PEWTER.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Piece in pewter which has been described as a pattern crown or half-crown by Milton and which sold at the Cholmondeley sale for £8.



CATHERINE STREET THEATRE TOKEN.

Also a piece with the same obverse and similar reverse, but with inscription "A GIFT FROM THE THEATRE OF VARIETY CATHERINE STREET STRAND LONDON."

Mr. P. J. D. Baldwin.—Unpublished 1856 "error" farthings, reading "VICTOEIA" on obverse. Two specimens, one in fine condition, the other circulated. Two varieties of the Victoria farthing of 1839, one with "A"s in GRATIA, and the other with inverted "V"s in place of the "A"s.

The Director.—Two impressions in shellac of the obverse and reverse dies of Pistrucci's large medal commemorative of Waterloo.

The President.—Two pennies of Eadmund. The unique penny of Howel dda. Two pennies of Eadred and Eadgar. Casts of two Rhuddlan pennies of William I. Three Rhuddlan pennies of Richard I. Two Rhuddlan pennies of John. Three pennies of Henry I. struck at Pembroke.

These rare pieces are described in the following paper which is printed in this volume, and most of them are there illustrated.

*Paper.*

The President.—"The Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet Coinage of Wales."

The PRESIDENT contributed a remarkable paper upon this coinage. Hitherto it has always been accepted as a numismatic maxim that the sovereign princes of Wales never issued any coinage of their own, but were content to circulate the money of the neighbouring kingdom. Considerable interest was therefore aroused when Mr. Carlyon-Britton in the course of this paper, announced that he had discovered a silver penny of Howel the Good, A.D. 915-48, struck at Chester, reading on the obverse + HOPÆL REX ꝛ (with a line of contraction through the last letter), and on the reverse the name of the Chester moneyer GILLYS. He submitted the coin to the meeting, and held the view that, as it was identical in type with the coinage of Eadmund, it was probably issued by Howel shortly before his death, although Malmesbury tells us that in 925, Eadweard the elder, whose coins are also very similar to it, subdued the city of Chester, which, in confederacy with the Britons, was then in rebellion. Coming to Norman and Plantagenet times, the writer produced and explained additional varieties of the silver pennies issued from the mint at Rhuddlan, which hitherto had been believed to be the only place of coinage in Wales prior to the seventeenth century. But he had a further surprise for the meeting when he exhibited three coins of the reign of Henry I. struck at Pembroke. They are silver pennies of Hawkins type 262, which, according to Mr. Andrew, represents the year 1128-31, and in addition to the name of the mint, the coins bear that of the moneyer GILLOPATRIC, who is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for the year 1129-30 as then coining at that town. Mr. Carlyon-Britton was thus able to explain an entry in the Roll which had puzzled Mr. Andrew in his "Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.," for no mint at Pembroke was even suspected at the time he wrote.

During the reading of the Paper, Mr. Bernard Roth, as Vice-President, occupied the Chair, and moved that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his paper, which was accorded with acclamation.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*July 26th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 28th June, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read the following letter written on behalf of H.M. Queen Cristina of Spain, accepting the invitation of the Council to become a Royal Member, which was received with applause, and a copy of the letter was ordered to be entered on the Minutes, viz. :—

Madrid,

*July 8th, 1905.*

Sir,

With reference to my letter of the third instant, I have much pleasure in informing you that Her Majesty Queen Cristina has been graciously pleased to accept the nomination of Royal Member of the British Numismatic Society. Her Majesty has furthermore instructed me to express to the President and Council of the Society Her sincere gratitude at having been elected to form part of so chosen and enlightened a body.

Requesting you to kindly address all future correspondence on the subject to Her Majesty's Private Secretary, H.E. Señor Don Alfonso de Aguilar.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EL CONDE DE ANDINO.

The PRESIDENT also read the following letters which he had received in reply from the Prince and Princess of Wales, and from the King of Spain.

Marlborough House,

Pall Mall, S.W.

*19th July, 1905.*

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Their Royal Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Wales to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated

July 13th, and in reply to offer you, as President of the British Numismatic Society, their thanks for the congratulations which you, representing the Society of which Their Royal Highnesses are Members, have so kindly forwarded on the occasion of the birth of the Infant Prince.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

A. NELSON HOOD.

P. Carlyon-Britton, Esq.,

President of the British Numismatic Society.

S. Marcial II,

San Sebastian,

21st July, 1905.

Sir,

His Majesty the King, my August Sovereign, having been graciously pleased to accept the old English shilling with the effigies of King Philip II. and Queen Mary, which you were kind enough to send him with your letter of 13th instant, has requested me to thank you very sincerely in His Royal name for your interesting gift which will be included in H.M. collection of coins and medals in the Palace Library in Madrid.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EL CONDE DE ANDINO.

### *Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of two candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Henry Perry, Esq.

Mrs. Edith Shand Sonia Remnant.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

### *Presentation.*

Messrs. Spink and Sons.—A number of casts.

*Notices.*

The PRESIDENT read the names of those recommended by the Council for election as Officers and Council of the Society for the session 1906. He also gave notice that the Anniversary Meeting would be held on Thursday, 30th November, 1905, at 8.30 p.m., and that the Ballot would be open from 8.45 to 9.15 p.m.

*Ballot for an Honorary Member and Members.*

The Ballots for His Excellency Señor Don Luis Polo de Bernabé, G.C.V.O., as an Honorary Member, and for the candidates for membership proposed at the Meeting on the 28th June, 1905, were held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

*Admission.*

The following Member was admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X of the Rules, viz. :—

George Henry Ward, Esq.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn.—A series of silver and base metal English and Irish coins of Mary, and Philip and Mary. Varieties of the groat : Irish shilling, groat, and half-groat. Philip and Mary. Varieties of the groat, half-groat, and base penny. Facsimile of the half-crown, varieties of the shilling and sixpence, Irish shilling and groats. Several Spanish coins of Philip as king of England. A satirical copper medalet of Philip.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—

1. Edward the Confessor penny, type V, of Mr. Carlyon-Britton's arrangement of these coins, that is the PΛCX type, variety XΓAP (retrograde) PVLFLAR ON LVNDEN.
2. Edward the Confessor penny type IX (cross and

segment), variety, pellet in one quarter only.  
PVLFRIC ON SCEFTE.

3. Edward the Confessor penny, type IX. variety with pellet in one quarter only, PVLMER ON RVMED.
4. Edward the Confessor penny, type X ("small full face") variety, three pellets above left shoulder, EADPINE ON LEHR.

*Paper.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, *Director*.—"The Moneyer Torhtulf."

The DIRECTOR dealt with the coins of Æthelwulf and Æthelbearht, bearing the name of the moneyer Torhtulf. He directed attention to the fact that these coins all have the head of the King filleted, and that the same variation from the more usual type having the head without the fillet, exists in the case of the coins attributed to Æthelbald. Mr. Lawrence was of opinion that the dies for the coins of Æthelwulf, Æthelbearht, and Archbishop Ceolnoth, all bearing on the reverse the name of a moneyer followed by the word *MONETĀ* upon and between the angles of a cross formed of beaded lines, were engraved by the same officer at a common centre, viz., London, as the work disclosed by the coins is practically the same, irrespective of the name of King or prelate on the obverse, or of the name of the moneyer on the reverse. In addition to the Torhtulf coins of Æthelwulf, some of that king by the moneyers Diar and Manna have the filleted head of the King. The writer extended his remarks to the case of certain coins of Rhuddlan, Berwick, and Durham, issued in Plantagenet times, and inferred that the dies for these alone were of local manufacture, the dies for the general coinage being issued from London. He further contended that certain mule coins, pennies of Edward, struck in combination from the dies for London and Dublin, and Dublin and Canterbury, a groat of Edward IV. from a Bristol obverse and a Coventry reverse, and another groat of the same reign from a Coventry obverse and a London reverse, were evidence in favour of the proposition that these

particular coins were also struck in London ; but he did not consider that it was the general custom to strike in London coins bearing the mint names of other places. The writer and Mr. Carlyon-Britton exhibited specimens in illustration of the paper.

A discussion followed, and a vote of thanks to the author was passed for his instructive paper, which is printed in this volume.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*October 25th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 26th July, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read Mr. Berney-Ficklin's letter accompanying a collection of 72 Carolian badges, etc., sent by him for exhibition in illustration of Miss Farquhar's paper, but stating that the best of his curios were then on exhibition at the Whitehall Museum.

### *Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of six candidates for membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Lt.-Col. and Alderman Sir Horatio David Davies, K.C.M.G.,  
M.P.

Frank Ellison, Esq.

William Robert Gregson, Esq.

Ernest Gunson, Esq.

Thomas Leonard Roberts, Esq.

Jabez Summers, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved that these certificates be suspended, and it was ordered

that the candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Presentations.*

Mr. L. Forrer.—“Une Médaille suisse rare de la collection Townshend.” “Un Sou d’Or de Maxime.” “Le Monument funèbre de Thémistocle à Magnésie.” “Die Freiheit, dargestellt unter dem Bilde der Martha Washington.”

Messrs. Spink and Son.—Two sets of Casts.

Major A. B. Creeke.—“Ancient coins of Cities and Princes (Spain, France, and Britain).” By J. Y. Akerman. “Celtic Inscription on Gaulish and British Coins.” By Beale Poste. “A Vindication of the Celtic Inscriptions.” By Beale Poste.

*Notices.*

The PRESIDENT read the names of those recommended by the Council for election as Officers and Council of the Society for the session 1906. He also gave notice that the Anniversary Meeting would be held on Thursday, the 30th November, 1905, at 8.30 p.m., and that the Ballot would be open from 8.45 to 9.15 p.m.

*Ballot for an Honorary Member and Members.*

The Ballots for His Excellency The Hon. Whitelaw Reid as an honorary member, and for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 26th July, 1905, were held, and the PRESIDENT declared that all had been elected.

*Admissions.*

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

Major Robert William Richardson.

James Hubert Husey-Hunt, Esq.

Leonard Tubbs, Esq., M.A.  
The Rev. Chas. Arthur Williamson, M.A.  
Herr Jacques Schulman.

*Exhibitions.*

Many of the following Stuart medals and curios are described, and some are illustrated in Miss Helen Farquhar's paper printed in this volume.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—

Henrietta Maria cliché, from the Montagu collection.

Royalist badge of Charles I. *Med. Ill.*, I, 215, given by Charles II. to Richard Pendrel after the battle of Worcester, 1651.

Medal of Charles I., by J. Roettier, *Med. Ill.*, I, 346-201.

Mr. P. Berney-Ficklin.—

Oval snuff box. Tortoiseshell mounted in silver with medallion of Charles I. on lid.

Nautilus shell with head of Charles I. engraved thereon.

Diamond locket containing a piece of Charles I.'s hair which formed a portion of the lock given by Charles II. to Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, and now is in the possession of her descendant.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, gilt silver medal set in diamonds.

Quaich formerly belonging to Prince Charles Edward.

Complete set of sixteen Coronation Medals, viz. :—

James I., Charles I., Charles II., James II., (reverse : Mary d'Este) William and Mary (gold) Anne (gold) George I., II., III. (2) IV., William IV. Victoria and Edward VII. The incused medal of Charles I., see *Med. Hist.*, I, 243-11, which is very rare.

James I. and Charles I. Token by Passe.

Charles I. Reverse : NEC META, etc. Dominion of the seas, small size.

Oval badge ; large head to right ; reverse : royal arms incused.

Marriage badges (two varieties).

Badge, very thin, head to left ; reverse : blank.

Badge, crowned bust to right ; reverse : royal arms,

Similar, but reverse, bust of Henrietta Maria (two varieties).

Portrait bust of the King with loop for suspension.

Electrotype of very large and rare badge, bare head with falling collar to right ; reverse : royal arms incused.

Bare head of King to left ; reverse : rock  
"IMMOTA TRIVMPHANS."

Six small badges (1) head to left ; reverse : Henrietta Maria ; (2) reverse : skull ; (3) head to right ; reverse : royal arms ; (4) another variety ; (5) reverse : Queen ; (6) larger badge. King nearly full face ; reverse : Queen nearly full face.

Large silver gilt medal. Dominion of the seas. Obverse : King to right with ruff ; reverse : ship in full sail.

Reverse : Hydra headed monster. "BEY DES POFELS."

Silver gilt ; reverse : hammer and anvil.

Reverse : salamander.

King on horseback ; reverse : view of London.

Bronze ; reverse : Medusa's head.



- Bronze gilt ; reverse : landscape with sheep,  
etc.
- Bishop Laud. Reverse : Cherubin flying to Heaven.
- Charles II. Badge with chain attached.
- „ variety.
- „ gilt.
- „ crowned head to right ; reverse :  
royal arms.
- „ Reverse : two angels supporting a  
crown.
- „ Reverse : Royal Oak.
- Gold Touch piece pierced.
- Large medal. Head to right within a  
wreath ; reverse : ship  
and figures “ *Si Deus.*”
- „ Reverse : geometrical  
figure and a pentagon,  
etc.
- „ Reverse : royal arms.
- Duchess of Portsmouth.—Bronze gilt ; reverse : blank.  
Smaller reverse. Cupid on  
globe and “OMNIA  
VINCIT.”
- Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey. Silver gilt.
- James II. as Duke of York. Reverse : Mary d’Este,  
1680.  
Reverse : Monmouth Rebellion.
- William III. as Prince of Orange. Reverse : Mary as  
Princess of Orange.
- William and Mary. Silver gilt ; reverse : NOX  
NVLLA, etc.
- Mary II. as Regent. Reverse : EX NOCTI DIEM.
- Princess Anne and George of Denmark heads facing ;  
reverse : oak tree.
- Queen Anne. Reverse : Prince George of Denmark.

- "James III." Reverse : lion and horse of Hanover.  
 Clementina. Reverse : Escape from Innspruck.  
 "James III." Reverse : Princess Louisa, his sister, 1712.  
 "James III." and Clementina. Heads conjoined.  
 "James III." Reverse : Prince Charles Edward.  
 Silver touch piece, holed.  
 Prince Charles. Reverse : Duke of York.  
 "Charles III." Reverse : Queen Louisa of Stolberg.  
 "Henry IX." Bronze ; reverse : female figure holding cross.

Major Freer.—

- Admiral Sir Edward Collier, K.C.B. Silver star.  
 Silver and enamelled collar badge. Turkish Medal  
 for Acre, in Gold. General Naval Service.  
 To Edward Collier, Captain, R.N. Bars, San Fiorenzo,  
 14th February, 1805. Amanthea, 25th July, 1810,  
 and Syria Gold (Civil), K.C.B. (collar badge).  
 Medals, General Naval Service. John Ganes, Copen-  
 hagen, 1801. Joseph Hetheridge, Bars, Egypt and  
 Nile. David Singleton, Bars, 1st June, 1794.  
 Trafalgar.



GOLD MEDAL OF THE MILITARY CLUB AT JAMAICA.

Bronze and gilt Medals for the Battle of the Nile.

Davidson, 1st August, 1798.

The Trafalgar medal, silver mounted and glazed.

Boulton, 21st October, 1805.

Gold Medal of the Military Club, instituted at Jamaica,

A.D. 1788.

Mr. W. J. Webster.—

Earl of Essex. Oval badge; gold with original chain, but no border; military reward. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 295-113.

Earl of Essex. Oval badge; silver gilt; without wreath border; military reward. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 295-113.

Sir Thomas Fairfax. Oval badge; silver, 1645; military reward from the Parliament and the City of London for Marston Moor. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 317-150.

Sir Thomas Fairfax. Oval badge; silver gilt, 1645; military reward from the Parliament and the City of London for Marston Moor. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 317-150.

Sir Thomas Fairfax. Small oval badge; silver gilt. No legend on obverse, 1645; military reward from the Parliament and the City of London for Marston Moor. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 318-151.

Sir Thomas Fairfax. Oval badge; silver; wreath border; military reward. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 317-149.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Oval badge by T. Rawlin's, silver gilt; without border; crowned bust of the King. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 355-216.

Charles I. Oval badge; silver, without border; bare-headed bust; incused legends. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 360-231.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Small oval badge; silver, without legends or border. *Med. Ill.*, 1, 355-218.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Small oval badge ; silver gilt ; without legends or border. *Med. Ill.*, I, 355-218.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Small oval badge ; silver gilt ; with wreath border, no legends. *Med. Ill.*, I, 358-225.

Charles I. Small circular medal ; silver, by Thomas Simon ; bareheaded bust of King Charles ; reverse blank, unpublished.

Charles I. Oval memorial badge ; silver, floral border ; reverse : skull between celestial and earthly crowns. The device of the reverse of the last is illustrated by the following passage in the *Eikon Basilike* :—

I shall not want the heavy and envied crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his Graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himselfe, 1649. *Med. Ill.*, I, 344-196.

Charles I. Small oval memorial badge ; silver, without border ; reverse : skull and celestial and earthly crown. *Med. Ill.*, I, 344-196.

Charles I. Silver medal. Oxford University memorial, 1648. *Med. Ill.*, I, 348-205.

Earl of Manchester. Oval badge ; silver, without border ; military reward, 1643, *Med. Ill.*, I, 309-137.

Unknown Royalist or Parliamentary leader in the Great Civil War. By Thomas Simon. Obverse : Profile bust to right ; reverse : blank, unpublished.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—

Small collection of Royalist badges and medals of Charles I. and II.

Etui of green velvet with gold braid ornaments ; from the dressing case of Charles I.

Small gold pendant with miniature portrait in sepia of Charles I.

Mr. Oswald Fitch.—

"James III." Pattern guinea in silver, dated 1716.

Mr. T. W. Barron.—



PORTRAIT PLAQUE IN SILVER OF CHARLES II.

A portrait plaque of Charles II. cast in silver, with elaborate border of flowers and fruit in high relief. Bust of the King in armour, draped with lion's head on breast, and long curls falling on breast, shoulders, and back. It is believed to be by John Roettier and bears a close resemblance to the coins designed by this artist. There is a lead cast of this plaque in the British Museum, exactly like this, except that there is no stippling in the

field, which is quite plain. According to the British Museum Catalogue, there was a copy in silver in the collection of Sir A. W. Franks, but it is believed that there was now no trace of this in the Museum.

Two Inchiquin Siege crown-pieces, one of the ordinary type, with V's; but the other with the *inscription reversed* thus 2V on both sides, and with a small R above the reversed S. Another specimen identical with this is known, which is in the British Museum. The second coin exhibited is illustrated in Dr. Nelson's paper, p. 338, Fig. 65.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—

Charles II. Boscobel halfpenny, 1650.

William Ballard penny, 1677.

Mr. G. Thorn Drury.—

Charles I. Oval badge, silver, bust to right, falling lace collar CAROLVS ·DG· MAG BRI FR · ET · HIB · RX; reverse: royal arms.

Two small oval badges, silver, busts to left; reverse; royal arms.

Oval badge, silver gilt, bust to left, falling lace collar, CAROLVS · DG · MAG · BRI · FR · ET · HI · RX; reverse: royal arms (those of France having the fleurs-de-lys 1 and 2 instead of 2 and 1).

Circular medal, silver, bust to left, lace collar, +CAROLVS · D · G : MAG : BR : FR : ET HI : REX; reverse: royal arms.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Oval badge, silver; obverse: CAROLVS · DG · MAG · BRI · FR : ET · HIB · RX; reverse: + HENRETTA · MARIA · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REG.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Oval badge, silver, without legends.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Small oval badge, silver, without legends or border.

Similar badge, brass.

Charles I. Silver memorial medal, bust to left ; obverse :

CAROLVS · I · D · G · M · BR · FR ·  
ET · HIB · REX · ; reverse : NAT · 13 ·  
NOV · 1600 · COR · 2 · FEBR · 1626 ·  
M · 30 · IANV · 1649.

Silver. German memorial medal ; obverse :

LEV DEN GOTT UND OBRIGKEIT ·  
CARL · I · V · G · G · KÖNIG VON  
ENGEL : SCHOTT : UND IRRLAND ;  
reverse ; BEY DES POPELS MACH-  
TUND STREIT.

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. Silver medalet, 1628, by Nicholas Briot. *Med. Ill.*, 1, p. 250-25.

Charles I. Death, 1649. Silver medal by Thomas Rawlins. Reverse salamander, which was frequently adopted as an emblem of fortitude and patience under sufferings.

Death, 1649. Silver medal by Thomas Rawlins, issued to be worn as a memorial of the King. The obverse is in rather high relief, whilst the reverse is in imitation of engraving. *Med. Ill.*, 1, p. 342-191.

Copper memorial medal, 1649, made by Jan Roettier, about 1670. *Med. Ill.*, 1, p. 347-201.

Silver. *Med. Ill.*, 1, p. 346-200.

Silver memorial medal, 1649. A memorial of Dutch manufacture, always cast and chased, and with the field frosted. The

head of Medusa is frequently symbolical of rebellion, sedition, and anarchy ; and the sword, thunderbolt, and arms are intended as emblems of the violence of the dominant party. *Med. Ill.*, I, p. 349-208.



EARLY COIN-WEIGHT.

Mr. W. S. Churchill, per the Secretary.—

A coin-weight probably mediæval, but of unusual design.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, Secretary.—

A gold mounted tobacco box bearing portrait of Charles I. in armour on the lid, and within, a coat of arms.

A miniature of Charles II. beneath a crystal, within a contemporary copper frame ornamented with Cupids.

Professor Herbert Cox.—

Miniature of Charles I.

### *Auditors.*

The PRESIDENT reminded the meeting that under Chapter XIX, of the Rules, Auditors had now to be appointed, and suggested that Mr. W. H. Fox and Mr. St. Barbe Goldsmith be chosen. This suggestion met with the approval of the meeting, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Goldsmith were so appointed.

### *Papers.*

MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.—“Portraiture of the Stuarts on the Royalist Badges.”



Miss Farquhar read a monograph on this subject in which by carefully reasoned comparison, she traced many of the medallic portraits of the first and second Charles to their prototypes in contemporary paintings by the Court artists. By this means she was enabled to correct the dates previously assigned to some of these medals and badges, and to venture suggestions as to the probable occasion of their issue.

A merited vote of thanks was accorded to Miss Farquhar for her monograph, which will be read in the pages of this volume with special interest by those who have studied the art of English portraiture in the seventeenth century.

In connection with this paper an exhibition of Stuart memorials had been invited, and the tables were crowded with badges, medals, coins, miniatures, jewels, and curios of every description bearing portraiture of the Stuarts.

MAJOR A. B. CREEKE, per the President.—“A short account of recent treasure trove at Burnley,” which is printed in this volume.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*November 30th, 1905.*

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 25th October, 1905, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT announced to the Meeting that the Council had nominated His Excellency Sir Dimitry George Métaxas for election as an Honorary member of the Society.

### *Certificates of Candidates for Election.*

The PRESIDENT read the certificates of eight Candidates for membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Lt.-Col. Ranulphus John Carthew.  
Harcourt Yates Hare, Esq., M.A., LL.B.  
Jamieson Boyd Hurry, Esq., M.A., M.D.  
Alexander Constantine Hutchins, Esq.  
Robert Alexander Inglis, Esq., B.A.  
Harry Cecil Myers, Esq.  
John William Spurway, Esq.  
The Hon. Frederick Strutt.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON, and resolved that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next meeting, or as soon as vacancies should occur.

*Presentation.*

Messrs. Spink and Son.—“ Biographical Dictionary of Medallists.” Vol. I, A—D, by L. Forrer.

The PRESIDENT reported that MR. TALBOT READY had presented to the Society all the casts forming the plates and illustrations comprised in Vol. I of the *Journal*.

*Ballot for Members.*

The Ballot for the candidates for membership proposed at the meeting on the 25th October, 1905, was held, and the President declared that all had been elected.

*Admissions.*

The following members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

Ernest Gunson, Esq.  
Henry Perry, Esq.  
Thomas Leonard Roberts, Esq.  
Jabez Summers, Esq.

*Exhibitions.*

- Mr. R. Donald Bain.—A penny of Edward Confessor, Type VII. + PINTERFVGEL ONE. York.
- Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—An unpublished error shilling of George I. S.S.C. differing from the ordinary type in having the French arms in a shield dividing the date, instead of the arms of England and Scotland impaled.
- An early ticket in brass. Obverse: "DOVOR AND BOULOGNE PACKETS" PAID CHECK "TO BE RETURNED." Reverse: "416."
- Dr. P. Nelson.—An unpublished noble of Edward IV. Obverse: EDWARD · DI · Y · GR · Y · REX · Y · ANGL · Y · F · Y · FR · Y · Y · DNS · Y · I · Y · B · Y · Y ; reverse: IR · Y · AN · Y · VT · Y · TR · Y · AN · Y · SI · Y · EN · Y · S · Y · PER · Y · M · ED · Y · VM · Y · IL · Y · L · Y · OR · Y · VM · Y · RI · Y · Y · B · Y · AT · Y · Y Mint-mark Sun. Weight 117·75 grains.
- Mr. S. H. Hamer.—An impression in copper of the dies for a shield dollar of 1798; obverse: laureated and draped bust to right; GEORGIUS III. DEI GRATIA within a toothed border; reverse: a shield of arms surmounted by a crown dividing the date 1798. The legend being similar to, and consisting of, the same arrangement of letters as appears in "Davis" No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, but the coin is from a different die, the variations being very slight, but still distinct, *e.g.*, the crown: also the "M" immediately following the date, which latter has the last limb between a couple of the marks of the toothed border and two pearls only under the orb on the crown, whereas one of similar design has the last limb of the "M" under *one* mark of the toothed border. These copper impressions show the traces of die corrosion on either, if not on both, obverse or reverse. Query. Were they intended as patterns for crowns?

Forgery of Birmingham copper sixpence, see Davis, 147,  
Nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

Forgery of the Bank of England five shilling dollar, 1804.

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### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

*President, in the Chair.*

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council for the second year since the Inauguration of the Society, viz. :—

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

*To the Members of the British Numismatic Society.*

The Council have the honour to lay before the members their second Annual Report.

On the 30th November, 1904, the Society consisted of 2 Royal, 3 Honorary, and 504 Members.—Total 509.

With deep regret the Council record the decease of the six following members :—

Alfred Barter, Esq.

James Henry Crofts, Esq.

Sir Reginald Hanson, Bart., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.

Percival Cheyney Plowman, Esq.

Gordon F. Ruck, Esq.

John William Tyler, Esq., a Lieutenant of the City of London.

The Council regret to announce the resignation of the twenty-five following Members :—

Charles H. Athill, Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald.

M. T. Baines, Esq., M.A.

Cecil Bigwood, Esq., M.A.

Monsieur Elie Boudeau.  
George J. Brinkworth, Esq.  
W. J. H. Brodrick, Esq.  
John Chivers, Esq.  
The Rt. Hon. Viscount Enfield.  
Patrick D. Hannay, Esq.  
William George Jerrems, Junr., Esq.  
Downton C. Leman, Esq., B.A.  
Captain Gerald H. C. Madden.  
Gerald Blewitt Manley, Esq.  
Stuart Archibald Moore, Esq., F.S.A.  
Frederick Orton, Esq., M.D.  
Captain Arthur Palliser, Esq., D.L.  
Hugh Charles Penfold, Esq., M.A.  
W. P. W. Phillimore, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.  
William John Rees, Esq.  
William Regester, Esq.  
John Alexander Richards, Esq., B.A.  
Charles J. Ritchie, Esq.  
John Smith, Esq.  
John W. Trist, Esq., F.S.A.

And sixteen others will at the Anniversary Meeting be amoved under the provisions of Chapter IV, Section III, of the Rules.

On the other hand, the Council have the pleasure to record the high honour conferred upon the Society by the gracious consent of the following fourteen Royal Personages to become Royal Members :—

*Royal Members.*

Her Majesty The Queen.  
His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.  
Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales.  
Her Royal Highness The Princess Christian.  
Her Royal Highness The Princess Henry of Battenberg.

*In alphabetical order.*

His Majesty Leopold II., King of the Belgians.  
 His Majesty Christian IX., King of Denmark.  
 His Royal Highness The Crown Prince of Denmark.  
 His Majesty George, King of the Hellenes.  
 His Royal Highness The Prince Royal of the Hellenes.  
 Her Majesty The Queen of Italy.  
 Her Majesty The Queen of Portugal.  
 His Majesty Alfonso XIII., King of Spain.  
 Her Majesty Queen Cristina of Spain.

The election of the sixteen Honorary Members will be gratifying to the Society :—

*Honorary Members.*

The Rt. Hon. The Countess of Yarborough, Baroness Fauconberg, Baroness Conyers.  
 His Excellency The Marquis De Soveral, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. The King of Portugal.  
 His Excellency The Count De Lalaing, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. The King of the Belgians.  
 His Excellency Count Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.  
 His Excellency Monsieur Frank Ernest De Bille, G.C.V.O., Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of Denmark.  
 His Excellency Monsieur Paul Cambon, G.C.V.O., French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.  
 His Excellency Count Paul Wolff-Metternich, German Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.  
 His Excellency Commendatore Alberto Pansa, G.C.V.O., Italian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.  
 His Excellency Viscount Tadasu Hayashi, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan.

- His Excellency Baron Gericke van Herwijnen, Env. Ex.  
and Min. Plen. of H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands.
- His Excellency The Count de Benckendorff, Russian  
Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.
- His Excellency Baron C. Bildt, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of  
H.M. the King of Sweden.
- Vernon Horace Rendall, Esq., B.A., Editor of the  
*Athenæum*.
- His Excellency Monsieur Gaston Carlin, Env. Ex. and Min.  
Plen. of the Republic of Switzerland.
- His Excellency Señor Don Luis Polo de Bernabé, G.C.V.O.,  
Spanish Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.
- His Excellency The Hon. Whitelaw Reid, American  
Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

The following forty-three Members have also been elected  
during the year :—

*Members.*

- Robert A. Ababrelton, Esq., F.R.G.S.
- Alfred Anscombe, Esq.
- Frederick Henry Appleby, Esq., M.R.C.S.
- Fassett Ernest Arbouin, Esq., F.R.G.S.
- George Augustus Auden, Esq., M.A., M.D.
- The Rev. Dr. Andrew B. Baird.
- Philip Berney-Ficklin, Esq., F.S.A.
- Samuel Hudson Chapman, Esq.
- Lt.-Col. Sir Horatio David Davies, K.C.M.G., M.P.,  
Alderman of the City of London.
- The Rt. Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, Earl Egerton of Tatton.
- Herman B. Eisenberg, Esq.
- Frank Ellison, Esq.
- Albert Eugster, Esq.
- The Governors of the Royal Albert Memorial, Exeter,  
H. Tapley Soper, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., Librarian.
- William Robert Gregson, Esq.

Ernest Gunson, Esq.  
Bernard Guy Harrison, Esq.  
Lionel Mowbray Hewlett, Esq.  
Montagu Edward Hughes-Hughes, Esq.  
Leonard Wolfgang Just, Esq.  
Emil Julius Kafka, Esq., B.A.  
The Municipal Libraries of Leicester, C. V. Kirkby, Esq.,  
Librarian.  
Lt.-Col. Thomas Lloyd-Barrow, R.A.M.C.  
Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq.  
B. Max Mehl, Esq.  
Percival Cheyney Plowman, Esq. (since deceased).  
Henry Perry, Esq.  
Mrs. P. W. Remnant.  
James Hall Renton, Esq.  
Major Robert William Richardson.  
Thomas Leonard Roberts, Esq.  
Gordon F. Ruck, Esq. (since deceased).  
Henry H. Schloesser, Esq.  
Herr Jacques Schulman.  
Sir Alfred Scott Scott-Gatty, Knight, Garter Principal King  
of Arms, F.S.A.  
Miss Mabel Florence Spindler.  
Henry Steers, Esq.  
Egbert Franklin Ludwig Steinthal, Esq.  
Jabez Summers, Esq.  
Leonard Tubbs, Esq., M.A.  
John F. Walker, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.  
George H. Ward, Esq.  
Harold Tansley Witt, Esq.



## SUMMARY.

		<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1904	...	2	3	504	509
Since elected ...	...	14	16	43	73
		16	19	547	582
Deceased	...	—	—	6	6
Resigned	...	—	—	25	25
Amoved	...	—	—	16	16
30th November, 1905	...	16	19	500	535

It will thus be seen that the popularity of the Society is fully continued, and any current vacancies in the limit of 500 members are immediately filled by candidates for election. It must be remembered that between a vacancy occurring, and the election of a new member, two monthly meetings have to be held; hence it is impossible to maintain the number of ordinary members exactly at the limit. The Society has again to thank Messrs. Upton and Britton for their generosity in continuing to place the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at its service which members will appreciate more when they are reminded that it is owing to this, coupled with the voluntary efforts of all its Officers, that the Society is enabled to return to its Members a *Journal* of its Proceedings in a form which has never been previously attempted by any Society supported by guinea subscriptions.

In this relation the Council wish to thank the Members for their patience in awaiting the issue of Vol. I of the *Journal*. The difficulties of the first Volume of a series are proverbial, for everything has to be selected and arranged with a view to uniformity in the future.

It is usual in such circumstances to follow the style of some similar publication, and adapt it to that required ; but in this instance, no such publication exists, and therefore the Editors, with the approval of the Council, started *de novo* and constructed the volume. The Council have been gratified by the very numerous expressions of approval, both by letter and verbally, which have greeted its issue and, if they may accept these as indicative of the general opinion of members, they are more than satisfied with the result, and on behalf of the Society they tender their thanks to the Editors, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Andrew, for the work which they have so successfully undertaken, and to Mr. W. Talbot Ready, for his assistance in preparing and arranging the casts of the coins for illustration.

The Council congratulate the Treasurer upon his financial report, which is, again, an indication of the continued stability of the Society. In reviewing this report, it may be mentioned that the construction of a volume is more costly than its continuance, and therefore the expenses of the past year have probably been rather heavier than they will be in the future.

The gracious favour of H.M. Queen Alexandra in consenting to honour the British Numismatic Society by becoming a Royal Member, will appeal to the loyal feelings of every numismatologist, and when Her Majesty's example is so generously followed by similar patronage in Britain and abroad, the Society will appreciate the very high honour it has received in the kindly encouragement of those whose names appear in the list of Royal Members of the Society, and who, amongst the cares and responsibilities of great matters of state, can yet find time to lend support towards the study of Art and the enlightenment of History. The same appreciation also must be extended to those who have accepted the position of Honorary Members of this Society.

The Council are indebted to the various contributors of the interesting series of papers which have been read at the various Meetings during the past year, and which in their opinion have fully maintained the quality of the Society's literary efforts. In particular

they would draw attention to the paper "Portraiture of the Stuarts on the Royalist Badges" contributed and read by Miss Helen Farquhar as an example which they trust will be followed by other ladies of literary tastes. A feature of most gratifying interest has been the quantity and quality of the coins, tokens, medals, and curios, so profusely exhibited at the meetings. These contributions by individual members are half the charm of the gatherings, and it cannot be too widely known that whatever is shown must almost certainly be of special interest to some one or more of the many present. The names of the exhibitors are published in the minutes of the proceedings, and to them the Council wish to convey their thanks, for—and it is a fortunate circumstance for the Society—they are too numerous to be mentioned here. But all will agree that the remarkable collection of Stuart relics and curios exhibited by Mr. Berney-Ficklin at the October meeting, entitles it to special notice in this report. At one or two of the meetings in the past year, lantern slides have been introduced, to add to the interest of the proceedings, and to assist the contributor in the illustration of his subject. The Council take this opportunity of notifying to Members that any contributor who will prepare slides for this purpose, may have the advantage of the innovation. They also remind them, in the words of the President (Vol. I, p. 8), that "the pages of the *Journal* are open to all; all are invited to contribute to them, and the interest and importance of the papers received will be the only gauge in their selection for publication."

In conclusion, the Council have the pleasure to report that during his recent visit, His Majesty the King of Spain graciously consented to receive a deputation from the Society at the Spanish Embassy on June the 6th, when an illuminated address in the following terms was presented to his Majesty :—

To His Catholic Majesty,

Alfonso XIII. King of Spain, Castille, Leon, Aragon, The Two Sicilies, &c.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the British Numismatic Society, in tendering our welcome to your Majesty as one

of our Royal Members, desire to express more fully than has hitherto been possible, our deep sense of the great honour which the Society has received in being permitted to enrol your Majesty upon its list of Membership.

The series of British coins is enriched by those bearing the name and titles, and in some instances the portrait also, of your Majesty's Predecessor King Philip, together with those of his Consort Queen Mary, our own Hereditary Sovereign, and the adaptation of the Spanish Dollar in the reign of His late Majesty King George III. for the silver currency of this country, and of certain Colonies, affords a most interesting numismatic connection with your Majesty's realms.

We are proud to have been permitted to enrol upon our list of membership the Sovereign and Representative of a people which took the lead amongst the nations of the World in discovery, in literature, and in art, and most gratefully accept the opportunity afforded us by the tendering of this our welcome, to assure Your Majesty not only of our profound sense of the honour we have received, but also of our own deep affection and respect for your Majesty and the Royal House of Spain, as to which we feel assured we do no more than voice sentiments which are universal in this country. We trust also that we may be permitted to express our sincere prayer and desire that your Majesty's Reign may be prolonged in happiness to a far distant period, and that the present occasion may be but the commencement of an intimate association of the two nations for their mutual benefit and lasting advantage.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

P. CARLYON-BRITTON, *President.*

G. R. ASKWITH, *Vice-President.*

F. D. DIXON-HARTLAND, M.P., *Vice-President.*

H. W. MORRIESON, Lieut.-Col., R.G.A.

A. C. FOX-DAVIES.

L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director.*

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

W. J. ANDREW, *Secretary.*

The members of the deputation were so graciously and cordially received by His Majesty, who shook hands with each, that the President ventured to express the hope that in the near future the Society might be further honoured by being allowed to enrol the name of a Queen Consort of Spain among its patrons. His Majesty, who was evidently amused, smiled and replied, "Meanwhile there is a

Queen of Spain, and if you will send me your application, I will myself present it to her, and ask her to comply with your request." That His Majesty did not forget his kindness is evidenced by the name of Her Majesty Queen Cristina of Spain in the roll of Royal Members of the British Numismatic Society. Afterwards the deputation were entertained at the Embassy by His Excellency Señor Don Luis Polo de Bernabé, G.C.V.O., Honorary Member of this Society.

The members forming the deputation were :—

The President.—P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L.

Vice-Presidents.—Sir Frederick D. Dixon-Hartland, Bart.,  
M.P., F.S.A.

G. R. Askwith, M.A.

The Director.—L. A. Lawrence.

The Honorary Treasurer.—Russell H. Wood.

The Honorary Secretary.—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

Council.—Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, R.G.A.

Member.—A. C. Fox-Davies.

The Council desire to thank Mr. Fox-Davies for his valuable assistance in undertaking the preparation of the Address.

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The Report was received with applause by the Members present. It was moved by MR. WALCOTT, seconded by MR. OSWALD-FITCH, and resolved that the same be adopted.

*Ballot for Election of Officers and Council for the Session 1906.*

The PRESIDENT declared that the ballot was open from 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m., and, with the approval of the meeting, nominated Mr. Lambert and Mr. Taffs as Scrutators. The votes having been examined, the Scrutators reported to the Chairman, who announced that the large number of members who had voted were with one exception unanimous in the election of the Officers and Members of the Council as suggested in the balloting list, viz. :—

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1906.

**President.**

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

**Vice-Presidents.**

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY.

SIR FREDERICK D. DIXON-HARTLAND, BART., M.P., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF POWIS, Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire.

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.R.C.S., J.P.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL EGERTON OF TATTON, M.A.

**Director.**

L. A. LAWRENCE, ESQ., F.R.C.S.

**Hon. Treasurer.**

RUSSELL H. WOOD, ESQ., A.C.A.

**Hon. Librarian.**

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.G.A.

**Hon. Secretary.**

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A.

**Council.**

G. R. ASKWITH, ESQ., M.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT.D., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L.

A. H. BALDWIN, ESQ.

J. B. CALDECOTT, ESQ.

F. A. CRISP, ESQ., F.S.A.

R. GEOFFREY ELLIS, ESQ., B.A.

MAJOR WILLIAM J. FREER, V.D., F.S.A.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN, ESQ., F.S.A.

PHILIP NELSON, ESQ., M.D., CH.B.

W. SHARP OGDEN, ESQ.

H. M. REYNOLDS, ESQ.

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CHARLES WELCH, ESQ., F.S.A., Librarian, Guildhall Library, London.

*Treasurer's Report.*

The Treasurer read the Balance Sheet for the past financial year, distributing copies of the same to members present, and also read the Auditors' Certificate at the foot of the same, certifying that the accounts had been audited and found correct.

It was moved by MR. BERNARD ROTH, seconded by MR. UPTON, and resolved that the Treasurer's accounts be adopted.

## CHAPTER IV, SECTION III.

The PRESIDENT read the names of sixteen members who had failed to pay their subscriptions for 1904, and made an entry of their amoval against their names in the Register of the Society in accordance with Chapter IV, Section III, of the Rules.

*Paper.*

The President.—“A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II. Part I.”

The PRESIDENT read a synopsis of the first part of his “Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.,” a treatise upon the effect of the Conquest on the coinage of England as viewed in a strictly historical light, and containing full details of the money then issued from some seventy of the principal towns throughout England and Wales. The author commenced with a description of the silver penny, which, with its mechanically divided halfpence and fourthings, was the only denomination of money then in currency, and discussed its manual production from the dies, its purchasing power, the various historical references to it as a coin, and to its dies, the status of the moneyers, and the position and powers of the numerous mints. In Chapter II, he reviewed the particulars of the many discoveries of hoards of these coins during the last two centuries, and from these deduced much support to his rearrangement of the successive coinages. Chapter III was devoted to the history of the two kings and their Great Seals, with the analogy between the latter



and the contemporary money. But it was in the next chapter that Mr. Carlyon-Britton was able to correct all previous writers on the subject by methods purely his own. It was the custom of the Norman Kings to change the type or device of the money every three years, and therefore we have eight types of William I. and five of William II. The order of some of these had already been ascertained by the evidence of finds and the existence of "mule" coins, which bear one type for their obverse and the succeeding type for their reverse. There were, however, other types to which these guides could not be applied, and these had, consequently, been misplaced, and one had been assigned to the wrong king. The writer, however, assuming that when the old money was called in, some of it would be restruck and issued as new, had searched not only his own large collection, but also the principal public and private collections in the country, for specimens bearing traces of a previous type. This resulted in his being able to correct and prove the chronological sequence of the whole series of the coinage of these two kings. He was thus enabled to date the types, and to bring them into accord with the passing historical and political events of the day. As an instance of the astronomical superstition of the period, it is curious to note that, coincident with the record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of an extraordinary star shining in the evening, which men supposed was a comet, a star is added to the coinage then current, although the same type had previously been issued without it.

During the reading of the paper Mr. G. R. Askwith as Vice-President, occupied the Chair, and at its close moved that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his monograph, and also for his efforts in having brought the Society to its present high position. This was seconded by Mr. Hamer and carried with acclamation.



THE *JOURNAL*.

*Notice to Members.*—As the preparation, illustrating and editing of these volumes, coupled with the general work in connection with the Society, occupy the otherwise leisure hours of the Editors for at least six months, members will understand why the date of publication of each year's proceedings is the following autumn.

W. J. ANDREW,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

# The British Numismatic Society.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, 1905.

DR.	<i>Expenditure.</i>				CR.
		£	s.	d.	
To printing and binding of 1904 <i>Journal</i> ... ..		326	12	0	By subscriptions received and due... 521 17 0
„ cost of plates and blocks for Ditto ... ..		109	17	2	„ Ditto ditto from Candidates ... 2 2 0
„ Ditto ditto 1905 on account ... ..		11	9	9	„ admission fees ... .. 19 19 0
„ printing and stationery ... ..		18	10	3	„ amount received compounding subscriptions ... .. 15 0 0
„ postages ... ..		28	7	1	„ dividends on Consols and interest on bank deposit ... 9 13 11
„ casts of coins ... ..		10	10	8	
„ fee to clerk to Council ... ..		10	10	0	
„ cost of Meetings and refreshments ... ..		13	15	0	
„ presentation of addresses ... ..		12	12	0	
„ printing reports of meetings ... ..		4	0	6	
„ sundry expenses ... ..		6	17	3	
	Total expenditure ... ..	553	1	8	
„ balance, being surplus of income over expenditure for the year...		15	10	3	
		£568	11	11	
					£568 11 11

## BALANCE SHEET, 18th November, 1905.

DR.		£	s.	d.	CR.
					£ s. d.
To sundry accounts owing... ..		76	2	8	By Consols £394 15s. 1d., stock at cost ... .. 350 0 0
„ subscriptions received in advance		3	3	0	„ subscriptions and admission fees due but not yet received... 77 13 0
„ accumulated fund, balance 1904 £373 12s. 9d.					„ amount due by member for extra copies of plates... .. 8 5 0
„ surplus of income over expenditure, 1905 ... .. £15 10s. 3d.		389	3	0	„ cash at bankers... .. 32 10 8
		£468	8	8	
					£468 8 8

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the members that we have examined and compared the above accounts, with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

27th November, 1905.

H. ST. B. GOLDSMITH.

W. H. FOX, F.C.A.

# The British Numismatic Society.

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