THE INFLUENCE OF WAR ON THE COINAGE OF ENGLAND.

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In presenting this paper on the influence of war on the coinage of England since the Conquest, I do not propose to introduce any new theories, but to collate chronologically those incidents occurring in the many wars, both civil and foreign, which have left their mark on the coinage of this country. My object is to draw, for a brief period, the attention of the members of this Society to that subject, and as forcibly as possible to impress on their minds those various warlike events, both honourable and otherwise, which have left their mark on our grand coinage, the study of which has such a fascination for so many of us.

William I., when he had taken possession of England after that most decisive battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066, left the coinage as he found it, barely even altering the type of the obverse (Hks. 233). No warlike event either in his reign or in those of his sons William II. and Henry I. seems to have left its mark, unless his last issue (Hks. 241, 2), the PAXS type, be taken to commemorate the final subjection of England, for just before the issue of this type in September, 1086, Domesday Book had been completed and William had received at Salisbury the oath of fealty from all the freeholders of the kingdom. Mr. W. J. Andrew points out in Numismatic Chronicle, 4th series, vol. i, p. 16, that many of the great barons possessed charters from the king permitting them to coin money in various places, and that this privilege could be exercised only when the grantee was in residence. Some of the types of these first three Sovereigns are represented by very few mints. We can therefore assume that the grantees of those which are missing were absent, and they had probably accompanied the monarch, as was the custom of the time,
to Normandy, where there were constantly small wars, in one of which William I received the injuries from which he died.

The chaos produced by the usurpation of Stephen is well marked, not only by the wretched condition of the coins themselves, but by the appearance of those known to numismatologists as the Baronial Series. The difference between this series and that coined by the nobles under a charter from the king, which I have already mentioned, lies in the fact that the former bears no reference to the Sovereign, and the various pieces are coined in the baron’s own name. Some were struck in the name of Matilda, others, according to Hawkins, in the names of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Robert Earl of Gloucester, Eustace and William, sons of Stephen, Roger Earl of Warwick, etc. These coins, as may be expected, are nearly all below the proper weight. The coins of Stephen were further disfigured by his opponents, on some occasions stamping a cross on the obverse, almost obliterating the head. It is also stated that much base money was issued at this time, but with the exception of a few pieces struck by a moneyer named Algar, who suffered the legal penalty for the offence, the coins of this period, which have survived to the present time, are all of the legal standard.

Henry II., on his succession, resumed most of the grants which his predecessor Stephen had given, and destroyed some castles which had been illegally erected, and from which the greater part of the alleged base coins had been issued. The money, which he issued shortly after his succession, known as the “Tealby” type, shows no improvement on that of his predecessor, the coins being very nearly as badly struck, which may be taken as a further proof of the then disturbed state of the country. This type, however, had to do duty till 1180, when the “Short Cross” money appeared. Class II of this “Short Cross” series is now attributed to Richard I., and from the falling off of the workmanship of these pieces we can easily see how the country suffered from the absence of its ruler, who preferred destroying, with Papal sanction, Moslems in Palestine to looking after his own dominions.

The Crusades, again, leave their mark in the reign of Henry III.
Some of the coins of the Long Cross Series (Hks. 289) bear the mark of the star and crescent over the head, and this has been attributed to their being struck to commemorate the formation of an army to take part in the ninth and last Crusade which sailed for the Holy Land in 1270 under Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I. It was in this campaign that the Prince performed those deeds of valour which caused the Emir of Jaffa to hire an assassin to stab him with a poisoned dagger. It is traditionally reported that his life was preserved by his wife, Eleanor of Castile, courageously sucking the poison from the wound.

The wars with Scotland under the first three Edwards caused a mint to be established at Berwick, and here were issued pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, some of which had the badge of that town, a bear's head, in two quarters of the reverse.

In 1338 Philip IV. of France died, leaving no son. Edward III. claimed the throne of that kingdom as being the next heir general through his mother, Isabella, who was a daughter of Philip. The claim was opposed by the late king's nephew, on the ground that he was the next heir male and that Edward was ineligible under the Salic Law. Edward immediately called himself King of France, quartered the lilies on his coat-of-arms and prepared to support his pretensions with all the forces that England could furnish. Thus commenced that series of campaigns known in English history as the Hundred Years’ War, which, according to Lord Macaulay, was the first appearance of our ancestors on the battlefields of Europe as a nation. The great naval engagement of Sluys was fought in 1340, which gave Edward the command of the sea, and four years later he emphasised this by having himself depicted on the first noble, standing in full armour, sword in hand, on the deck of a ship of the period. This coin is the first concrete appearance of the claim of our country to be mistress of the seas. This was evidently the idea of that time, as an anonymous poet of the period of Henry VI. writes:

"Four things our noble showeth to me,  
King, Ship, Sword and Power of the Sea."

On his coins up to 1360 the French title appeared, which was
dropped that year in accordance with the treaty of Bretigny; but evidently to keep alive his pretensions, he placed on them his own title of Lord of Aquitaine. After this treaty he struck for his French Dominions a gold coin known as the guiennois, the reverse legend of which—GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBVS—has direct reference to the peace he hoped his country would in the future enjoy. When the treaty was broken in 1369 the title of Aquitaine was dropped on the silver coins and that of King of France again adopted. A mint was established at Calais, 1347, probably to supply the English troops in the North of France with money, or perhaps for commercial purposes owing to the proximity to Flanders, with which State most of the English trade was then carried on. In the South from the cities of Aquitaine and Poitou was issued that beautiful series bearing Edward’s name and that of his son the Black Prince. This series, which had been commenced by Henry II. as Duke of Aquitaine in right of his wife Eleanor, was continued by his successors till it ended in the reign of Henry VI., when the English Sovereigns practically ceased to have any possessions in France, though some three hundred and fifty years were to elapse before they dropped the empty title of king of that country.

In 1399, Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, revolted against his cousin Richard II., captured and deposed him, and though not the rightful heir, ascended the throne as Henry IV., and his name appears on the coinage. Nothing beyond this happened till the reign of his son.

Mr. F. A. Walters has lately published a theory (Numismatic Chronicle, 4th series, vol. iv, p. 177) that shortly after the accession of Henry V. to the throne, he placed the so-called broken annulet on some of his coins to show that the circle of his dominions was incomplete, owing to the loss of part of the French possessions at one time held by his great-grandfather Edward III. When he had regained these provinces, through his victorious campaign in which the battle of Agincourt was fought and the Treaty of Troyes had declared him Regent of France and heir to that throne, in order to show that
the dominions of England were once more complete, he changed the broken for that full annulet which is so conspicuous on his last coinage and also on the first of his successor. The completeness of his triumph is well exemplified in the Anglo-French series, for coins bearing the names of Henry V. and VI. were issued from the mints of Paris, Rouen, Amiens, St. Lo and other towns for the use of his new subjects. The Calais mint, which had been dormant since the early years of Richard II., now became active, and during the first portion of Henry VI.'s reign produced by far the greater bulk of the silver coinage current throughout the realm. As the fortunes of England waned and the French, after that gallant struggle inspired by the heroic Joan of Arc, gradually drove the English out of all they possessed on the continent of Europe save Calais, so did this prolific coinage dwindle until it finally ceased. The town remained in the possession of England till 1558, when it was taken by the Duke of Guise after a short siege. The fall of this town so preyed on the mind of Queen Mary that she is reported to have stated that the word Calais would be found engraved on her heart.

Anyone seizing the property of another can expect to hold it only as long as he is powerful enough to convince the despoiled of the hopelessness of attempting its retrieval. Directly, however, signs of weakness appear, the rightful owners immediately take steps to regain their own, by peaceable means if possible, and if these are not successful, then by recourse to violence. This fate befell the last of the Lancastrian Kings, who as he grew to man's estate, showed that he was not of the same quality as his father and grandfather. The country saw those splendid possessions gained by his father slowly slip from the hands of the son and the people became discontented. This, then, was the opportunity for the rightful heir, Richard, Earl of Cambridge and Duke of York, who revolted and claimed the throne. He was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III., whereas Henry VI. could claim descent only from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the third son. This civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses, continued for some years with fluctuations of fortune on both sides. Edward, afterwards Edward IV.,
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who on his father's death became Duke of York, and thus the leader of the Yorkist faction, gained the upper hand and seized the throne, but after a time Henry came into his own again. His star, however, was in the ascendant only for a short period, when his rival again appearing on the scene, finally routed his forces at the Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, and the unfortunate Henry eventually died a prisoner. The war caused an increase in the number of the mints, Bristol, Coventry, and Norwich being temporarily added to those already existing. The fluctuations of fortune are shown by the coins of Edward IV. and the light coinage of Henry VI. This civil war reduced the country to a state bordering on chaos, and so disturbed was it that it even affected some of the letters in the legend on the coins, for during the worst period the letters R and R curled their outer loops in like frightened dogs do their tails, and when brighter times came uncurled them, as are shown on the coins bearing the middle mint-marks of Edward IV. and the light coinage of Henry VI. This, of course, was a mere coincidence. There are two mint marks which have peculiar reference to this war, viz., the rose and the sun. The rose, which evidently referred to the Yorkist Badge, was the second of Edward's mint-marks, and was followed by the sun. The sun was assumed by Edward as one of his badges after his victory at Mortimer's Cross, 1461, for just before the engagement he is alleged to have seen a marvellous phenomenon of three suns uniting into one blazing luminary. On the first angel introduced in 1465 the cross between a rose and sun is illuminated by the rays of a sun shining from above. This mint-mark is found in conjunction with the rose, crown, and cross fichée marks. Both these mint marks were used in the country mints of Bristol, Norwich, and Coventry, while the latter was used also at York, in conjunction with the lis, the usual mark of that mint. The rose is also a conspicuous object on the Ryal.

The Battle of Bosworth, 1485, ending in the defeat and death of Richard III., placed Henry VII. on the throne. The only numismatic incident affecting our subject which occurred in this reign, is the groat struck by the Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, in 1494. This young
man, who declared himself to be Richard, Duke of York, who with his brother, Edward V., had really been murdered by order of his uncle, Richard III., in the Tower, was assisted by the Duchess of Burgundy and the Kings of France and Scotland, which will account for this coin being of French design. It is further peculiar by having the date 1494 struck on it. The rebellion, like the others of this reign, was suppressed, and Perkin ended his days on the scaffold.

The only military event that has left its mark on the coinage of Henry VIII. is his campaign against Louis XII. of France in 1513, in which he captured Tournay, where he coined groats of two patterns. The first was similar to his English groats, but with CIVITAS TORNACENS on the reverse. The other was after the French model, and is interesting from the fact that it is the first time that the date appears on a coin struck by an English monarch. It had already become customary for Continental Sovereigns to put the date on their coins, and as I have just stated that this type was from a French model, it will account for the date appearing on it. This remark will apply equally to the Perkin Warbeck groat to which I have already drawn attention. Some thirty-four years had to elapse before the date first made its appearance on a coin struck in England itself.

The stirring reign of Elizabeth has left practically no trace, save the countermarking of some of her coins with the arms of Zealand, a province of Holland. This, according to Hawkins, is said to have been done in the Low Countries to give currency there to the money taken over as subsidies by the Earl of Leicester. It is curious that the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 has left no numismatic record. The mint-mark for that and the following year was the crescent, which was followed in 1590 by the hand. To a strong imagination it might appear that this latter mark was meant to represent the hand of the Almighty, which had so providentially protected our beloved shores from the mighty power of Spain, and had enabled our ships to give such a signal and crushing defeat to the forces of the proud and bigoted Philip II.

I now arrive at that period which is by far the richest in numismatic traces of civil discord, viz., the Parliamentary wars of
Charles I. On the 25th of August, 1642, that monarch raised his standard at Nottingham, and the war commenced. On the 19th of September following he, at Wellington in Shropshire, made the famous declaration that he would preserve the Protestant Religion, the known laws of the land and the just privileges and freedom of Parliament. Shortly after that event the Aberystwith Mint was moved to Shrewsbury, where the first coins of the Declaration type were struck. The mint was almost immediately transferred to Oxford, where it remained till 1646, when that city fell into the hands of the Parliament. At both these places pounds and half pounds in silver were coined, on the obverse of which the king is generally represented as riding over ground strewn with spears and other implements of war. Mints were established also at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Weymouth, and Worcester. There were others, but numismatists have not been able with any accuracy to attribute coins to any one of these in particular. Some of these doubtless were issued by the Parliament, and it has been suggested that those bearing the Declaration, or anything special, were issued by the Royalists, while those which are an imitation of the Tower type were struck by their opponents. The Tower mint was seized by the Parliament at the very commencement of the struggle, but as the artificers were Royalists they immediately deserted, thus the money had to be struck by inferior workmen. This accounts for the poorer workmanship of the coins bearing the marks later than the triangle in circle, to those struck in the earlier years of the reign. In the large find of coins at East Worlington, Devonshire, in 1895, it was noticed that many of the pieces bearing the bust of Charles had been defaced by the features being very much scratched, thus showing that some of His Majesty’s opponents exhibited their hatred of their Sovereign by attempting to efface his effigy. This, as I have already pointed out, happened also in the reign of Stephen.

There were other types of coins of divers shapes, designs and denominations which were struck by the besieged garrisons of various towns and castles as money of necessity. These are known as obsidional or siege pieces; they were struck at Beeston, Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Scarborough, and Pontefract. This last-named
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Pl. II.
castle was still holding out at the death of the king, and from that time till its surrender, a little later, struck its money in the name of his son, Charles II.

After the execution of the king in 1649 the Parliament struck money in its own name. The type was very different from the Royal pieces, and the legend was in English. It apparently did not please the people, and it was derisively called by its opponents the "breeches money," from the similarity of the shields on the reverse to that very necessary garment—a fit stamp perhaps for the coin of the "Rump."

Charles II. had great ideas of the superiority of his country on the sea. Shortly after his succession a number of patterns for a copper coinage appeared. On the earlier pieces a favourite device was a ship, and later, in 1665, his bust with a figure of Britannia on the reverse. Among the reverse legends on the former, and entirely on the latter, was QVATVOR MARIA VINDICO—"I claim the four seas." This proud claim provoked, it is said, a remonstrance from his cousin Louis XIV. of France, and was entirely quashed in 1667 when the Dutch fleet successfully raided the Thames and Medway. In 1672, when these coins were issued for circulation, the modest legend of BRITANNIA replaced the boastful claim. The king, however, still had a hankering after the first inscription, for in 1675–76 patterns similar to those of 1665 were issued.

The Revolution of 1688 cannot be passed over without a reference to James II.'s struggle to retain his throne in Ireland. He entered Dublin in March, 1689 (N.S.), but soon found himself short of money, and in June appeared the first of those debased tokens known as "gun money," from the metal that entered most largely into their composition. Two mints were established, at Dublin and Limerick respectively. That of the former ceased when it was captured by William III. after his victory at the Boyne in July, 1690; but the latter continued till the surrender of Limerick in October, 1691. At first sixpences were issued, followed directly afterwards by half-crowns and shillings, and the following year by halfpence and farthings. In April, 1690, white metal crowns were struck, but few got into circulation; at the same time the half-crowns and shillings were ordered to be of smaller size. In June the large
half-crowns were recalled and subsequently re-issued as crowns, having a new design stamped on them, but so imperfectly that the traces of the first are easily discernible. The issues of the gun money ceased in October, 1690, but during the siege of Limerick, the mint in that city issued farthings, known as "Hibernias," which were merely the old shillings overstruck with a new design.

Directly William entered Dublin in July, 1690, he made a proclamation ordering the gun money to be current in Ireland only at its intrinsic value; the large half-crown thus passed for one penny and the smaller denominations in proportion. In the February following, by another proclamation, it was decreed that this base money should be no longer current. The sufferers were the native Irish, who were the adherents of James, and so to them this was another injustice to Ireland. Roughly speaking, one hundred tons of scrap metal was coined into money of the nominal value of over a million and a quarter sterling.

As far as England itself was concerned the only outcome of the Revolution was the substitution of the heads of William and Mary for that of James II.

In May, 1702, war was declared against France and Spain, and is known in history as that of the Spanish Succession. In the October following, the English and Dutch, under Sir George Rooke, captured Vigo, and amongst the booty was an immense quantity of Spanish coin. This specie was brought to England, sent to the mint, melted down and recoined, and the pieces struck from it bear the name of VIGO under the bust of Queen Anne. In 1712, Dean Swift wrote a remarkable letter to the Lord Treasurer, pointing out how he considered the coinage might be improved. Among his suggestions was the following: "That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable parts of Her Majesty's reign."

His letter had some slight effect, for in 1713 was issued a pattern for a farthing having on the reverse, Peace in a biga, holding in her right hand an olive branch, in her left a spear, with the legend PAX MISSA PER ORBEM. This design purposed to commemorate the peace of Utrecht which had been concluded that year.
Lord Anson's Voyage.

The next event to interest us is the appearance of the word LIMA under the bust of George II. on the coins dated 1745, 1746. The country was then at war with France and Spain. These coins were struck from the bullion which was captured, according to Mr. Pollet, by the Prince Frederick and Duke privateers. According to other authorities, they were coined from the specie captured by Lord Anson in the Pacific Ocean.

It is curious that this point has never been settled. Anson returned from his famous cruise in 1744, in the course of which he had raided the coast of Peru and taken several rich prizes. On his way home, off the Philippine Islands, he, after several weeks of waiting, fell in with and captured the great galleon Nuestra Senora de Covadonga from Acapulco containing treasure to the value of one and a half millions of dollars. His arrival in England was marked by great rejoicing, and he was immediately promoted Rear-Admiral. To me, it appears much more likely that the specie so obtained by an official expedition would be specially marked, rather than that captured by two obscure privateers. No better name could have been selected than LIMA, the chief town on that part of the Pacific Coast of America where Anson had so successfully flaunted his country's flag. Hawkins is, however, of the other opinion, on the ground that Acapulco is not in Peru, and that Mexican silver could hardly have been stamped with the name of a Peruvian town.

In the last forty years of the eighteenth century, very little copper and, except in the year 1787, practically no silver money was coined. During the whole of that period England, with very little interval, was continually at war, which state of affairs did not cease till after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. To remedy the inconvenience caused, a quarter guinea was coined in 1762 and seven-shilling pieces from 1797 to 1813; both of these denominations were of gold.

The scarcity of small change first made itself felt in the copper money, and this was met by the production of that vast number of halfpenny and farthing tokens which are enumerated in Atkins's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century. These disappeared after the issue of the “Cartwheel” twopences and pennies in 1797, followed by halfpennies
and farthings in 1799. The Naval successes of that time led the designer of the reverse of these pieces to arm the figure of Britannia with a trident instead of a spear, and to place her seated on a rock by the sea with a man-of-war on the horizon. There also appeared patterns for a penny, halfpenny and farthing, in 1797, representing Britannia seated on the breech of a field gun. Silver then became scarce, and this scarcity was met by the issue by the Bank of England in 1797, of Spanish dollars, countermarked by having the King's head used at Goldsmiths' Hall for marking silver plate stamped upon the neck of the Spanish King, and these were ordered to pass for 4s. 9d. This expedient met with a certain amount of derision and gave rise to various witticisms, such as—

"The Bank to make their Spanish Dollars pass,
Stamped the head of a fool on the head of an ass;"

and "Two kings' heads do not make a crown."

Early in 1804, owing to frequent forgery of the countermark, a notice was issued that the Mint Authorities had been instructed to prepare the necessary means of stamping, in an octagonal form, the head then used for impressing the silver penny, without the inscription. This change in the stamp had little effect, and forgeries soon reappeared. Some half dollars, quarter dollars, and eighths of dollars were likewise stamped, but they are rare. The authorities then decided to efface the original impress of the dollar by a new device, having on the obverse the king's head as on the copper twopence, and on the reverse a figure of Britannia with the words, "Five Shillings Dollar Bank of England, 1804." The value was afterwards raised to 5s. 6d. and patterns were struck for this new value. Small silver change was met by various towns and tradesmen issuing silver tokens on their own account, and the Bank of England, in 1811, began to issue them for 3s. and 1s. 6d., while a pattern was struck for ninepence. This deficiency of silver coin was most severely felt in the Colonies, where the authorities were reduced to the expedient of cutting up Spanish dollars into bits. These bits were then countermarked, each Colony having generally its own mark, and issued for currency.
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Pl. IV.
On the union with Ireland in 1801, George III., probably prompted by his disgust and hatred of the French for the execution of their king, queen, and members of their aristocracy, as well as for the many years of war waged between the two countries during his reign, took the opportunity of dropping the empty title of King of France, and so that designation disappeared from the coins.

Directly after the peace of Paris, which concluded the great Napoleonic struggle, the Government of the day addressed themselves to rehabilitate the coinage, and in 1816 appeared that last issue of George III., based entirely on a gold standard, which is so well known to all of us and which we have jingled sometimes in our pockets. The appearance of this new money put an end to all those expedients of dollars and tokens, which soon disappeared.

From that day nothing happened till after that black week in December, 1899, when our forces received a series of defeats at the hands of the Boers in South Africa, and the loss of our Colonies there appeared imminent. Then it was that the rest of the British Possessions from North, South, East and West, sent forth contingents of their best and bravest to prevent this calamity. In honour of this loyalty and zeal, our present gracious Sovereign, on his succession to the throne in 1901, proclaimed himself, by the grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, etc. In accordance with this proclamation, the abbreviated words BRITT. OMN. appeared on the legends of our coins; and long may they remain there!
DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

4. Henry III. Penny, long cross m. m. crescent and star.
8. Henry V. Double of Rouen with title of heir of France.
9. " Gros of Rouen with title of King of France.
11. " Light groat.
12. Edward IV. Groat mint-marks. Obverse.—Sun; Reverse.—Rose.
13. Henry VII. “Perkin Warbeck” groat.
15. Charles II. Pattern farthing with reverse legend QUATVOR MARIA VINDICO.
16. James II. Large gun-money shilling.
17. " Small
18. Anne. Shilling, VIGO under bust. Obverse only.
19. George II. Shilling, LIMA under bust. Obverse only.

PLATE II.

21. " " " 1644.
22. " " " Chester.
23. " " " Exeter, 1642.
24. " " " no date, Hawkins, No. 5.
25. " " " no date, Oxford obverse.
26. " " " 1644, obverse only.
28. " " " 1645.
29. " " Shrewsbury, 1642.
30. " " " with value on reverse.
Description of Plates.

PLATE III.

34. " " Sixpence. Scarborough obsidional.
35. " " Shilling, 1648. Pontefract obsidional lozenge shape.
36. " " Octagonal.
38. " " Shilling. Carlisle
39. " " Shilling, Irish " Ormond."

PLATE IV.

George III.

41. Spanish Dollar with oval countermark. Obverse only.
42. " " Octagonal"
44. " " 5/6 Bank token. Britannia reverse.
45. " " Plain reverse.
46. " " 3/- Bank token, 1811.
47. " " 1/6 " 1812.
49. Pattern penny.
50. Halfpenny, 1799. Reverse only.
52. Part of Spanish Dollar countermarked for St. Vincent. Reverse only.
53. " " for St. Lucia. Reverse only.
54. New South Wales " holey " Dollar.
55. Portion removed from the above to pass for 15 pence.

Note.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 33, 35, 37 and 39 are from coins in the collection of Mr. B. Roth, Nos. 51, 52, 53, 54 and 55 are from those belonging to Messrs. Spink and Son, and the remainder from the Author's collection.